



Edited by C. Edmund Bosworth

# HISTORIC CITIES OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD

BRILL

## Historic Cities of the Islamic World



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*edited by*

C. Edmund Bosworth



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# ABBREVIATIONS

AIEO	Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales de l'Université d'Alger
AIUON	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli
al-And.	al-Andalus
Annales ESC	Annales: Études, Sociétés, Civilisations
ASIAR	Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports
BEO	Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas
BSO[A]S	Bulletin of the School of Oriental [and African] Studies
Bull. de l'IFAN	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Afrique Noire
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CHIr	Cambridge History of Iran
CIA	Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum
CRAIBL	Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie d'Inscriptions et de Belles-Lettres
CT	Cahiers de Tunisie
EIr	Encyclopaedia Iranica
GJ	Geographical Journal
HJAS	Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies
IBLA	Revue de l'Institut de Belles Lettres Arabes, Tunis
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal
IJMES	International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
ILS	Islamic Law and Society
IOS	Israel Oriental Society
Iran.JBIPS	Iran, Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies
Isl.	Der Islam
JA	Journal Asiatique
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Cairo
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JMBRAS	Journal of the Malay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
KCsA	Kőrösi Csoma Archivum
MEJ	Middle East Journal
Méms. IFAO	Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire

MMAF	Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
Pauly-Wissowa	Pauly's Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
R.Afr.	Revue Africaine
RCEA	Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie Arabe
REI	Revue des Études Islamiques
REJ	Revue des Études Juives
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions
RMM	Revue du Monde Musulman
RMMM	Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée
ROMM	Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée
SI	Studia Islamica
Sitz.A.W.Wien	Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften
WI	Die Welt des Islams
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

# EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

## I

The importance of the town and city in the development of Islamic civilisation hardly needs elaboration here. The late, lamented Samuel Stern remarked nearly forty years ago that this was already a commonplace, and not a very meaningful one either, given that most civilisations that have existed have been urban ones anyway. It is nevertheless true that, from the time of the establishment of the *amṣār*, the armed camps of the Arab warriors in places like Iraq and Egypt, Islam has been a religion with a strong urban orientation. An assumption took shape that, whilst rural peoples or desert anchorites could indeed be faithful Muslims, the good Islamic life could best be lived in an urban community where (as an obvious manifestation of group solidarity) the faithful could gather in a congregational mosque for Friday worship.

Much has been written on the post-conquest development of the Islamic city. There is its continuity in sites with pre-Islamic urban settlements, from such disparate regions as Syria and Egypt of Classical Antiquity and Yemen of ancient South Arabian civilisation, and there is a continuity with the ancient world in public institutions like markets and baths. But there are differences in spatial development; admittedly, the Islamic city has a core of religio-public and communal buildings, as in the Classical world, but its residential areas stretch outwards to the periphery in a less planned, often apparently higgledy-piggledy, pattern, with a network of enclosed, private, blind alleys, often gated for defence. Nor can one posit for it a juridical and political basis, as with its Greco-Roman and Byzantine predecessors (though such a basis was in any case not to be found in the cities of e.g. Sasanid Persia or of Central Asia), and as with the towns of Western Christendom when they emerged from the Dark Ages into the High Middle Ages. Nor is there any kind of urban autonomy from the central power when that power is strong and able to enforce its control; it tends to be in times of loosened authority that we find rebellions against governors or outbreaks of internal, sectarian and factional violence. This is not the place for examining such factors, but, for those wishing to explore the mechanisms and motivations of the Islamic city, there is ample literature. In English one might cite I.M. Lapidus (ed.), *Muslim cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967; A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern (eds.), *The Islamic city. A colloquium*, Oxford 1970; R.B. Serjeant (ed.), *The Islamic city. Selected papers from the colloquium held at the Middle East Centre, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Cambridge, United Kingdom, from 19 to 23 July 1976*, UNESCO Paris 1980; and Michael Bonine (ed.), *The Middle Eastern city and Islamic urbanism*, Bonn 1994. In French and German, one should note the works of André Raymond, Daniel Panzac, Gilles Veinstein, Jean-Claude Garcin, Eugen Wirth, Heinz Gaube and many others. A convenient view of what might be termed Islamic urbanology is given in Raymond's *EI*<sup>2</sup> Suppl. art. "Madīna."

## II

It is agreed by both academics and the general public, indeed, all those concerned with Islam as a faith and with the Islamic world as a historical entity, that the new, second edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam is an immense work of erudition, the culmination of the achievements of twentieth-century scientific scholarship in Islamic studies. It is not always easy to find one's way about it, given the complexities of its subject matter and the fact that publication in two languages, English and French, meant that a heading intelligible in both languages had to be chosen (usually the language relevant to the topic, normally an Arabic, Persian or Turkish one). However, the compilation and publication of indices on such things as proper names and place names, and on subjects and technical terms, etc., for both the English and French versions of the Encyclopaedia, is now well under way and should be completed shortly. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that it would be useful to have the Encyclopaedia's information on the historic cities of the Islamic world collected together in one volume for easier reference, and this suggestion was welcomed by the publishers, Messrs Brill; here, I must express my gratitude for encouragement and help, at the outset from Mr Olaf Köndgen and then from his successor at Brills, Dr Joed Elich. It also seemed to me that such a work would be more user-friendly if the various cities to be included were listed under their familiar English forms. Hence the enquirer for information would not have to search for information on Cairo under *al-Fustāt*, *al-Ḳāhira*/*al-Qāhira* and *Miṣr*, or on Aleppo under *Ḥalab*, or on Seville under *Ishbiliyya*, or on Istanbul under both *Istanbul* and *al-Ḳustanṭīniyya*/*al-Qustanṭīniyya*.

The planning and the publication by fascicules of the *EI*<sup>2</sup> extended over a period of some fifty-seven years, and this has meant that articles on cities near the beginning of the alphabet were commissioned and written up to fifty years or more ago. Islamic scholarship in general has advanced immensely during this last half-century, and it is in any case obvious that information, especially on the most recent history and development of these cities, having been written several decades ago, is likely to be outdated and/or inadequate. Articles on cities whose names come in the latter part of the alphabet have been written recently, and have often required little more than the updating of population figures. But the majority of articles have needed supplementation, and this I, as Editor, have endeavoured to do. It seems that, when the *EI*<sup>2</sup> was first planned, authors were not always allocated suitable space for their subject, and these constraints inevitably led to articles not up to modern standards. Hence I have tried to expand such articles and give them a reasonable size and coverage, and where my own contribution has been, to my mind at least, substantial, in the list of articles I have added my own name to that of the existing author or authors. But of course, it has not been possible to achieve exact parity of treatment for the various cities. In any case, it is unlikely that persons would agree on the relative historical significance or insignificance of these places; and if agreement were ever to be reached on this, a totally new book would have to be composed.

The actual choice of cities for inclusion in this book has inevitably been a personal one, but it is hoped that a reasonable geographical spread has been achieved, ranging from Marrakesh and Timbuktu in the west to Dacca and Malacca in the east, and from Sarajevo and Kazan in the north to Mombasa and Zanzibar in the south. It has also seemed appropriate to include cities like Cordova, Seville and Palermo which made significant contributions to Islamic culture even if their Islamic nature was gradually attenuated after they had been regained for Christendom.

The bibliographies in the original articles of the *EI*<sup>2</sup> varied considerably. In general, I have retained a listing of primary sources only for some of the most historically significant cities of the Islamic heartlands, where it seemed useful to give the reader a conspectus of what sort of firsthand materials the composition of the article rested upon, but even here I have endeavoured to give prominence to translations of texts, where these are available. Within the listing of secondary sources, I have tried to concentrate on those in familiar Western European languages, although this had not always been easy; thus it is hard to find literature on the older history of Kazan that is not in Russian, or on Sarajevo that is not in Serbo-Croat.

The actual work of updating the articles and the bibliographies, and especially those written some decades ago, has been done by myself from my own knowledge of the field and relevant sources, and from standard

reference works, but I am grateful to Ms. Isabella Gerritsen who has trawled through works like the *Index islamicus* and has used electronic information sources for titles useful in updating the bibliographies.

C. Edmund Bosworth

Castle Cary, Somerset, October 2007

*Post scriptum.*

The present book had reached the proof stage when there appeared *Cities of the Middle East and North Africa. A historical encyclopedia*, ed. Michael R.T. Dumper and Bruce E. Stanley, ABC Clio, Santa Barbara, Calif., Denver, Colorado, and Oxford, England 2007, pp. xxxvi + 438. Through the kindness of Dr Dumper I was able to have a copy of their book on its immediate publication. This is a richly documented and detailed work, which covers a hundred cities and only partly overlaps with the present volume, The area of its concentration is, as the title implies, the Middle East and North Africa, essentially the Arab heartlands, with less detailed coverage of the Sahara region, the Horn of Africa and East Africa within the African continent, and of Turkey, Iran, western Afghanistan and the Uzbekistan Republic within Western Asia. The time scale is also different; Ancient Near Eastern cities like Byblos, Ebla, Ugarit and Ur are included, but at the other end of the time spectrum there are included cities like Dammam, Kuwait, Manama, Nouakchott and Tel Aviv, which may have existed very modestly for some time but have only acquired the status of cities and international significance in the modern age. The scope and the aims and approaches of the two books are thus distinctly different, and they may be taken as complementing each other rather than as ploughing the same ground.



# A

**AGRA**, in Arabic script Āgra, a town of what was in British Indian times the United Provinces, now a city in the Uttar Pradesh State of the Indian Union. It lies on the banks of the river Jumna/Yamunā in lat. 27° 09' N., long. 78° 00' E. It is the administrative centre of a District and Division of the same name. The population (2005 census) is 1,309,000, including a considerable minority of Muslims. Agra was for long the residence of the Mughal Emperors and is especially famed for the monuments of Mughal architecture there, most notably the Tāj Maḥall (see II.2. below).

## I. HISTORY

Little is known about the early history of Agra, but there is no doubt it was founded long before the Muslim invasions of India. The first reference to the city, and to an ancient fortress in it, is contained in a *qaṣīda* written in praise of the Ghaznavid prince Maḥmūd b. Ibrāhīm by the poet Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān (d. 515/1121 or 526/1131), wherein the conquest of the fortress (presumably during the reign of Sulṭān Mas'ūd III, 493–508/1099–1115) is mentioned. The town was ruled by Rājput chiefs, who, upon making their submission to the Sultanate of Delhi, were allowed to keep their control over it, under the overall command of the governor of Biyāna province. It remained unnoticed until Sultan Sikandar Lōdī (894–923/1489–1517) rebuilt the city in 911/1505 and made it the seat of his government. The place quickly gained in importance and attracted scholars and learned men from many parts of the

Muslim world. Commanding routes to Gwalior and Mālwa in the south, Rājputāna in the west, Delhi and the Panjāb in the north-west, and the plain of the Ganges in the east, it soon became a strategic and trading centre. It continued to be the capital of Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923–32/1517–26) and, on his defeat in 932/1526, it became the capital of Bābur. In addition to building his palace of Chārbāgh, Bābur laid out a number of gardens in the city and constructed many baths. His nobles followed his example, and a considerable portion of the old city was levelled down. The city remained Humāyūn's and Shīr Shāh's capital, but neither Humāyūn, nor Shīr Shāh or his successors were able to spend much time there. It again became the seat of government in the third year of Akbar's reign (965/1558), when he took up residence in the citadel formerly known as Badal Gadh, and his nobles built their houses on both banks of the river. In 972/1565 the construction of the fort on the site of Badal Gadh was undertaken, but before it could be completed, the building of Faṭhpūr Sikrī was commenced. From 982/1574 to 994/1586 Akbar lived mostly in the new city, and later, till 1006/1598, his headquarters were generally at Lahore. In the latter year he returned to Agra. On his death in 1014/1605, Jahāngīr ascended the throne in that city and lived there almost continuously from 1016/1607 to 1022/1613. He spent another year at Agra in 1027/1618, but later, until his death in 1037/1628, he spent most of his time in Kashmīr and Lahore. Like his father, Shāh Jahān also ascended the throne at Agra, but had to leave for the Deccan in the following year. From 1040/1631



to 1042/1633 he again resided in the city, but after that, except for brief visits, he did not stay there for long. Thereafter, he lived mostly at Delhi, where he built the new city of Shāhjahānābād. (The name of Agra was also changed to Akbarābād, but the latter name was never widely used.) In 1067/1657 he fell seriously ill and was brought to Agra by his eldest son, Dārā Shikūh. In the war of succession that broke out, Awrangzīb was victorious and ascended the throne in 1068/1658. Shāh Jahān was imprisoned in the Fort, where he died in 1076/1666. On hearing the news, Awrangzīb returned to Agra and held Court there for some time. Later, he again stayed in Agra from 1079/1669 to 1081/1671. However, Awrangzīb's usual place of residence was, first, Delhi, and then, in the Deccan. Though, in the 17th century, the court did not remain at Agra for long, the place was nevertheless regarded as one of the capital cities of the Empire. Most of the European travellers who visited India considered it to be one of the largest cities they had seen, comparable in size to Paris, London and Constantinople. It was a centre of trade and commerce and was well known for its textile industry, gold inlay work, stone and marble work and crystal. However the population as well as the trade diminished considerably when the court was away.

The successors of Awrangzīb lived mostly in Delhi, though Agra continued to be important politically. During the second half of the 18th century, it suffered much from the depredations of the Jāts, the Mahrattās and the Rohillās. Though nominal Mughal sovereignty over the town continued till it was annexed by the British in 1803, except for the years 1774 to 1785 when Najaf Khān (d. 1782) and his successors were its governors, Agra was under the occupation of the Jāts (1761–70, and 1773–74) and the Mahrattās (1758–61, 1770–73, and 1785–1803). When it came under British rule, it was from 1833 to 1858 the capital of what became known as the North-Western Province. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857–58, 6,000 persons of the British and Indian communities were besieged in the Fort by the rebels from July to October 1857. The modern city of Agra is at the junction of railways and roads, and is a centre of commerce and industry (this last, with its attendant pollution, to the detriment of monuments like the Tāj Maḥall). Since 1927 it has had a university with several affiliated colleges within the city.

## II. MONUMENTS

### 1. *The Fort*

The present fort of Agra was built by Akbar on the site of the Lōdī fortress of Badal Gadh on the right bank of the Yamunā. It was constructed in about eight years (1565–73) under the superintendence of Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Mīr-i Baḥr at a cost of 35 lakhs of rupees. It is in the shape of an irregular semi-circle with its base along the river. The fort is surrounded by a double wall, loop-holed for musketry, the distance between the walls being 40 ft. The outer wall, just under 70 ft. high and faced with red sandstone, is about 11½ miles in circuit and represents the first conception of dressed stone on such a large scale. The principal gateway, the Delhi Gate, is one of the most impressive portals in India. Within the fort, according to Abu 'l Faḍl, Akbar built "upward of 500 edifices of red stone in the fine styles of Bengāl and Gujarāt". Most of these buildings were demolished by Shāh Jahān to make room for his marble structures, among those that still stand *Akbarī* and *Bangālī Maḥalls* are the earliest. Akbar's buildings are characterised by carved stone brackets which support the stone beams, wide eaves and flat ceilings, the arch being used sparingly. Similar in design is the *Jahāngīrī Maḥall*, a double-storeyed construction, 261 ft. by 288 ft., supposed to have been built by Akbar for Prince Salīm (later Jahāngīr) but very probably built by Jahāngīr himself for the Rājput princesses of the *haram*, though Cunningham thinks it was built by Ibrāhīm Lōdī. After the accession of Shāh Jahān architectural style underwent a radical change. With the discovery of marble quarries, red sandstone was practically eliminated and large-scale use of marble made carved line and flowing rhythm of style possible. Instead of the beam and brackets, foliated or cusped arches became common and marble arcades of engrailed arches distinguished the buildings of Shāh Jahān. Among the most important of his buildings in the Fort are the *Khāṣṣ Maḥall* and its adjoining north and south pavilions; the *Shīsh Maḥall*, a bath whose walls and ceilings are spangled over with tiny mirrors of irregular shape set in stucco relief; the *Muthamman Burj* built for the Empress Mumtāz Maḥall (in which building Shāh Jahān breathed his last); the *Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ* (or private assembly chamber); the *Dīwān-i 'Amm* (or public audience chamber), hav-

ing a court 500 ft. by 73 ft., and a pillared hall 201 ft. by 67 ft., with an alcove of inlaid marble being the throne gallery (built of red sand-stone plastered with white marble stucco which is artistically gilded); the *Motī Masjid* (or Pearl Mosque) a magnificent structure of white marble standing on a plinth of red sandstone.

Not far from the fort stands the *Jāmi' Masjid*, built by Jahān Ārā Bēgam, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān, in 1058/1648, a red sandstone building having three domes and five gracefully proportioned arches, the central archway being a semi-domed double portal.

The tomb of Akbar at Sikandara, constructed in Jahāngīr's reign on a site selected by Akbar himself, stands in the middle of a well-laid garden about five miles from Agra. Very probably some idea of the design was settled by Akbar, but the building lacks that correctness which is characteristic of the construction undertaken by that monarch. The building is 340 ft. square, consisting of five terraces diminishing as they ascend. The lowest storey is arcaded and in the centre of each side is inserted a large portico with a deeply recessed archway. The next three storeys consist of superimposed tiers of pillared arcades and kiosks built mainly of red sandstone. The topmost storey is of white marble and is screened with perforated lattices. Each corner of this storey is surmounted by a slender kiosk.

The tomb of Jahāngīr's minister, Mirzā Ghiyāth Bēg entitled I'timād al-Dawla (d. 1622), constructed by his daughter, the Empress Nūr Jahān and completed in 1628, stands in the middle of a well-laid out garden on the left bank of the river. The mausoleum consists of a square lower storey 69 ft. wide with a gracefully proportioned octagonal turret, like a dwarfed minaret, thrown out from each corner; while the second storey rises in the form of a tracery pavilion covered by a canopy shaped vaulted roof sending out broad stooping eaves, surmounted by two golden pinnacles. It is the first large building in India built entirely of marble and is remarkable for the richness of its decoration and profuse *pietra dura* work.

## 2. The Tāj Maḥall (Figs. 1, 2)

The mausoleum which Shāh Jahān built for his favourite wife Mumtāz Maḥall is the grandest in a

series of monumental dynastic mausoleums that have become synonyms of Mughal architecture. Mughal imperial tombs are the most spectacular exponents of a funerary tradition which creatively synthesised and developed ideas of its Tīmūrīd heritage and local Indian building conventions.

The architecture. The success of the Tāj Maḥall lies not only in its aesthetic, romantic and symbolic appeal but in the fact that it expresses in a canonical form the architectural principles of the period. The Mughals had no written architectural theory; it was laid down here in a built form: (1) A rational and strict geometry brought about by modular planning using grid systems based on the Shāhjahānī *gaz* (varying in length between 80 and 82 cm or *ca.* 32 inches); (2) Consistent symmetrical planning with emphasis on bilateral symmetry on both sides of a central axis (*qarīna*) into which are integrated centralised schemes; (3) A hierarchical grading of material, forms and colour down to the most minute ornamental detail; and (4) A sophisticated symbolism in the architectural programme.

The mausoleum is set at the northern end of the main axis of a vast oblong walled-in complex (*ca.* 1,114.5 × 373 *gaz*) formed of three units: the tomb and its garden with elaborate water works (Fig. 3, A, B, E), and two courtyard complexes to its south with subsidiary structures (C, D), only one of which survives. The preserved Tāj complex measures *ca.* 561 m × 300 m (690 × 313 *gaz*). In its layout the tomb garden (A and B) is the monumentalised version of the Shāhjahānī expression of the waterfront garden, a type specific to Mughal architecture (Koch, *The Mughal water front garden*, in A. Petruccioli (ed.), *Theory and design of gardens during the times of the great Muslim empires*, Leiden 1997). The plan shows the characteristic configuration of a raised rectangular terrace (*kursī*, A) on which are placed the main buildings and a lower centrally planned four-part garden (*chahār bāgh*) (B); its square, measuring 368 × 368 *gaz*/296.31 × 296.31 m, formed the basis for developing the grid of the plan. The two complexes with the subsidiary structures are arranged according to the same compositional scheme of a rectangle (C) combined with a centrally-planned unit (D) but here the buildings consist of open courtyards formed of narrow wings and arcades, typical of the residential and utilitarian architecture of the period. The courtyard complex adjoining the tomb garden

contains also subsidiary tombs for other women of Shāh Jahān's *zanāna*. These tombs are set in miniature replicas of the main garden (C, 9a, b). (Their form revives an older Sultanate type of a domed octagon (*muthamman*) surrounded by arcades, translated into the lighter architectural vocabulary of the period; see Koch, *Mughal architecture*, 101, and figs. 34, 35.) Outside the walled enclosure is another small tomb complex varying this pattern (9c) and a tomb and a mosque (11, 12).

The income of the *bāzārs* and the *karwānsarāʾīs* of the subsidiary complexes (8, 10) – together with that of thirty villages from the district of Agra – was devoted by imperial command to the upkeep of the mausoleum.

In the tomb garden, emphasis is on the features on the central axis: the grandiose group of the mausoleum (*raukha*) (1) and its four minarets, flanked by a mosque (2) and a “guest house” (*mihmānkhāna*), rather an assembly hall (3), set the main accent. Radial symmetry is observed in the gatehouse (*darwāza*, 5) and the tomb proper. Both follow the ninefold plan (Fig. 4), the favourite plan of Mughal architecture with Tīmūrid antecedents (L. Golombek, *From Tamerlane to the Taj Mahal*, in *Islamic art and architecture. Essays in Islamic art and architecture in honor of Katharina Otto-Dorn*, ed. A. Daneshvari, Malibu 1981, i, 43–50; Koch, *Mughal architecture*, 44–50, 80–1, 99–100). The plan of the mausoleum is inscribed in a square with chamfered corners or irregular octagon, described in the contemporary texts as *muthamman baghdādī*. The elevation follows – in the interior – the Tīmūrid concept of two super-imposed tomb chambers surmounted by a high double dome (Fig. 2). The exterior – composed of monumental *pīshṭāqs* flanked by double-storey niches – brings the cubical tomb of the Dihlī tradition enhanced by Deccani features (bulbous profile of the dome) to a formal apotheosis of unparalleled elegance and harmony (Fig. 1). The balanced proportions are highlighted by the sophisticated facing of the brick structure: the white marble in-laid with *pietre dure* reacts to atmospheric changes and enhances the mystical and mythical aura of the building. All the subsidiary structures of the Tāj complex are faced with red sandstone; special features, such as domes may be clad in white marble. This hierarchically graded colour dualism – generally characteristic of imperial Mughal architecture but here explored with unparalleled sophistication – con-

nects with ancient Indian *śāstric* traditions, laid down in the *Viṣṇudharmottara* (8th century?), where white-coloured stones are assigned to *brāhmaṇas* and red ones to *kṣatriyas*. The marble for the Tāj was brought from Makrāna in Rājasthān and the sandstone from the quarries of the Vindhyan system in the region of Fathpūr Sikrī and Rūpbās.

The architectural decoration with naturalistic flowers and plants executed in relief (Fig. 5) and in the famous Italianate inlay with semi-precious stones (*pietre dure*, Mughal *parchīn kārī*) (Koch, *Shah Jahan and Orpheus*, Graz 1988, esp. 15–22, 39 n. 24) finds its richest and most artistic expression in the central chamber of the tomb (Fig. 6). It symbolises eternal bloom and supports thus the architectural programme of the building as an earthly replica of the abode of the pardoned Mumtāz in the gardens of heavenly Paradise. The elaborate Qurʾānic inscriptions designed by Amānat Khān Shīrāzī focus accordingly on the Day of Resurrection, Last Judgement, and the Reward of the Faithful.

**The architect.** The question about the identity of the architect of the building has as yet not been entirely solved, since contemporary sources minimise the role of the architects and emphasise the involvement of the patron. Mīr ʿAbd al-Karīm, Jahāngīr's leading architect and the Mughal official Makramat Khān are named as overseers of the construction; Ustād Aḥmad Lāhawrī is also reported to have been connected with the building (Begley and Desai, *Taj Mahal*, pp. xli–xliii, 260–86). The craftsmen made their contribution known with numerous mason marks, which still await systematic study.

**History.** Mumtāz died on 17 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1040/17 June 1631 in Burhānpūr and was temporarily buried there. The construction of the Tāj started in Jumādā II 1041/January 1632 after the take-over of the site had been negotiated with its then owner, Rājā Jai Singh Kaḥwaha of Amber. The body of Mumtāz was brought in December 1631 from Burhānpūr to Agra and temporarily reburied in January 1632 on the construction site. In June 1632 Shāh Jahān commemorated the first death anniversary (*ʿurs*) in the *ṣaḥn* (courtyard [*jīlaw khāna*]?) of the building with rites aimed at obtaining divine pardon for the deceased. The second *ʿurs* in May of the following year was already held on the monumental platform (*chabūtra*) on the terrace (*kursī*) raised over the third and final burial place of Mumtāz; the place of the

tombstone was on this occasion surrounded by a screen of enamelled gold, the work of the imperial goldsmiths' department supervised by Bībadal Khān (replaced in 1643 by the present inlaid marble screen). At this time, the domed tomb structure had not as yet been raised. According to two inscriptions in the interior of the mausoleum and one in the portal of the west façade, the main mausoleum was completed in 1048/1638–9. The histories report that the entire complex was finished in 1052/1643 but – according to an inscription on the garden façade of the main gateway – work on the decoration went on at least until 1057/1647. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kanbō even reports that the entire complex took twenty years to be completed. The cost amounted to 50 lakhs (4 to 5 millions) rupees (see S. Moosvi, *Expenditure on buildings under Shahjahan – a chapter of imperial financial history*, in *Procs. of the Indian History Congress, 46th session Amritsar, 1985*, 285–99).

The 'urs celebrations are mentioned intermittently until the fourteenth death anniversary. Of particular importance was the 12th 'urs on 17 Dhu 'l Qa'da 1052/6 February 1643, when the tomb was officially reported as being complete, on which occasion Lāhawrī and Kanbō provided detailed descriptions of the entire complex which – with regard to exactitude, detail and consistent terminology – are unparalleled in all of Mughal writing on architecture. After the fourteenth 'urs, Shāh Jahān spent over two years in the north of his empire and moved his capital in 1648 to the newly-constructed Shāhjahānabād at Dihlī. The last documented imperial visit to the Tāj is that of Ṣafar 1065/December 1654. When Shāh Jahān died in 1076/1666, after having spent the last years of his life in captivity at Agra, he was buried in the tomb at the side of his wife.

After Shāh Jahān's burial little is known about the mausoleum until the later 18th century when it began to enter the awareness of the west through the depictions and descriptions of British visitors to India in search of the picturesque (Pal, 199 ff.). In 1803 the British conquered Agra and the tomb became the focus of their selective restoration of monuments, which was put on a more systematic basis at the beginning of the 20th century when the Archaeological Survey of India (founded in 1860) also took on the agenda of conservation. Today, the Tāj Maḥall is included in the Monuments of World Heritage in India and also, sadly, appeared on the 1996 list of

the world's hundred most endangered historic sites, according to World Monuments Watch (tourism and uncontrolled industrial growth in its surroundings). Despite India's uneasiness with its Islamic past, the Tāj Maḥall has become India's national symbol, advertising in particular tourism.

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(b) Studies. *Imperial gazetteer of India*<sup>2</sup>, Oxford 1907–31, v, 82–91; E.B. Havell, *A handbook to Agra and the Tāj, Sikandra, Fatehpur-Sikrī and the neighbourhood*, London 1912; Murray, *A handbook for travellers to India, Burma and Ceylon*<sup>3</sup>, London and Calcutta 1929, 265–79; S.K. Banerji, *Shah Jahan's monuments in Agra*, in *Jnal. U.P. Historical Soc.*, xvii/2 (1944), 55–70; Mahdi Husain, *Agra before the Mughals*, in *Jnal. U.P. Historical Soc.*, xx/2 (1947), 80–7; Murray, *A handbook for travellers in India, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon*<sup>2</sup>, ed. L.F. Rushbrook Williams, London 1968, 211–23.

### 2. THE TĀJ MAḤALL

(a) Sources. All known 17th century sources – Mughal and Western – related to the Tāj Maḥall have been compiled and translated by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, *Tāj Mahal: the illumined tomb*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989; the work includes also a detailed photographic documentation.

(b) Studies. The vast literature on the Tāj Maḥall comprises surprisingly few serious scholarly studies. There is as yet no monograph dedicated to its architecture; J.A. Hodgson's plan (1828) published in *Memoir on the length of the Illahee guz, or imperial land measure of Hindostan*, in *JRAS*, vii (1843), 42–63, remained until recently the most accurate survey of the Tāj complex and the basis of all later plans. A new plan based on measurements taken in 1995 by R.A. Barraud and E. Koch is published here as Pl. IV. Pioneering studies are M. Moin-ud-Din, *The history of the Tāj and the buildings in its vicinity*, Agra 1905; and M.A. Chaghtai, *Le Tāj Mahal d'Agra (Inde): histoire et description*, Brussels 1938. In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see R. Nath, *The immortal Tāj Mahal. The evolution of the tomb in Mughal architecture*, Bombay 1972; R.A. Jairazbhoy, *The Tāj Mahal in the context of East and West: a study in the comparative method*, in *Jnal. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxiv (1961), 59–88; Begley, *Amānat Khān and the calligraphy on the Tāj Mahal*, in *Kunst des Orients*, xii (1978–99), 5–39; idem, *The myth of the Tāj Mahal and a new theory of its symbolic meaning*, in *The Art Bulletin*, lxi (1979), 7–37; P. Pal, J. Leoshko et alii, *Romance of*

the *Taj Mahal*, Los Angeles and London 1989; and for excellent photographs, see J.L. Nou, A. Okada and M.C. Joshi, *Taj Mahal*, Paris and New York 1993. For the most recent treatment in the context of Mughal architecture, see Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture: an outline of its history and development (1526–1858)*, Munich 1991, and C.B. Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, Cambridge 1992; and for the mausoleum, its gardens and riverside setting, Koch, *The complete Taj Mahal and the riverfront gardens of Agra*, London 2006.

**ALEPPO**, in Arabic Ḥalab, a city of northern Syria, in Ottoman Turkish times the greatest trade emporium of the Levant, now the second most populous city of the Syrian Republic after Damascus. It is situated in lat. 40° 12' N., long. 38° 68' E., at an altitude of 390 m/1275 ft., at the north-west extremity of the inland plateau of Syria and on the banks of a small river, the Quwayq (average rate of flow from 2 to 3 m<sup>3</sup> per second) which descends from the last foothills of the Taurus. It is surrounded by a vast chalk plain with a healthy though severe sub-desert climate with wide variations in temperature (winter average: 5° to 17° C.; summer average: 20° to 30°) and a low and irregular rainfall (annual average: 420 mm/16½ ins. spread over 40 to 50 days). The basic resources of this arid country come from the growing of wheat and cotton and the rearing of sheep; olive and fig-trees and vines also thrive there, and, in addition, in the immediate outskirts of Aleppo there are market gardens along the banks of the river, and pistachio trees (*L. Pistacia vera*), which have for centuries been a great speciality of the town. At all periods these local resources have supplied Aleppo with commodities for trade and for sale in the neighbouring regions and also the opportunity to develop manufacturing industries which are still active today: chiefly textiles and soap-making. In addition it is a market centre for the nomadic Arabs of the steppes of the northern Syrian Desert who bring to it sheep, alkalis and salt (from the lagoon of al-Jabbūl).

## I. EARLY HISTORY

Aleppo's importance as an urban centre dates largely from pre-Islamic times: it is certainly not an exaggeration to claim that it is one of the most ancient cities of the world and that no other place which is still inhabited and flourishing can boast of a comparable history. It is first mentioned in history in the

20th century B.C., under the same name as it now has (Hittite Khalap; Egyptian Khrrb; Akkadian Khal-laba, Khalman, Khalwan) and in conditions which clearly imply that, even at that early date, it already had a very long past behind it. It seems that a rural settlement was formed there in prehistoric times and that this village gradually gained ascendancy over the others in the area, owing to the relatively ample resources of its site and, in particular, to the presence there of a rocky eminence on which the citadel still stands today: it was this acropolis, one of the strongest and the most easily manned defensive positions in the whole of northern Syria, which enabled the masters of the place to extend control over their neighbours so as to found the "great kingdom" which was, in the 20th century B.C., to enter into relations with the Hittites of Anatolia. At first the relations of the two states were friendly; but at the end of the 19th century B.C. the Hittite king Mursil, attempting the conquest of northern Syria, "destroyed the town of Khalap and brought to the town of Khattusa the prisoners of Khalap and its wealth". Aleppo fell next under the power of the Mitannis (before 1650 B.C.) and about 1430 fell again into the hands of the Hittites, who formed there a principality which was destined to collapse at the same time as the Anatolian kingdom. The Aramaeans, who then settled in northern Syria, seem to have neglected Aleppo in favour of new localities which they founded in its neighbourhood. Nothing is heard of the town either in the period of the Assyrian or of the Persian domination; it seems that this temporary disappearance was the consequence of a more or less serious destruction of the settlement, which probably occurred at the time of the fall of the Hittite kingdom, and the effect of which was to reduce it to the status of a small rural town.

Aleppo owed its recovery to the conquests of Alexander and to the formation of the Seleucid kingdom. Seleucus Nicator, to whom it was allotted, founded on its site, between 301 and 281 B.C., a colony of Macedonians called Beroia, built according to a regular plan with rectilinear streets crossing at right angles, ramparts whose four sides formed a square, and a system of canals bringing water from the springs of Haylan 11 km away. Though Beroia never took an important part in the destinies of the Seleucid kingdom, this foundation nevertheless formed a decisive turning-point in the history of

the place: not only did it restore to it permanently the urban character which it had lost, but its layout was to be maintained in the Islamic town, some of its characteristic features surviving until the present day. Incorporated into the Roman province of Syria, which was formed in 64 B.C., Aleppo owed to its new masters a long period of peace and the construction of magnificent market buildings (an agora and a colonnaded avenue). A Christian community established itself there at a very early date and it would seem that the town had a very active economic life during the Byzantine period, for many Jews settled there and there grew up at this period, outside the walls, a suburb for caravan trains inhabited by Arabs of the Tanūkh tribe, whence its name, of Arabic origin, al-Ḥāḍir ("the settlement of sedentarised Bedouin"). But the Persian invasion of 540 A.D., led by the king Khusraw I in person, inflicted a serious blow on Aleppo: the citadel, into which the population had retreated, held out against the attack, but the town itself was burned. Its defences were rebuilt by Justinian, who built there a fine cathedral, but the sack of Antioch and the constant threat of Persian invasions inevitably prevented the recovery of the district.

## II. THE COMING OF THE ARABS

It was in 16/636 that the Muslim troops appeared before Aleppo, under the command of Khālīd b. al-Walīd: the Arabs in the suburb surrendered immediately, followed very soon by the rest of the inhabitants, in favour of whom Abū 'Ubayda signed a solemn pact guaranteeing them their lives, the preservation of the fortifications and the possession of their churches and houses, against their agreement to pay tribute. As a consequence of this the first mosque of the town was built on a public roadway: it was in fact the monumental arch which stood at the entry to the colonnaded street; its bays were simply walled in to transform it into an enclosed space. Attached to the *jund* of Ḥims, and then to that of Qinnasrīn, Aleppo played no administrative or political rôle under the Umayyad caliphate, although some governors of the province did reside in its neighbourhood. Its life seems to have been modified only very slowly by the Muslim conquest: not only did there remain a large Christian community, which continued to be split by the same dissensions as in the past, but in addition it was to be more than a century before the number of

Muslims in the region had increased enough to warrant the building of a monumental Great Mosque: it is not known whether it was al-Walīd I or his brother Sulaymān who was responsible for the construction of this building on the site of the ancient agora, which was to remain until modern times the chief place of worship in Aleppo.

The 'Abbasid caliphate was for Aleppo, as for the whole of Syria, a period of eclipse: it remained during this period a provincial centre, deprived of any political or administrative importance. It fell into the hands of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, was re-taken by the caliph, besieged by the Carmathians in 290/902–3, then from 325/936–7 became subject to Muḥammad al-Ikhshīd, who appointed as governor the chief of the Arab tribe of the Kilāb; this encouraged an influx of the Bedouins of this tribe into northern Syria, which was later to have regrettable consequences for the town. Disputed between Ibn Rā'iq and the Ikhshīdids, Aleppo was finally captured from the latter, in 333/944, by the famous Ḥamdānīd *amīr*, Sayf al-Dawla, who established himself there. Thus, for the first time since the advent of Islam, Aleppo became the capital of a state and the residence of a ruler, and was to share in the admiration accorded by historical tradition to the Ḥamdānīd prince because of his military successes against the Byzantines, and the brilliant literary activity which centred round the vast palace which he built outside the walls: al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, al-Wa'wa', Ibn Nubāta, Ibn Khālawayh, Ibn Jinnī and many others less famous, were to give to the court of Sayf al-Dawla a brilliance which at this time was unique. In contrast to this, the administrative methods do not seem to have been very favourable to the development of economic activity. Furthermore, during the winter of 351/962, the Byzantine Nicephorus Phocas appeared unexpectedly before the town, took it by storm after elaborate siege operations, and left it as a deserted ruin, having methodically pillaged and burned it for a whole week and either massacred its inhabitants or led them away captive.

It was to be a long time before Aleppo recovered from this catastrophe. Sayf al-Dawla abandoned it for Mayyāfāriqīn and on his death it passed to his son Sa'd Dawla Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sharīf, with whose accession there began the darkest period in the history of the town since the Muslim conquest. The ambitions of the regents, the covetousness of the neighbouring

*amīrs*, the successive Byzantine invasions, the Bedouin raids, and the repeated attempts of the Fatimids of Egypt to seize a place whose possession would have opened to them the route to Iraq all resulted in half a century of disorders, fighting and violence. Nor did the Fatimid occupation in 406/1015 bring any noticeable improvement, because of the revolts of the governors and the weakness of the central administration: the latter soon became so pronounced that in 414/1023 the Bedouin tribes of Syria decided to divide the country among themselves. In this way Aleppo fell to the chief of the Kilāb, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, whose descendants, the Mirdāsids, remained in possession of it for slightly over fifty years under the merely nominal suzerainty of the caliphs of Cairo. Ṣāliḥ himself was powerful enough to drive back the Fatimids temporarily as far as Palestine, but the division of his territories among his sons was the signal for an incessant series of quarrels and civil wars which brought anarchy and misery to the town and enabled the Byzantines and the Fatimids, each in turn appealed to for help by the rival claimants, to intervene continually in the affairs of the dynasty: thus in 457/1065 the Mirdāsīd Rashīd al-Dawla Maḥmūd succeeded in taking Aleppo from his uncle with the help of Turkish mercenaries enlisted with funds provided by the Byzantines.

### III. SALJUQS AND ATABEGS

It was in fact in the Mirdāsīd period that the Turks began to penetrate into Syria, as isolated bands which the Mirdāsīd princes often took into their service, but which usually roamed the region unhindered in search of plunder. Towards the end of the 5th/11th century, Aleppo itself was to come under the domination of the Turkish dynasties. In 462/1070, under the pressure of political circumstances, Maḥmūd had officially caused the *khuṭba* to be recited in the name of the 'Abbasid caliph al-Qā'im and of the Saljuq sultan Alp Arslān, in spite of the disapproval of the inhabitants, the majority of whom had from the time of the Ḥamdānids been adherents of the Imāmī Shi'ite doctrine. This attachment to the Saljuq empire remained a purely theoretical one, in spite of a military demonstration by the sultan outside the walls of the town in 463/1071. Some years later, on the occasion of a dispute between two Mirdāsīds for the succession, Sultan Malik Shāh sent against

Aleppo his brother Tutush, the Arabs of the Kilāb and the 'Uqaylid chief Muslim b. Quraysh, who had joined him, having secretly entered into negotiations with the besieged prince. Tutush raised the siege, to return to the attack in the following years. Unable to hold out against him, the last Mirdāsīd, Abu 'l-Faḍā'il Sābiq, surrendered the town to Muslim b. Quraysh (472/1079). This could be only a provisional solution, but the political conditions of the time, in a world which was in the process of change, meant that no stable situation could immediately be established: it was to be another half-century before the fate of Aleppo was settled.

On the death of Muslim b. Quraysh, which occurred in 478/1085 in an encounter with Sulaymān b. Quṭalmīsh, Tutush, at the request of the citizens of Aleppo themselves, hastened from Damascus in order to oppose Sulaymān's designs on the town, but he in his turn had to retreat before Malik Shāh; the latter, in 479/1086, sent to Aleppo as governor Qāsim al-Dawla Aq Sunqur, whose beneficial administration ensured for the town a few years' respite. This annexation of Aleppo to the empire of the Great Saljuqs was not to remain unquestioned, because of the political confusion created by the death of Malik Shāh. Tutush defeated and put to death Aq Sunqur, who had set himself up as defender of the rights of Berkyaruq as sultan, and thus made himself master of Aleppo; on his death in 488/1095, it passed to his son Riḍwān; Riḍwān was succeeded in 507/1113 by his son Tāj al-Dawla Alp Arslān, who was assassinated in the following year and replaced by his brother Sulṭān Shāh, a minor to whom there was given as regent one of his grandfather's slaves, Lu'lu' al-Yaya. This small Saljuq dynasty was not to gain any more than a purely local importance: the smallness of its territory, of modest dimensions and impoverished by so many years of wars, disorders and impositions, its rivalry with the Saljuq dynasty of Damascus, the resistance of the Shi'ite elements of the population (to whom were joined Ismā'īlīs, who were active and dangerous enough for it to be necessary to humour their demands), all combined to render its authority precarious. The princes of Aleppo were not, any more than were their neighbours, of a stature successfully to oppose the Crusaders, who were able to push forward their enterprises in northern Syria; they even came to attack the town itself (493/1100, 497/1103), which was forced to

submit to paying tribute to them. The assassination of Lu'lu' was to render this long political crisis still more acute: the Artuqid prince of Mārdīn, Il-Ghāzī, was chosen as regent, but he was prevented from any effective action by his distance from Aleppo, the ruined state of the town and the dissensions within the family. In 517/1123 moreover, Balak ousted his cousins from Mārdīn and deposed Sulṭān Shāh, but he died the following year without having been able to prevent the Crusaders from desecrating the Muslim sanctuaries on the outskirts of Aleppo. Abandoned, then besieged anew by the Crusaders allied to Sulṭān Shāh and to Dubays b. Ṣadaqa, the town was saved only by virtue of the energy and devotion of its *qādī*, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Khashshāb, who took over the administration and the direction of political affairs: it was he who, with the agreement of the population, appealed for help to the Atabeg of al-Mawṣil, Aq Sunqur al-Bursuqī, whose successors were to save Aleppo and to re-establish its position.

After some years of instability, the consequence of the assassination of al-Bursuqī, Aleppo was in 523/1129 officially given by the sultan to the famous Atabeg 'Imād al-Dīn Zangī, whose victorious campaigns were to have the effect of freeing it rapidly from the threat of the Crusaders. After him, his son Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd was not only to continue with increasing success his work of reconquest but also to lift the town out of the state of decay into which it had fallen. He was a prudent and just administrator, who knew how to instil into the population respect for governmental authority; he rebuilt the fortified walls, the citadel, the Great Mosque and the *sūqs* and repaired the canals; above all it was he who was responsible for the foundation of the first *madrasas* which were to support his efforts to restore Sunnī orthodoxy. It is true that in 516/1122 an attempt towards this had been made by the Artuqid Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, but it had encountered the opposition of the Shi'ites, who demolished the building as fast as it was erected. Nūr al-Dīn founded at Aleppo no fewer than six *madrasas* (including the Ḥallāwiyya *madrasa*, the former Byzantine cathedral transformed into a mosque by the *qādī* Ibn al-Khashshāb as a reprisal for the "atrocities" of the Crusaders, and the Shu'aybiyya *madrasa*, on the site of the first *masjid* founded by the Muslims on their entry into Aleppo). He entrusted the teaching in them to Ḥanafī and Shāfi'ī *fuqahā'* whom he invited

from Iraq and Upper Mesopotamia: Raḍī al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Kāsānī, Ḥusām al-Dīn al-Rāzī and Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn Abī 'Asrūn. His *amīrs* followed his example. With the *madrasas* were built also convents for the Sufis. The Sunnī propaganda movement thus begun increased in intensity: the failure of the coup attempted in 552/1157, during an illness of the *atābeg*, by the Shi'ite elements of the town with the connivance of his brother Amīr-i Amīrān, clearly shows that the action of the Turkish princes was not long in producing results. Nūr al-Dīn also founded at Aleppo a hospital and a *Dār al-'Adl* for his public judicial hearings.

On the death of Nūr al-Dīn, the youthfulness of his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'īl, encouraged the ambitions of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) who, having made himself master of Damascus, marched on Aleppo, but the authorities and the population, firmly loyal to the Zangid dynasty, held out against him and even appealed to the Ismā'īlīs for help, forcing him to abandon the siege. Only eight years later was he able to take Aleppo, the Zangids of Mosul, who had welcomed him on the death of Ismā'īl, being only too happy to hand it over to him in order to be able to regain possession of the Mesopotamian territories which he had taken from them (579/1183). Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn gave the town to his son Ghāzī, who administered it first as governor, then as ruler under the name of al-Malik al-Zāhir. Having extended his authority over all northern Syria, he was the first Ayyubid ruler who dared to arrogate to himself the title of *Sulṭān*, and the dynasty which he thus founded remained until the Mongol conquest powerful enough to oppose with some success the claims of al-Malik al-'Ādil, against whom it obtained support by means of an alliance with the Ayyubid kingdom of Mayyāfāriqīn and with the Saljuqs of Konya. Ghāzī himself, his wife, Ḍayfa Khātūn, and his *mamlūk* Toghrīl, who was proclaimed regent on Ghāzī's death, all displayed remarkable political qualities and were able not only to preserve Aleppo in the hands of the direct descendants of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, ousted everywhere else by those of al-Malik al-'Ādil, but also to make it the capital of a strong and prosperous state (annual revenue of the treasury in the middle of the 7th/13th century: about eight million *dirhams*), which was surpassed only by the realm of Egypt. This period marks the apogee of mediaeval Aleppo. Increased by new suburbs in which there lived the Turkish cavalry of the rulers,



its industries stimulated by the presence of the royal court, enriched by the trade with the Venetians whom the commercial treaties (1207, 1225, 1229, 1254) had authorised to establish a permanent factory there, its fortifications restored according to modern techniques, its citadel entirely rebuilt to become one of the most splendid works of military art of the Middle Ages, its canal system repaired and extended to reach throughout the town, and its *sūqs* enlarged, Aleppo became at this time one of the most beautiful and most active cities in the whole of the Muslim East. *Madrasas* continued to be built (the *Zāhiriyya madrasa* of Ghāzī; the *Madrasat al-Firdaws* of Ḍayfā Khātūn), as well as Sufi convents (the *Khānqāh* of Farafra, of Yūsuf II), both erected in a logical and sober style of architecture and also housing an intellectual life which was remarkable for its time, as is witnessed by the names of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardī, of Kamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAdīm, of ʿIzz al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, of Ibn Ṣalāḥ al-Shahrazūrī and of ʿAlī al-Harawī.

The reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf II was to mark at the same time the zenith and the collapse of the dynasty: chosen as sultan by the *amīrs* of Damascus, he annexed central Syria and began at the same time an open conflict with the Mamluks of Egypt, which was ended by the intervention of the caliph of Baghdad. But, on the other hand, Aleppo, which had already had to defend itself twice against armed bands of Khwārazmians, was attacked by the Mongols of Hülegü; abandoned by its ruler and by a proportion of its inhabitants, and taken by assault on 8 Ṣafar 658/24 January 1260, it was ruthlessly sacked, and Yūsuf II, taken prisoner by the Mongols, was put to death.

Occupied by the Mamluks after the battle of ʿAyn Jālūt, retaken by the Mongols, again recovered by the Mamluks, Aleppo was to remain under Mamluk domination until the Ottoman conquest; it was made by them the capital of a *niyāba* which came immediately after Damascus in the hierarchy of the provinces: corresponding roughly with the area of the former Ayyubid kingdom, it owed its importance to its geographical situation, on the northern frontier of the empire, whose protection it ensured. Nevertheless, the town recovered only slowly from the disaster it had suffered in 658/1260: the continual threat of a renewed Mongol offensive kept it in a semi-deserted state for nearly half a century; it was 32 years before the citadel was repaired and 130 years before the

destroyed fortifications were rebuilt. Once security had been restored, the revolts of its governors, the turbulence of the troops and the severe taxation system scarcely helped to restore its activity, and the ravages of the Black Death of 1348, soon followed by those of Tīmūr, completed its paralysis.

But from the beginning of the 9th/15th century, the destruction of the Armenian kingdom of Cilicia and of the Genoese factories on the Black Sea, through which the commercial traffic between Europe and Persia had passed, gave Aleppo a considerable economic advantage, which was very soon to make its fortune: the town became the starting point for the caravans which fetched silk from Gīlān to resell it to the Venetians in exchange for cloth of Italian manufacture, and thus enjoyed a vigorous impetus whose effect was to change its topography. While its *sūqs* grew and were provided with large *khāns* which are among the most remarkable and typical buildings of the town (the *Khān* of Abrak, the *Khān* of Özdemir, the *Khān* of Khayr Bak), vast and populous suburbs grew up along the caravan routes, doubling the area of buildings and necessitating the rebuilding further out of the eastern walls. In all of these suburbs there arose great mosques provided with minarets (the mosques of Altunbughā, of Aqbughā and of Manklibughā) and *zāwīyas* intended for the devotions of the Sufis, whose doctrines and practices were then very popular. One of these suburbs housed the Christians – Maronites, and especially Armenians – who served as brokers and dragomans to the European merchants.

#### IV. THE OTTOMANS

Occupied without fighting by the Ottomans after the battle of Marj Dābiq, Aleppo became the capital of a *wilāyet*, which corresponded to the *niyāba* of the Mamluks and whose governors had the rank of *mūr-i mīrān*. The rebel governor of Damascus, Jānbirdī Ghazālī, failed to capture Aleppo in 926–7/1520, which was incorporated in the Ottoman provincial system. The first detailed (*mufaṣṣal*) register in the *Daftar-i Khāqānī* is dated 924/1518; several other surveys were made during the 10th/16th century. During the period of Ottoman decline, from the late 10th/16th century, it suffered like other provincial capitals from the factional and political activities of the local military forces. For some years, the Janis-

saries of Damascus imposed their domination on Aleppo, from which they were finally expelled only in 1013/1604. Situated at a junction of routes, and adjacent to Turkoman, Kurdish and Arab tribal areas, Aleppo offered obvious advantages to rebels, and served as a base for the Kurd, 'Alī Jānbulāt, defeated in 1016/1607, as well as for Abāza Ḥasan Pasha, fifty years later. The domination of the local Janissaries was checked in the following century by the emergence (before 1180/1766) of a rival faction, the Ashrāf – a name which may signify no more than the retainers and clients of the Aleppine *naqīb al-ashrāf*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ṭāhāzāde, called Chelebi Efendi. There is evidence that the Ashrāf tended to belong to the higher social groups, while the Janissaries, assimilated to the townspeople, were petty artisans and tradesmen. The factional struggles continued after Chelebi Efendi's death (1786); in a notorious clash in 1212/1798, the Janissaries treacherously slaughtered a party of Ashrāf. The leader of the Ashrāf was now Ibrāhīm Qaṭārāghāsī, a former servant and protégé of Chelebi Efendi. On Bonaparte's invasion of Syria, he commanded a contingent of Ashrāf, sent to fight the French: there was a separate Janissary contingent. Ibrāhīm was twice appointed governor of Aleppo, but failed to perpetuate his power there, or to secure the ascendancy of the Ashrāf. The Janissaries regained power after his removal in 1223/1808, and although proscribed by the governor, Chapanoghlu Jalāl al-Dīn Pasha, in 1228/1813, remained a force in local politics. In 1235/1819 they combined with the Ashrāf to head an insurrection against the governor, Khurshīd Pasha. Even after the dissolution of the Janissary corps in 1826, they survived as a faction in Aleppo, as did the Ashrāf, until the mid-19th century.

During the whole of this period, in spite of the heavy taxation (treasury revenues farmed out in 991/1583–4, for the town proper: 3,503,063 *aqches*; total together with the surrounding villages: 17, 697,897 *aqches*), Aleppo did not merely maintain the commercial importance it had acquired under the last Mamluk sultans, but developed it to the point of becoming at one period the principal market of the whole of the Levant. The signing of capitulations with the western European powers led, in fact, to the opening of new factories there: beside the Venetians, who in 1548 had brought there their consulate and their commercial headquarters, the French in 1562,

the English in 1583 and the Dutch in 1613 also opened there consulates and trading offices which, throughout the 11th/17th century, were in fierce competition. Relegated to second place by the rapid development of Smyrna (Izmir) and by the Ottoman wars against Persia, whose effect was to cut it off from the regions with which it traded, and still more adversely affected by the efforts of the English and the Dutch to make Russia and the Persian Gulf the commercial outlets for Persia, Aleppo nevertheless continued to be a centre of worldwide importance, importing from Europe, via Alexandretta and Tripoli, manufactured goods (cloth, metals, chemical products, glass, paper, etc.) which it re-exported to eastern Anatolia, Kurdistan and Persia, exporting the products of its own industry (silks, cottons) and the raw materials supplied by its hinterland (drugs, cotton, nut-galls). In 1775, the total annual value of this trade stood at nearly 18 million gold francs, but after this date it declined continually because of the slowing down of the industrial and maritime activity of France, which had finally obtained a virtual monopoly over Aleppo. Another reason for this decline was the corrupt administration, and also the earthquake of 1822 which destroyed the greater part of the town; in addition, the constantly expanding place which the new trade with Asia and America was filling in world economy deprived the Levant of much of its former importance: in the period from 1841–46 the trade of Aleppo did not exceed even 2 million gold francs.

The intense commercial activity of its heyday was naturally reflected in a further extension of the *sūqs*, many of which were entirely rebuilt in cut stone; at the same time the governors of the town provided *khāns* to house the foreign merchants. These Ottoman *khāns* of Aleppo are among the best-preserved and most characteristic monuments of the town: some of them are attached to other buildings used for trade with which they form a homogeneous complex covering a vast area (e.g. the *waqf* of Dukagin-zāde Mehmed Pasha, 963/1555: a great mosque, three *khāns*, three *qayṣariyyas* and four *sūqs*, covering nearly three hectares; the *waqf* of Ibrāhīm Khān-zāde Mehmed Pasha, 982/1574: the customs *khān* and two *sūqs* consisting of 344 shops, the whole covering 8,000 m<sup>2</sup>); others, which conform more closely to the traditional type, are no less noteworthy (the *khān* of the Vizier, the *khān* of Kurt Bak). Thanks to these

building works of the Ottoman pashas, Aleppo possesses today the most beautiful *sūqs* in the whole of the Muslim world. The great mosques, built at the same time, which reproduce the building style current in Istanbul, show the same breadth of conception, the same lavish resources, and the same successful result (the *jāmiʿ* of Khusraw Pasha, and of Bahrām Pasha; the Aḥmadiyya *madrasa*, the Shaʿbāniyya *madrasa*, the *madrasa* of ʿOthmān Pasha). At the same time, as a result of the commercial activity in the town and the impoverishment of the country districts, which together produced a drift of the peasants to the town, new suburbs arose, inhabited by small craftsmen (weavers etc.), increasing the town to an area approaching that which it occupies today: at the end of the 11th/17th century, it contained about 14,000 hearths, a considerable figure for the time.

The installation of the European merchants had naturally been profitable to their habitual intermediaries: the Jews and more especially the Christians. The latter in addition, by acting as dragomans for the consulates, were able to obtain diplomas of immunity. Thanks to the activities of European missions, many of them became Roman Catholics (4,000 Catholics in 1709; 14,478 Catholics as against 2,638 non-Catholics in the middle of the 19th century). Their suburb grew, and middle-class houses were built in it which are among the finest in the town, and it even became a centre of intellectual activity. Thus, in many respects, the first half of the Ottoman period (10th/16th–12th/18th centuries) constituted the culminating point in Aleppo's history.

From 1831 to 1838 the Egyptian occupation by Ibrāhīm Pasha, which temporarily removed Aleppo from Ottoman administration, placed a heavy burden on the population because of the financial levies and the taxation which were imposed, but, here as elsewhere, it opened a new chapter in the history of the town. The revolt of 1266–7/1850, led by the leading inhabitants against the Ottoman governor, can be considered as the last spectacular manifestation of a social system which was already doomed. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, profound changes took place, under the influence of Europe, in social (schools, newspapers), administrative (the legal system) and economic life (the introduction of the tomato, and of kerosene and machines). New districts, planned and built in western style (ʿAzīziyya, Jamīliyya, al-Talal) grew up outside the old town and

attracted primarily the more Europeanised elements of the population: Christians and Jews. When Aleppo became linked by railway to Ḥamāt and Damascus (1906), and then to Istanbul and to Baghdad (1912), the proximity of the stations gave a new life to these districts, and today the centre of gravity of the town tends to move towards them.

## V. THE MODERN PERIOD

Joined to Syria at the end of the 1914–18 war, Aleppo increased in administrative importance but suffered a great economic crisis, being cut off by the new political and customs frontiers from the countries with which it had formerly been trading – Anatolia, Upper Mesopotamia and Iraq. This crisis was averted fairly rapidly by the discovery of new outlets for the commerce and manufactures of the town. The capital of a *muḥāfaẓa* or province, equipped with a very elaborate and methodically organised administrative machinery, and provided with many flourishing schools, Aleppo gradually became an industrial town (spinning and weaving mills) and a political and intellectual centre second in importance only to Damascus. Its continually expanding population, which in 1945 was approaching 300,000, even made it appear, immediately after the Second World War, that it had a future as great as its past.

The city has in fact grown to an estimated population of 2,250,000, the majority of it Muslim, both Sunnis and Shiʿites, but with a substantial minority of Christians, mainly Armenians and Greek Orthodox. The former Jewish community has all emigrated since the 1950s. Aleppo is now an important industrial centre, with such industries as silk weaving, cotton printing and food processing, but the new suburban area outside the old city developed in the 1940s and 1950s haphazardly and without planning. Aleppo has a University and a National Museum. It is also the administrative centre of Aleppo Province, a rich agricultural area, which extends from the Turkish frontier in the west to the Euphrates bend in the east.

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**ALEXANDRIA**, in Arabic al-Iskandariyya, a city of Egypt, one of the many cities of that name founded across the Ancient World, from Egypt to Central Asia and India, by Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C. The modern city of Alexandria is the second largest and second most important one of the Egyptian Republic, and its chief port. It lies at the western end of the Nile Delta in lat. 30° 11' N., long. 29° 51' E.

## I. THE ANCIENT PERIOD

Alexander founded the city when he spent the winter of 332–331 B.C. in Egypt, adding a western suburb to what had been the ancient Egyptian town of Rakotis. Under the Ptolemies, Alexandria flourished greatly as a centre of both Hellenistic and Semitic learning and science, and the Greek translation of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, was produced there. The library founded by the Ptolemies in the 3rd century B.C., and surviving till the 3rd and 4th

centuries A.D., was the most celebrated one of the Ancient World. Under the Romans, it became the leading provincial capital of the empire, second only to Rome itself, and with the advent of Christianity (tradition holding that St. Mark made his first Christian convert in Alexandria in the year A.D. 45), it continued as a city of culture, with a lively intellectual life.

## II. THE ARAB CONQUEST

It was seized from the Byzantines by the Persians in 616, and with the invasion of Egypt by the Arabs passed under their control in 642, requiring, however, a reconquest in 646. A considerable part of the Greek population of the city now migrated back to Byzantium. The new rulers, on taking possession, did not molest the inhabitants. The well-known story of the burning of the great library by order of the Caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, which is related by a 7th/13th-century Arabic author, cannot be accepted as historical. The Arab newcomers were at first overwhelmed by the city of Alexandria, whose buildings and monuments must have seemed to them the work of a superhuman power. Time and again we are told by the traditions that the city shone so brightly by night that the tailor needed no artificial light to thread his needle. The famous Arab geographer, Yāqūt, refuted this same assertion when he declared that the town was as dark as any other during the night. Its houses shone simply because they were coloured white, while the façades and throughfares were built of marble. Accounts by Arab writers of the 3rd/9th to 7th/13th centuries, when pieced together, give only a general description of Alexandria and materials for reconstructing the plan of the city are quite insufficient. It seems fairly certain, however, that the city retained its overall layout through the Middle Ages and up to the present time. Eight straight streets intersect eight more at right angles, producing a chess-board pattern of direct and continuous throughfares. The riches of antiquity were utilised by the new rulers as when, for example, during a monetary crisis at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the governor of Egypt allowed a copper statue to be melted down to provide metal with which to strike money. In the reign of the Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, the government made use of lead from an underground

tunnel, which still existed at that time in the city, in building the canal of Alexandria. A remarkable feature of mediaeval Alexandria, and one that was taken over from ancient times, was that the houses were built on columns, rising above one another in as many as three tiers. In this way, the city made full use of the land while securing its water supply by means of a carefully-planned subterranean system of canals, cisterns and wells. In winter Alexandria had and still has a fairly considerable rainfall, while in summer the waters of the Nile were directed and stored there.

The city of Alexandria was well fortified. There is no precise information about the origins of the mediaeval fortifications. When 'Amr b. 'Āṣ met with resolute resistance to his siege of the city, after the invasion of Manuel in 25/645, he swore to destroy the city's walls after its reconquest. The authenticity of such reports, however, may well be doubted despite their widespread repetition. A soldier with the circumspection of 'Amr b. 'Āṣ would hardly have wished to leave a frontier city as important strategically as Alexandria without the protection of a wall. We learn, moreover, that the 'Abbasid caliph al-Mutawakkil had Alexandria furnished with a city wall. Since the Arabic word *banā*, in mediaeval times, meant restore as well as build, we can draw no firm conclusions from this. Similar statements are made about Ibn Ṭūlūn, Saladin, al-Zāhir Baybars, al-Ashraf Sha'bān and others after them. Hence we may well question the assertion that 'Amr b. 'Āṣ left the city walls razed and assume that al-Mutawakkil, Ibn Ṭūlūn and the other rulers gradually added improvements to them. At the same time, the view that the walls were built in pre-Islamic times gains credence. It is particularly important for the history of the city that the new walls, supposedly erected by al-Mutawakkil, included about half the area of those which dated from the Hellenistic-Roman period. About a hundred towers were built along the walls in the Middle Ages and fitted out with suitable equipment including cannon. In addition, the city was protected by a moat in front of the walls.

The mediaeval seaport of Alexandria consisted of an eastern and a western harbour. The original island of Pharos was flanked by these harbours and joined to the mainland by a causeway seven stadia in length, hence known as the Heptastadium, which separated the harbours. On the north-eastern point

of the island stood the Pharos, the great lighthouse begun in the time of Ptolemy Soter. This famous building, the prototype of all our lighthouses and one of the wonders of the ancient world, survived the Arab conquests by several centuries. The Arab writers call it the *manāra*, *manār* or *fanār* and we are indebted to al-Balawī for a precise description of it dating from the year 561/1165. When the Pharos was destroyed in the course of various earthquakes, the port came, in the later Middle Ages, to be watched over from a knoll, Kom al-Nadura (*Kawm al-Nāzūra*), where the arrival and departure of the ships was noted. In 882/1447, under Sultan Qā'it Bay, a tower was built on the ruins of the Pharos which still bears his name.

It is worth remembering the remark of al-Mas'ūdī that the imperial anchorage on the eastern side of the eastern harbour, renowned in ancient times, was not used in the Middle Ages. For closer supervision of the eastern harbour, a second lighthouse was built. Construction began in the time of Sultan Qalāwūn or in that of his son, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, and was completed in 767/1365. The eastern harbour was strengthened by this addition. The western harbour, on the other hand, was protected by an iron chain. On grounds of security, the eastern harbour was reserved for Christian shipping and that from the "Abode of War", while the western harbour was for Muslim vessels. Entering the eastern harbour required particularly careful navigation. To reach the anchorage protected from wind and rough sea, ships had to sail close by the Pharos and hold hard to the western bank of the eastern harbour lest they plunge into the danger zone of submerged rocks. It was impossible to avoid these rocks by sailing around the eastern side because of the shallow water. The harbour authorities had pilots and launches to accompany the great Frankish ships to their anchorage. A wooden landing-stage connected the anchorage to the shore, by means of which the vessels could be loaded and unloaded. Anchoring in the western harbour raised no technical difficulties.

Apart from al-Abdarī's travel book (7th/13th century), none of the known oriental sources provides a detailed description of the city gates of Alexandria. Impressed by the achievement of the pre-Islamic period, al-Abdarī describes them as follows: "Their uprights and lintels, despite the extraordinary size of the gates, are made of hewn stone of wonderful

beauty and solidity. Every door-post is formed of a single stone, as is every lintel and step. There is nothing more astonishing than the collection of these stones in view of their immense size. The passage of time has not affected them or left any trace on them; they remain still in all their freshness and beauty. As for the panels of the gates, they are tremendously strong, clad inside and out with iron of the most delicate, most beautiful and most solid workmanship possible." The city had four main gates: Bāb Baḥr led to the Heptastadium and the eastern harbour while Bāb Rashīd (the Rosetta gate) was the eastern gate with the road leading to Rosetta and Fūwa. The southern gate was called Bāb Sidra (also called Ṣadr in the late Middle Ages), known to the western sources as Port du Midi or Meridionale, also as the Gate of Spices, Bāb al-Baḥar, or Gate of St. Mark. The caravans from the Maghrib and the Egyptian hinterland came and went through this gate. The fourth, Bāb al-Akhḍar or Bāb al-Khiḍr, in the northern section of the wall led to one of the city's three large cemeteries and was opened only once a week for visitors, on Fridays. There were to be found innumerable places of pilgrimage (*mazāra*) and the graves of scholars and pious men. In the western area of the city lay the royal buildings like the Dār al-Sulṭān (a magnificent complex going back to antiquity), Dār al-'Adl, Dār al-Imāra, Qaṣr al-Silāḥ and Dār al-Tirāz. Near the Dār al-Tirāz and opposite Bāb Baḥr lay the famous Arsenal of Alexandria which, however, by the later Middle Ages, no longer played any important part in the history of warfare. By this time it was used simply as a customs house.

Alexandria was at some distance from the Rosetta branch of the Nile, and governments were faced with the difficult problem of linking the city with the river, of securing the supply of Nile water, and of permitting and maintaining traffic with the Nile valley. In 331 B.C. a canal was dug between Alexandria and Schidia (present day al-Nahr al-Baḥrī) and, indeed, by using the Kanope branch of the Nile, joined Alexandria to the next branch of the Nile at the same time. Since the Kanope branch dried up, as a result, and could no longer supply the canal of Alexandria with water, the Bolbitine branch took over this function. This means that this development was complete some time before the Arab conquest of Egypt. The mouth of the canal which opened into the Nile became silted up from time to time. The

duty of the Muslim administration to keep the canal in good order was fulfilled only to a limited extent, and at times the people of Alexandria had to rely on their cisterns for their water supply as they had done in ancient times. In the 3rd/9th century, the canal was only twice cleaned out. Information about the canal of Alexandria during the Fāṭimid period is very scarce. We are rather better informed about the canal in the period of Ayyubid rule. In this period too, however, no decisive steps were taken for the utilisation of the canal throughout the year for irrigation and transport. Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars, and, to a greater extent, Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalawūn, gave special consideration to the significance of the canal for Alexandria and for state trade as well as for the fertility of the surrounding area. In the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, from 710/1310 until 770/1368, the waters of the Nile flowed to Alexandria all the year round. Sultan al-Ashraf Barsbay, too, took care to keep the canal in good condition and make it navigable throughout the year, partly with an eye to his own policy of trade monopolies. In the second half of the 9th/15th century, however, once again less attention was paid to the upkeep of the canal. The journey by Nile from Cairo to Alexandria usually took seven days. During the flood season, the Nile boats plied between Alexandria and the other towns of the Nile valley, especially Cairo and Qūs, the assembly points for goods from the Orient.

### III. DEMOGRAPHY AND ADMINISTRATION

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Alexandria. When the Arabs invaded the city some 40,000, or, according to other reports, 70,000, Jews were living there. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam puts the number of Greeks living there, after the conquest, at some 600,000 men (women and children not included), although he gave the total number of Greeks, without counting women and children, as 200,000, at the time of the conquest. Both these figures are unreliable. Bishop Arculf, who visited the city some 25 years after the beginning of Arab rule, wrote of the numerous population housed within the city, without giving any estimate as to its size. More reliable figures have come down to us from later times. The Jewish travellers, particularly, show a keen interest in establishing the number of their

co-religionists in Alexandria. Benjamin of Tudela (5th/12th century) puts the number of Jewish residents, at this time, at 3,000, while Ashtor notes that this figure includes only those from whom taxes were levied and assumes that the total number of Jews may be estimated at about 9,000. According to the writings of another traveller, dating from 886/1481, their number seems to have diminished to some sixty families. A few years later, another Jewish traveller put the number of the Jewish community at about 25 families (cf. E. Ashtor, *The number of Jews in mediaeval Egypt*, in *Journal of Jewish Studies*, xix [1968] 8–12). In the 13th century, the total population of the city was estimated at 65,000, which, however, decreased sharply in the middle of the 8th/14th century. In the years between 748/1347 and 751/1350, on several days people died at the rate of one to two hundred a day and the number rose to seven hundred at the height of the plague. The Dār al-Ṭirāz and Dār al-Wikāla were closed because of the lack of manpower and the absence of commercial traffic. The markets and customs houses, too, ceased to function. The city, however, was able to survive this catastrophe and the population, once more, rapidly increased. Frescobaldi put its number at 60,000 (786/1384), while in the same year Simon Sigoli estimated the population at about 50,000. These figures, despite their variations, show that the population was again on the increase. It is important to remember that the growth of the population of Alexandria was dependent, in the first place, on the development of the city's trade and was greater than that of any other city or region of Egypt, with the exception of Cairo where most of the army was stationed. As early as 788/1386, then, Alexandria was returning to prosperity after the plague.

In the mediaeval city, the central government, whose powers had accumulated in the course of time, was the source of authority. In the earlier Middle Ages, Alexandria had enjoyed a special position, as it had in former times before the Arab invasion. Henceforward, however, its governors were appointed by the central administration. Nevertheless, in these circumstances, the city remained either a *polis*, a self-contained administrative area, or was included in the western Egyptian coastal area (to which Libya also sometimes belonged). The governor of Egypt soon came to reside, for some of the time at least, in Alexandria. As a *polis* or provincial centre, Alexandria had a treasury which was usually administered by a

Muslim. Not infrequently at this time, however, the financial and civil administration was given over to Copts. From the documents which date from the first century of Arab rule, it is apparent that Copts were also nominated as governors of Alexandria; thus, for example, the Christian Theodosius was appointed to this office by the caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya.

During the governorship of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn (from 256/870), Alexandria was "independent". The special position of Alexandria lasted from that time until the 3rd/10th century and Grohmann rightly recognises in this some reflection of the position in Roman law whereby Alexandria, as a *polis*, lay outside the *kūra* of Egypt. It is in this light that we must understand the division of the 'Abbāsid budget for Egypt in 337/958 into Miṣr and Alexandria, as reported by Qudāma. Under the Fatimids, the governor of Alexandria went even further towards taking on the role of the erstwhile Augustalis by extending his authority over the province of Buḥayra. On this point, Grohmann's observations are at one with the historical development of the city. His view that the Crusades served so to diminish the importance of the city that an appointment as governor there should be understood as an indication of royal disfavour, is not, on the other hand, consonant with the facts. Certainly, the city continued to lose its independent position after the fall of the Fatimids but from the commercial and strategic point of view it regained its earlier importance. Through the international transit trade the city became a market for East and West. Some demonstration of all this is provided by the fact that, up to about the 3rd/10th century, a kind of public meeting was occasionally held in Alexandria concerning the acceptance of government precepts or to choose a Coptic Patriarch. In the first half of the 4th/11th century the Coptic Patriarch had to transfer his seat from Alexandria to Cairo. In the later mediaeval period it was not unusual for the city to be given as an *iqṭā'* or land grant.

The governor was a military official while the *qādī* was both a civil official and a judge in the religious sphere. He is sometimes referred to in the chronicles as *ra'īs al-madīna* (town chief) and in times of crisis had sometimes to govern the city himself, though this in no way altered the status of the city. In Mamluk times, the governor of Alexandria had the rank of an *amīr ṭabikhāna*. After the attack of Peter of Lusignan in 766/1365, the Mamluk government paid more

attention to the city and established an *amūr mi'a* there; i.e., the governor of Alexandria had the same rank as those of Tripoli, Ṣafad and Ḥamāt in Syria.

In Alexandria, the Mālikī school was prevalent. This resulted from the proximity to North Africa and the activity of the Maghribīs and Spanish Muslims who settled in Alexandria in the later Middle Ages, driven before the *Reconquista* in Spain and the upheavals in North Africa. In the later Middle Ages, the *qāḍī 'l-quḍāt* was almost always a Mālikī. In a few instances the government choice fell on a Shāfi'ī. Nevertheless, the three schools, Mālikī, Shāfi'ī and Ḥanafī were all represented in the administration of justice. Several sultans saw to it, in addition, that foreign as well as native merchants had legal protection as far as their persons and goods were concerned. Thus, for example, it was said of the sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, with regard to the judge of Alexandria, Ibn Miskīn, that he supported a Frank in 735/1334 in opposition to his own official. Sometimes the diplomas of appointment for *qāḍīs* give prominence to these responsibilities in respect of the merchants as well as the usual stipulations about the just treatment of citizens. The *muḥtasib* was ranged alongside the governor and *qāḍī* with responsibility for the supervision of the market and those concerned in it, producers as well as retailers, though his powers were, *de facto*, restricted to the sphere of smaller transactions.

Alexandria was an important source of revenue for the state or, rather, for those in power. Besides the high duties paid by the Kārimīs and the foreign merchants, the state authorities made money from almost every transaction and every shop in the city. The state profited too from the mint, Dār al-Ḍarb, where native and foreigner alike had their metal coined. Particular groups of participants in trade, such as money-changers, sailors, brokers, interpreters, auctioneers and donkey-drivers made good profits in this city and paid high taxes. Camel-drivers, or rather the leaders of caravans, had to pay their tax, the so-called *maks al-manākh*, outside the city where their camels were halted. As we have no statistics regarding this tax, we must be content with a single example. According to the Qāḍī al-Fāḍil, the annual revenue of the city from duties came to 28,613 dīnārs, not an exaggerated claim in view of other reports from the 14th and 15th centuries. The sultan's *ḍiwān* levied some 50,000 dīnārs in tolls, duties, etc. from ships

entering Alexandria in 721/1321 and this, according to the text, did not even include all the ships that arrived. Fidenzio of Padua's observation (dating from the 8th/14th century) coincides with the information given by a governor of Alexandria in the 9th/15th, that Alexandria was worth 1,000 *frinti* or dīnārs a day to the sultan in the 8th/14th century. This, of course, was during the trading season. Al-Maqrīzī writes of a Frankish vessel which paid 40,000 dīnārs duty on its cargo, in Alexandria, in 703/1303, an incredible sum when one thinks of the total naval fleet of a single Frankish merchant republic. It seems no exaggeration to estimate the total duties brought to Alexandria, for the state, by the foreign trade, at about 100,000 dīnārs a year.

#### IV. COMMERCE

Alexandria was always an important centre for cloth manufacture. Its products reached as far as India. It is believed that much of the fabric donated by the Popes to Italian churches in the 8th and 9th centuries was produced by workers in Alexandria. Besides the looms (for linen, silk, wool and cotton), *buyūt al-ghazl*, there were also workshops for raw silk, *buyūt al-qazzāzīn*. The city housed a large public workshop for brocade, Dār al-Ṭirāz, which produced primarily for the luxury requirements of the court, not least for official gifts such as those to the Mongol Khān or for the annual clothing of the Ka'ba with costly material. In 767/1365, the Dār al-Ṭirāz was burnt down in a Crusader raid but was restored again by the government. Private individuals too played an important part in the commercial life of the city by virtue of the fabrics they produced. We have a representative example: an 8th/14th century loom owner, the *faqīh* Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Abī Bakr al-Damāmīnī, had invested his capital in the production of silk fabrics. Made bankrupt by a fire at his home, he fled to Upper Egypt for fear of his creditors and there was arrested and brought back to Cairo. His creditors met together to come to some arrangement. Al-Damāmīnī later went off to India to find better opportunities for advancement but died there in 827/1423.

The outstanding achievements of the Alexandrian weavers were widely recognised. When the government of Yemen planned to expand its production of silk, it asked for an Alexandrian weaver to be sent



there. The authorities in Egypt agreed to this request and in 788/1386 sent a mission to Yemen. According to one report there were some 14,000 looms in Alexandria at the beginning of the 9th/15th century. By 837/1434, in the course of the general decline of the city, the number had fallen to 800. At that time, imports of cheaper fabrics rose, in particular those of cloth from Flanders and England from which the Venetians made considerable profit.

That glass was manufactured in Alexandria cannot yet be established from the mediaeval Arabic sources. Nevertheless, a page of the famous Atlas compiled by French scholars who accompanied Bonaparte's expedition to Egypt in 1799, shows that glass was produced in Alexandrian workshops. Excavations at Alexandria, at Kōm al-Dikka, prove that besides local products, ceramics were imported from North Africa, Persia and elsewhere. Chinese porcelain too was brought to Alexandria. In contrast to Damietta, the production of Egyptian sugar had no place in Alexandria, though during the later Middle Ages sugar was exported by way of Alexandria to the West. Not all the wine handled in Alexandria was imported; Egypt's own wine production (namely in Cairo) developed to such an extent that in the 9th/15th century it came to occupy an important place in the state commerce of Alexandria. From Alexandria, the only Egyptian outlet for the substance, the *Maṭjar al-Sultānī*, exported about 5,000 *qinṭārs* of alum a year. Ibn Mammātī, in his capacity of inspector of the alum monopoly, sold some 13,000 *qinṭārs*, in 588/1192, to the Christian buyers who had come to Alexandria; a record in the selling of Egyptian alum. There was a state monopoly too on natron (sodium hydroxide), essential for cloth manufacture, which was sold to weavers in Cairo and Alexandria at prices which were kept very high.

Alexandria enjoyed a special place in international trade. While it is still difficult to establish the existence of this international trade with regard to Alexandria before the 5th/12th century, it can be seen quite clearly in this century itself. Natives of various Christian countries were to be found gathered there. Benjamin of Tudela names 28 Christian cities or countries alleged to have commercial representation there. William of Tyre says that Alexandria, in the second half of the 12th century, had become the emporium of East and West. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote that Alexandria was one of the most important ports in

the world: "In the whole world I have not seen its equal, save only those of Kaulam and Qālīqūt in India, that of the infidels at Sudāq in the land of the Turks, and the harbour of Zaytūn in China." Neither the establishment of the Crusader states nor that of the Mongol empire affected its position in world trade or detracted from it.

Amongst the Western trading powers that, according to Benjamin, sent ships to Alexandria were Amalfi and Genoa which, together with Venice, seem to have been the earliest in the field; connections with Venice may have gone back as far as 828, when the relics of St. Mark were allegedly removed from Alexandria to Venice. After them are mentioned Pisa, Ragusa, Provence (presumably via Marseilles) and Catalonia. It is known that ships of Alexandria went as far as Almeria in Spain at this time. Each of the Christian groups of traders had its own *fondaco* or factory and warehouse (Ar. *funduq*), and the Venetians, as the leading commercial power of the Mediterranean, obtained a second one in the course of the 13th century, besides other privileges; they also had a *fondaco* at Fūwa. The Venetian community had its own consul, as had likewise the Pisans, Genoese and Marsiliots. A Florentine consul was established in the 15th century. Close supervision was exercised over the three main gates of the city by the Alexandrian authorities. In the 1180s, the Maghribī traveller Ibn Jubayr could only enter the city after the harbour authorities had registered his name and customs officers had examined his goods. When these formalities had been completed, the foreign merchant could make for his own *fondaco* and deposit his goods there. Foreign merchants enjoyed extraterritorial privileges, the bases for the later capitulations (*imtiyāzāt*). But as well as Western European traders, those from Byzantium and Ethiopia are mentioned, plus Muslim merchants from North Africa, Granada, Syria and lands further east.

Al-Nuwayrī, who lived in Alexandria in the 7th/14th century, has left us the longest account of the city that has yet come to light. But he was not as concerned with the trade of this cosmopolitan city as was al-Maqrīzī with that of Cairo. The short accounts which have come down to us, however, give us a clear and detailed picture of the markets of the city. First of all, it must be noted that the customs house with its 30 storerooms was not simply concerned with the imposition of duties and with

harbour control but was also used for public auctions. The Dār al-Wikāla, too, served business in a special capacity. Notices of this Dār in Alexandria can be traced back as far as the 4th/10th century. It is the Dār Wikālat Bayt al-Māl which is meant, a public administration which ensured the imposition and collection of taxes for the head of state, supported state trade and took a decisive role as an intermediary, selling only, in principle, imported merchandise to the Muslim entrepreneurs. As in every major Islamic city, in Alexandria each essential trade had its own market. Among the most important markets in the city were the Sūq al-ʿAṭṭārīn and al-Bahār, the pepper and spice market, probably the centre of the Kārimī merchants in Alexandria. The Sūq al-Murjāniyya, the market of the coral-workshops and of the dealers in coral, was one of the most important coral markets in the whole of the Mediterranean area. The coral was worked in Alexandria: in its home port, a pound of coral cost five silver *dirhams*; after being worked in Alexandria its price rose to three or four times this amount. The chief outlets in the south were Aden and Calicut. The coral brought from Alexandria found good markets in the Ḥijāz, in Yemen, in India, and, particularly, in the Far East.

The linen trade had its own special *sūq*, the Wikālat al-Kittān, where dealers handled large transactions. The slave market of Alexandria was no less important than that of Cairo. The money-changers, fruit-merchants, druggists (perfumers), sellers of sugared almonds or nuts, confectionary, dried fruits etc. always found a ready market. Alexandria had, in addition, like Cairo, a Sūq al-Qashshāshīn (flea-market = bric-à-brac bazaar), like the so-called Funduq al-Jawkandar and Funduq al-Damāmīnī, which were private *funduq* undertakings. The city's requirements of grain were met by imports supplementing home-grown supplies, as can now be shown from the documents. The bazaars of the candle and wax-dealers, like those of the dealers in wood, were especially important. Individual markets and bazaars were designated according to the race or nationality of the merchants. Thus, for example, the Sūq al-Aʿājim was that of the Persian merchants concerned, notably, with the import of silk fabrics and costly goods to Alexandria. Alongside these important and specialised markets and *funduqs*, Alexandria was provided with a number of lesser, more general markets where pedlars with their tables and stalls, their cooking vessels and sauce-

pans, sold their comestibles to the passers-by. Some dealers had old-established businesses on the Pharos peninsula and along the canal of Alexandria, where the ships entered, as well as in the town.

We should not overlook the fact that big business in the city was not completely monopolised by the state, nor confined to men; women too participated in commerce. We know of a woman of such standing among the merchants of Alexandria that she was known, as a result, by the nickname of Sitt al-Tujjār (lady of the merchants). She died of plague in 749/1348.

In Islamic history, political office and participation in business were by no means mutually exclusive. Leading members and high officials of the governments of Egypt were closely involved in big business. The organisation of the *Matjar al-Sultānī* (state trade), supposed to have been founded in the time of the famine which occurred under the reign of the Fatimid caliph al-Mustansīr, had in fact already existed and played a particularly important part during the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. Besides slaves and wood, the *Matjar* imported iron and sheet metal, tin, silver and copper (later gold as well), and offered in return monopoly goods such as alum, natron, corn, flax, and later spices, sugar and soap. Egyptian mummies, too, found a ready market in Alexandria. Still, the principal line of business was the pepper trade. F.C. Lane has established that, before the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, Venetian vessels loaded, on average, about 1,500,000 pounds of pepper a year.

The merchant always made a good living. No less a person than the renowned *faqīh* and ascetic, al-Ṭurṭūshī, came to Alexandria to preach against the money-lenders. It was not just by chance that the Alexandrian money-changers were in a position to lend Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalawūn the sum of 10,000 *dīnārs* in the year 737/1337: sufficient proof, in itself, of the profitable nature of the business conducted by these brokers, whose operations were not restricted to the changing of money.

Lively trade and flourishing crafts allowed the city to amass wealth. The "guilds", or, more exactly, the social groups involved in trade, did not function as independent entities with certain rights, which would have permitted them to defend their rights against the aggression of the city governor or the central authority. In fact, it was the central government

who kept the power of decision and solved their problems while promulgating the laws and the regulations according to the juridical principles of Islam. Although the form of government and religious ideology hemmed in the dynamic development of Alexandria, it was commerce, with its traditions, its methods and its "code of honour", which determined the rhythm of city life. It is possible to construct a picture of attitudes prevalent among foreigner and native in the city and in regard to the city, not simply from the chronicles and treaties but from references in the most belletristic forms of literature like, for example, *The Thousand and One Nights* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and hence to draw inferences as to forms of government, methods of taxation, and the sort of risks involved in business.

In Alexandria the state was ultimately in charge and rule was exercised in the interest of the state rather than that of the community. There is no clearer demonstration of this than the revolt of 727/1326 and the events leading up to it. Heavy tax burdens led to a rebellion which was put down with the utmost severity. It is worth noting the penalties which the government inflicted on the Kārimī merchants (among them the sons of al-Kuwayk or al-Kawbak, a respected Kārimī merchant), as well as on the silk dealers and producers. In addition to the fines and confiscations which were exacted, totalling about 260,000 dinars, the leaders of the revolt were crucified.

The diminishing power of the ruler and the weakness of the army in the city, nevertheless, came to be felt to the disadvantage of business and the execution of trade for, in troubled times, soldiers and mercenaries had extended their protection, *himā*, to those involved in business, for large sums of money. Alexandria came to concentrate primarily on long-distance trade. Those who conducted this trade, the government officials, the long-distance dealers or big businessmen, were far removed from the retail dealer with his shop in the bazaar supervised by the *muhtasib*.

## V. CULTURAL LIFE

The early and later Middle Ages formed two clearly distinct periods in the religious and scholarly life of Alexandria. In the early Middle Ages, the Christian and Jewish elements were supreme. After the Arab

conquest the Greek Patriarch was forced to leave the city, the Coptic Patriarch entered and the Copts supported the Arabs in their later struggle with the Byzantine Empire and fell in with their plans for expansion. This period prepared the ground in Alexandria for the development of Islamic science – here a centre was established for the translation of the cultural works of antiquity which were of immense value, providing a basis for Islamic culture and its spiritual achievements. In respect of purely Islamic science, which, as al-Sakhāwī maintained, began first with al-Silafi, Alexandria was dependent on Fustāt and Cairo. At that time, men journeyed to the capital of Egypt to study the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*. The *wazīr* Riḍwān b. al-Walakhshī founded a Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria in 531/1137 (before the end of the Fatimid period) in which the *faqīh* Abū Ṭāhir b. 'Awf taught *ḥadīth*. Scarcely fifteen years later 'Ādil b. al-Sallār established a second Sunnī *madrasa* in Alexandria for the famous al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Silafi. As is well known, Saladin himself later studied the *Muwatta'* of Mālik with him. It was Saladin too who, after his assumption of power, had a school, a hospital and a hostel built for the Maghribīs, where they could find free lodging, teachers of various subjects, medical care and financial support. The sources refer repeatedly to the names of various *ribāṭs* in the city, while the *faḍā'il* literature on Alexandria expounds the strategic importance for Islam of this border harbour.

It was not only statesmen and warriors, however, who contributed to Islamic culture, the merchant too played a part. Several wealthy merchants of Alexandria were famous by virtue of their generosity and donations. They built mosques, schools and other religious foundations and encouraged Muslim learning. From the circle of famous Muslim Kārimī merchants of Alexandria we may take as an example 'Abd Laṭīf b. Rushayd al-Takrītī (d. 714/1314). He had a mosque and *madrasa* built, called after him Dār al-Ḥadīth al-Takrītiyya, a place of learning for *ḥadīth* and Shāfi'ī *fiqh* (the school is known today as the Masjīd Abī 'Alī). The contemporary sources write with delight of the Kārimī merchant family of al-Kuwayk who could provide the cost of building a mosque or school with the profits of a single day's business.

Alexandria can look back on many renowned legal and religious scholars, poets and poetesses, Sufis

and *murābiṭūn* housed within its walls: Ibn Qalāqīs, Ibn ‘Aṭā’ Allāh, al-Sakandarī, al-Shāṭibī, Ibn al-Munayyar, Ibn al-Mujāwir, Ibn al-Ṣawwāf, Ibn Sulaym, Ibn Qāsim al-Nuwayrī, Abu ‘l-Ḥājib, al-Qabbar and al-Būṣīrī.

Of the famous mosques of Alexandria, mention should be made of the Maṣjid al-‘Umarī or Jāmi‘ al-Gharbī (the former Theonas Church) and the Maṣjid al-Juyūshī or al-‘Aṭṭārīn (formerly the Church of St. Athanasius). Various details are known too about the *ribāts* of the city such as the Ribāṭ al-Wāsiṭī (d. 672/1274), to the east of the mosque of Abu ‘l-‘Abbās al-Mursī, (outside the city wall on the northern side), now a *zāwiya*, and also the Ribāṭ Siwār, where Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Shāṭibī (d. 672/1274), a *muqri’* and *zāhid*, had his quarters. Outside the city and in the vicinity of the Rosetta gate the scholar and *mutawallī al-thaghr*, Ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Hakkārī (d. 683/1284), built a *ribāṭ* which was called after him. He was also buried nearby. Towards the end of the 7th/13th century the *khānqāh* of Bīlik al-Muḥsinī, was built by local Sufis.

## VI. MORE RECENT TIMES

The decline of Alexandria seems to have antedated the Portuguese discovery of the Cape route to India which has traditionally been considered as deleterious to the economic health of Egypt and its trade. In 1365 Alexandria had been surprised and plundered by the Lusignan king of Cyprus, but already by then, the city had become one of the second rank in the Mamluk dominions, seen in the quite minor rank of its governors. The Mamluk sultans rarely visited it. They made constant use of it as a place of imprisonment for political offenders. Cannon for the port’s defence were introduced in the 15th century, and the penultimate sultan Qāṣawh al-Ghawrī, fearing an attack by sea from the Ottomans, sent a large quantity of ordinance to it in 922/1516. Whereas one European traveller had in the 14th century described Alexandria as exceedingly beauteous and strong, and carefully kept, according to another in 1507, there was “nothing to be seen but a prodigious heap of stones...and it was rare to see a continuous street.” By 1634 the town was “almost nothing but a white heap of ruins.”

The city’s loss of importance is reflected in its marginality in the operations of the English Levant

Company, certainly in comparison with its flourishing factories in 17th century Smyrna and Aleppo. The French had secured a foothold in Alexandria in the mid-16th century. Harvey Millers was appointed English consul there in 1583, and the Company made determined efforts to share in the trade of Egypt. But Millers’ consulate proved very brief. Another attempt to appoint a consul was made in 1601, but English merchants failed to get a permanent place in Alexandria because of the jealousy of their French and Venetian rivals; in any case, England’s main export, woollen cloth, was unattractive for a hot climate like that of Egypt.

Changes in local topography also had an effect on Alexandria’s fortunes. As noted above, it was joined to the Nile by means of a long canal, which tended to become silted up. Instead of regular dredging, it was allowed from time to time to silt up and was then re-excavated. Hence as a rule, it was only open to traffic for part of each year; by 1800 the period was a mere twenty days. When communication by water was cut off altogether, the people of Alexandria had to depend on their cisterns of collected rainwater for drinking water.

After the Ottoman conquest, the taxation from Alexandria was not included in the revenue from Egypt but sent directly to Istanbul. In the 16th century it served as a port for Turkish galleys which were dismantled and hauled on to the shore during the winter. These vessels marauded as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and the prisons of Alexandria held many captured Christians. Spolia from the ruins of the town now began to be exported and used for beautifying mosques and other public buildings at Istanbul.

Bonaparte’s Egyptian expedition landed at Alexandria in 1798, but the town was captured by the British and held by them till 1803, briefly captured again in 1807 but relinquished when the British expedition to support the Mamlūk beys failed. Muhammad ‘Alī restored its fortunes; he rebuilt its walls in 1811, reconstructed the Mahmūdiyya canal giving access to the Nile in 1819, built the arsenal or dockyard in 1829 and encouraged development in various ways. The population in 1828 is said to have been 12,500, still smaller than that of Rosetta, but by 1882 it had increased vastly to 233,000. The completion of a railway between Alexandria and Cairo and then to Suez, and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and

new harbour works in the 1870s, all helped the city's florescence. Numerous foreign merchants, speculators and financiers could now live under the capitulations of the European powers and could exploit the new direct trade with India and the markets for Egyptian cotton in industrialising Western Europe.

During the nationalist outbreak of 1882 led by 'Urābī Pasha, Alexandria was bombarded by the British fleet, and the decades of the British occupation of Egypt now began. Alexandria retained its status as the summer capital of Egypt and its pre-eminence as the base for foreign commercial interests. It was the chief Allied naval base in the eastern Mediterranean in World War I and likewise in World War II. British forces left Alexandria in 1946. Its industrial expansion continued, and the population almost reached the million mark by the later 1940s. The University of Alexandria was founded in 1942 as King Faruq University. During the post-1953 Republican régime, Alexandria has continued to expand as an industrial centre, with 40% of all Egypt's industry in the Alexandrian governorate. The present population was estimated in 2005 at over four millions.

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**ALGIERS**, in Arabic al-Jazā'ir, literally “the islands,” a city of mediaeval origin on the coast of North Africa, now the capital of the Algerian Republic. The Arabs applied what was the name of a group of islets off the northwestern coast of the Bay of Algiers to the town on the mainland opposite to the islets when they founded the town in the 4th/10th century. It became the capital of the Regency of Algiers under the Ottoman Turks, and has remained so ever since. It was the French who, after their arrival in 1830, transformed the old name into “Alger”, whence the English form Algiers. The city is situated in lat. 36° 47' N., long 3° 4' E.; the islets which gave the city its former name have now all but one been connected to the shore or have been obliterated by harbour installations and quays.

Algiers was originally founded by the Phoenicians as one of their North African trading colonies. The discovery in 1940 of an important collection of Punic coins, of lead and bronze, found in the district neighbouring the port (J. Cantineau and L. Leschi, *Monnaies puniques d'Alger*, in *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres* [1941], 263–77), is ample proof of the existence of a Phoenician warehouse, probably on the islets, with the name Ikosim (the isle of owls, or thorns).

The Latin form of the name, Icosium, was given to the Roman settlement on the mainland. It is not known at which date this was founded, but it was not an important settlement, although it was the seat of a bishopric. We find no more reference to it in historical documents after the fifth century. According to al-Bakrī (*Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, 66, tr., 156), its ruins existed until the 4th/10th century, when the Muslim town was founded by Buluggīn b. Zīrī. Its name then became Jazā'ir Banī Mazghanna, after a Ṣanhāja tribe which lived in the region at that time. It remained a town and port of little importance

up to the early 10th/16th century, and was tied to the vicissitudes of the central Maghrib. It should nevertheless be mentioned that at the beginning of the 6th/12th century the Almoravids erected a large mosque in Algiers, and that from about 771/1370 onwards, under the protection of the Tha'ālība Arabs in the Mitija area, it gradually asserted its claim to be an independent town. In the 9th/15th century its protector was a holy figure, Sīdī 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Tha'ālībī, and since that time he has been the patron saint of the city. The mediaeval population of Algiers consisted in part of refugees who had fled from the Christian reconquest of Andalusia, and many of them established themselves as corsairs in Algiers.

In 1510 the Spanish imposed a levy on the city and occupied the islets, in order to suppress the corsairs. When it was realised that this would seriously impair their prosperity, the inhabitants and their leader, Salīm al-Tūmī, sought for an ally to help rid them of the Spanish yoke. When they summoned to their aid the Turkish corsair, 'Arūj, who at that time ruled over Jijelli, he did not succeed in expelling the Spaniards, but seized the town himself and established it as his principal base of operations. The Spaniards attempted to recapture Algiers in 1516 and 1519, but met both times with failure. After the death of 'Arūj in 924/1518, his brother Khayr al-Dīn assumed power, but was not able to maintain control over Algiers, and fell back to Jijelli, 926–31/1520–5. Then in 1525 Algiers once more sent out an appeal for assistance, and on 27 May 1529 he succeeded in capturing the fortress (Peñon) which the Spaniards had built on the largest of the islets. The Peñon was pulled down, and the materials served to construct the breakwater which henceforth connected the islets with the mainland. Such was the origin of the port of Algiers. Meanwhile, Khayr al-Dīn had bequeathed his conquest to the Ottoman Empire, which was thus in possession of an important naval base in the western Mediterranean. It is therefore in no way surprising that Charles V attempted to capture Algiers in 1541. On 23 October his forces landed on the shores of the Bay of Algiers, and after crossing the Wādī Harrāsh, they set up camp on a hill overlooking the town, now known as the Fort l'Empereur but at that time called Kudyat al-Ṣabūn. But during the night of 24–5 October the weather quickly deteriorated, and half the landing fleet was lost in the consequent

storm. Defeated as much by the elements as by the Turks, Charles V had to abandon much material and withdraw from Algiers, leaving it with a legend of invincibility which remained intact until 1830.

Charles V's expedition served as a warning signal to the Turks, and they proceeded to extend and perfect the fortifications, especially on the seaward side, until Algiers literally was a stronghold. Moreover, it had become the capital of a considerable Turkish province, enjoying a *de facto* independence of Istanbul, and was the operating base for many corsairs. All these factors contributed to its great economic and social development, beginning in the 16th century.

Very little is known of the town before the Turkish period. It is probable that the original city wall extended as far as the Turkish wall but that the density of building within it was much smaller. The Turkish wall, 3,100 m long, was continuous, even on the coastal side, and was equipped with towers and a moat. Five gates gave access to the city: the Fishery gate and the Fleet gate on the harbour side, Bāb al-Wād to the north, Bab 'Azzūn to the south, and Bāb Jadīd to the south-west. Various other fortifications reinforced the protection offered by the city-wall: the Qaşba, which in 1816 became the residence of the Dey of Algiers, was built in 1556 to replace a Berber stronghold on the summit of the triangle which the town then formed; the Fort l'Empereur, built on the site of Charles V's camp; and several forts and gun emplacements between the Bāb al-Wād and Bāb 'Azzūn gates along the sea-front, and on the former islets which guarded the port. The Turks built a palace called the "Janīna" (small garden) inside the town, and the former archbishop's palace was at one time part of it. It was used as the Regent's residence until 1816. In the lower part of the town, near the port, several Turkish dignitaries and wealthy privateers built themselves luxurious dwellings. The interior decoration, depending on the owner's taste and his gains from piracy on the high seas, was often of European origin (Venetian crystal, Dutch porcelain, etc.). Many mosques were built, the best-known of which is the Jāmi' Jadīd (also called the "Fishery Mosque") in Government Square (1660). There were also a number of barracks and prisons in the town, but virtually nothing remains of them.

We have at hand only rough estimates of the population at various times. Haëdo put it at 60,000

at the end of the 16th century. According to P. Dan, it was 100,000 in 1634, whereas Venture de Paradis counted only 50,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century, and 30,000 in 1830. It was always a very mixed population; there were the Turks, mainly members of the army and administration (numbering 4,000 in 1830); the Kulughlis (Turkish Kuloghlu, cf. the Awlād al-Nās in Egypt), offspring of Turks and the indigenous women of that region, and held in disdain by the Turks; old families with long roots in the past, often of Andalusian or Moorish origin, forming the bulk of the commercial and artisan classes; the numerous Kabyles, forming the labouring class; Saharans from Biskra and Mzāb; Jews (4,000 in 1830), the richest of whom had come from Leghorn in the 18th century, and enjoyed the privileges of Europeans; some European businessmen and consuls; finally, those taken prisoner from the Christians, numbering as many as 25,000 in 1634 (P. Dan).

As far as is known, the town of Algiers was placed directly under the authority of the head of government. The judicial system was administered by two *qādīs*, one from the Ḥanafī school for the Turks, the other from the Mālīkī school for the Arabs. They worked together with a tribunal of rabbis and consuls representing the Jewish and Christian minorities. The police-force was staffed by *shāwshs* (Tkish. *chāvūsh*) under the command of a *bāsh shāwsh*. There was one force to deal with the Turks, and another to deal with the Moors. To complete the administration, there was a chief of municipal services (*shaykh al-balad*), and a *mizwār*, more or less the equivalent of the *muhtasib* in Moroccan cities. The Jewish community had its own institutions, and Europeans enjoyed the protection of their respective consuls.

Privateering was the great industry of the Turkish era. After having taken the form of a holy war or of a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Spanish Empire of Charles V and Philip II, it became a profitable business and therefore the chief occupation of the inhabitants. All sections of the population drew benefit from it – the state, which received part of the takings, private individuals, who formed companies to arm the ships, and the general populace, who gained from the generosity of the privateers and wealthy ship-owners. It also led to an influx of adventurers, usually of European or Mediterranean origin, who “took to the turban” to

give vent to their spirit of adventure and taste for plunder, or simply to avoid falling into the hands of slave-traders. It has been estimated that there were 8,000 renegades in Algiers in 1634. Such piracy often provoked reprisals from the European powers. They generally took the form of naval bombardments of Algiers, some of which caused serious damage. The Spaniards bombarded it in 1567, 1775 (the ensuing landing did not succeed) and 1783, the Danes in 1770. The main attacks came from France (1661, 1665, 1682, 1683, 1688) and England (1622, 1655, 1672). After having been largely suppressed by the end of the 18th century, privateering experienced a revival during the wars of the French Revolution and the First Empire, and the British consequently carried out further shellings in 1816 and 1825.

The French invasion of 1830 had been prepared in 1808 by Major Boutin, an engineering officer sent by Napoleon to make a first-hand report of the conditions necessary to carry out such an operation successfully. There had been a long-standing dispute in the early decades of the 19th century over a commercial transaction between Algiers and France, and in the course of a discussion in 1827 in the Kasbah of Algiers about these claims, the Dey Ḥusayn struck the French consul Deval with his fly-whisk. The French government of Charles X first blockaded Algiers from the sea and then, in June–July 1830, French forces landed on the shore of the Sīdī Farrūsh peninsula, and on 5 July the town surrendered.

There thus began 132 years of French rule in Algiers, although it was several decades before Algeria as a whole was brought under French dominion. The European element in the city’s population now began to grow, with a substantial immigration of French and other Europeans. For many years the French population lived within the existing urban boundaries, but as the town’s population increased, it overflowed northwards and southwards, and the growth of the city in general gradually despoiled the open spaces and gardens which had formerly surrounded Algiers. A University of Algiers was founded in 1859, and during the French period its Faculty of Oriental Studies played a prominent role in research on Islam in North Africa.

During World War II, Algiers became the provisional capital of Free France after the Anglo-American landings there in November 1942, and remained thus until Paris was liberated in August

1944. Algerian nationalist protest broke out in 1953, and there was civil warfare in the country until on 1 July 1962 Algeria achieved independence. A substantial part of the city population of European stock left, and the old-established Jewish community had already largely emigrated to Israel, but population losses here were more than made up by migration into the city by Arab and Berber country dwellers, and this continuing process has brought the population of metropolitan Algiers up from over 1,100,000 in 1970 to what was in 2004 estimated at over three million.

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**AMMAN**, in Arabic, 'Ammān, a city in the highland region to the east of the Jordan river valley, that known in earlier Islamic times as the Balqā', and specifically, in the vicinity of the small, seasonal stream of the Wādī 'Ammān. It is situated in lat. 31° 57' N., long. 35° 56' E.

The site has been occupied since earliest times. The Citadel Hill (Jabal Qal'a) is undoubtedly the site of the ancient city often referred to in the Old Testament as Rabbath Ammon "Rabba of Ammon," i.e. it was the site of the Biblical people of Ammon (cf. Deut. iii, 11), who gave the later town and city

its name. Of this ancient city little now remains save some tombs on the hill sides, and a short stretch of Iron Age city wall, perhaps 9th or 8th century B.C. The early Israelites (ca. 1300 B.C.) failed to secure control of either the city or the district until the determined assault of David in the 11th century B.C. During this attack occurred the episode of Uriah the Hittite, whose name was still traditionally associated with the site in the 10th century A.D. (al-Maqdisī, 175). Under Solomon, Amman regained its independence. In common with the rest of the country it became a vassal of Assyria during the 8th and 7th centuries B.C., but maintained a precarious independence during the Babylonian period. When Ptolemy Philadelphus (285–227 B.C.) conquered the town he renamed it Philadelphia, by which name it was known in Roman and Byzantine times. The Seleucid King Antiochus III captured it about 218 B.C. In the first century B.C. Amman joined the league of the Decapolis, and the Nabateans occupied the city for a short time, but were driven out by Herod the Great about 30 B.C. From him the Romans took over and rebuilt it on the standard Roman provincial plan, with theatres, temples, Forum, Nymphaeum and a main street with columns. Some of these monuments still exist. In Byzantine times Amman was the seat of the Bishopric of Philadelphia and Petra, one of the sees of Palestina Tertia under Bosra. This title is still held by the Greek Catholic Bishop. (For details of ancient history, see Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Philadelphia*.)

Excavations on the Citadel on the site of the present Museum have shown that it was still flourishing when it was captured by the Arab general Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān in 14/635, almost immediately after the fall of Damascus, and on the Citadel at least there were some fine private houses of the Umayyad period. These are of some importance archaeologically, as only the palaces of the Umayyad caliphs have so far been excavated, and they give us the first evidence of how the ordinary man lived in this period. There is also a square Ghassānid or Umayyad building on the Citadel.

In common with the rest of Jordan, a decline apparently set in with the removal of the caliphate from Damascus to Baghdad. Ibn al Faqīh, 105, writing in 292/903, mentions Amman as belonging to Damascus. Al-Maqdisī, writing some 80 years later (375/985) gives a rather full account of the city as it then was. Al-Maqdisī puts the town in the district



of Filasṭīn and calls it the capital of the Balqā' district. Yāqūt in 622/1225 refers to it as the city of Dakiyanus or the Emperor Decius, and connects the legend of Lot and his daughters with Amman. He still calls it one of the fruitful towns of Filasṭīn and capital of the Balqā'. But al-Dimashqī, writing about 699/1300, assigns it to the kingdom of Karak and says that only ruins remain. Abu 'l-Fidā', writing a mere twenty years later, says "it is very ancient town, and was ruined before the days of Islam". It is difficult to account for this sudden drop in the town's fortunes, for no historical or natural catastrophe has been recorded from this period. Thereafter writers are silent on the subject of Amman, and when the first western travellers started to penetrate east of the Jordan in the early 19th century, it was no more than a very small village. In 1878 a group of Circassian refugees from the northwestern Caucasus was settled there. At this time, Amman was administratively in the Ottoman *sanjaq* of the Balqā', within which al-Salt was much more significant than Amman; the latter remained a mere handful of houses for many more years.

The first systematic exploration of the town and its environs was that made by Major Conder and his party in 1881, when the ruins of the mosque with a square minaret, perhaps the one mentioned by the al-Maqdisī, were still standing. They were still there when the much fuller survey of Butler was carried out in 1907, but he considered the main wall to have been either Roman or Byzantine. Exactly when it was destroyed cannot be ascertained, but probably soon after the first World War.

In 1921 Amman became the capital of the mandated state of Transjordan, now placed under the Hashemite Amir 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn. When Transjordan, now called Jordan, became an independent state in 1946, the capital Amman entered on a period of rapid growth, above all, because of the flight thither of refugees from Palestine in 1948–9. This influx caused both demographic and political problems for the Hashemite monarchy. There was considerable damage caused to the city during the abortive Palestinian uprising in its streets in September 1970. Amman has nevertheless continued to expand greatly as a political, industrial and communications centre, and now has a population of 1,700,000 (2005 estimate). Of its past, the only

significant remains now are the citadel and the well-preserved Roman amphitheatre.

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**ANKARA**, in Arabic script Anqara, in Classical Antiquity, Ancyra, in Saljuq and early Ottoman times, Engüriye, Engüri, Engürü (forms which appear on coins minted there), in older Western usage, Angora, a city of Asia Minor. Situated in lat. 38° 55' N. long. 32° 55' E., at an altitude of 835 m/2,740 feet, it is now the capital of the Turkish Republic.

It is located at the northern edge of the central Anatolian plain, with the Köroğlu mountains to the north and the Tuz Gölü depression to the south, some 20 km/125 miles south of the Black Sea. Three small rivers rise near it and unite as the Ankara Suyu to join the Sakarya river as it flows eventually to the Gulf of Izmit and Sea of Marmara. It is at the foot of and on the slopes of a mountain which lies north to south and rises towards the north, being crowned at the summit by an extensive citadel and castle. This summit is 978 m/3,076 ft. and 110 m/360 ft. above the valley of the neighbouring Hatip Deresi. The other side of the valley is flanked by a second hill called Hızırlık (Khüdirlıq).

Ankara has probably always been a centre for the caravans going through Anatolia in all directions, and thus also a political centre. The old town – dating back to prehistoric times – was situated on the plateau of the castle hill; it gradually spread over the slope outside the fortifications and even to the western side of the plain at its foot. The original layout of the castle itself may well date back to the prehistoric period. In its present form it dates back to Byzantine days, and it was frequently extended and restored in Saljuq times. Its walls contain many ancient remains. There are three distinct parts: the

“outer castle” (Dish Qal’e) which can be reached by the Hişār Qapısı, whose walls encircle the castle to the south and to the west; the “inner castle” (Ich Qal’e), a fairly regular rectangle; and, on the crest of the mountain to the north, the citadel, called Aq Qal’e (“white castle”).

Ancyra, at one time the capital of the Galatian tribe of the Tectosages, and later within the sphere of power of the Pontic King Mithridates, was finally incorporated into the Roman Empire in the year 25 B.C. It was then embellished with the buildings required by a Roman town. Of those which survive, the one deserving most mention is the temple of Roma and Augustus, erected on older foundations. On its walls we find the most famous of all antique inscriptions, the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, an account (in Latin and in Greek) given by the Emperor Augustus of his reign. In Christian times, the temple was converted into a church; in Muslim times, the building was the seat of a Dervish saint, Hājī Bayrām Walī, whose *türbe* and mosque stand beside the ruined temple. A column (Bilqīs Mināresi) erected by Emperor Julian (or Jovian?) should also be mentioned. The foundations of a large Roman bath have recently been discovered on the road towards the north (to Çankırı). In the year A.D. 51 Ancyra was visited by St. Paul, who founded one of the oldest Christian communities there, that to which he addressed his *Epistle to the Galatians*. Christianity survived in this town until the First World War.

In 620 Ancyra was taken by the Persian King Khusraw II Parwīz on his campaign against Asia Minor. After his defeat near Niniveh in 627 he had to withdraw from the country, hence also from Ancyra. Subsequently Ancyra, capital of the Bucellarian theme, frequently suffered at the hands of Arab raiders. As early as 654, the Arabs held the town for a short space of time. In 806, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd besieged and plundered the town; as did his son, al-Mu‘taşim, in 838. In 871 the town was plundered by the Paulicians of Thephrike (Diwrigi), and in 931 it was threatened by the Arabs of Ṭarsūs.

Ancyra came under Turkish supremacy after the Emperor Romanus IV was defeated by the Saljuq sultan Alp Arslan, near Malāzgerd, in 1071 (the exact date is not known – the city was still Byzantine in 1073). During the First Crusade, however, it was reconquered for the Byzantine Emperor by Raymond

of Toulouse in 1101. Soon afterwards (it is not known exactly when), the city reverted to the Turks: first the Saljuqs; then, in 1127, the Dānishmendids; and finally, after the death of the Dānishmendid Malik Muḥammad Ghāzī (1143), back to the Saljuqs. When the Rūm Saljuq empire was divided up under Qılıj Arslan II (1190), Ankara went to his son Muḥyī ‘l-Dīn Mas‘ūd. In 1204, however, it was taken from him by his brother Rukn al-Dīn Sulaymān Shāh, who re-united the Rūm Saljuq empire. The oldest datable work of Rūm Saljuq art is of the time of Prince Mas‘ūd (Şafar 594/December 1197–January 1198), a wooden *minbar* in the so-called ‘Alā’ al-Dīn mosque in the fortress of Ankara.

After the death of the Sultan Kaykhusraw I in 1210, his son ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Kayqubād, revolting against his elder brother, the Sultan ‘Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs I, obtained the fortress of Ankara. After a year’s siege, however, the city had to surrender to the other brother and Kayqubād was imprisoned in Malatya, whence he returned only after the death of Kaykāwūs in 1219 to succeed to the throne. His reign (1219–37) introduced the golden age of the Rūm Saljuq empire. It is commemorated by the “White Bridge” (Aq Köprü) over the Chubuc Suyu, of 619/1222, an hour’s journey to the north-east of Ankara. This bridge connects Ankara with Beypazar and the west. It cannot be stated with any degree of certainty whether the beautiful bridge over the Qızıl Irmağ near Köprüköy (to the south-east of Ankara) on the road to Qırşehir and Qayseri, the Cheshnigir Köprüsü, is of the same period. It bears no inscription but its name may well refer to the *amīr* Sayf al-Dīn Ayna Chāshnegīr who is repeatedly mentioned by Ibn Bībī, e.g. in connection with the handing over of Ankara to Kaykāwūs I.

The large so-called Arslan-Khāne mosque, outside the gate to the fortress (which may be regarded as the main congregational mosque for the area of the city lying outside the fortress), dates from the late Saljuq period, when the empire had sunk to the position of a protectorate of the Mongol Il-Khanid empire of Persia. It is a mosque with wooden pillars and with open beam work, containing a beautiful wooden *minbar* which was donated by two brothers belonging to the Akhīs in the year 689/1290. It also contains a *mihrāb* with beautiful faience facing. The Qızılbaş Jāmi‘ is of roughly the same period.

Its *minbar* bears an inscription of 699/1299–1300 mentioning a certain *amīr* Ya‘qūb b. ‘Alī Shīr as donor. He was possibly a member of the Turkmen dynasty of the Germiyan-oghlu. Towards the end of the 13th century Saljuq rule appears to have been merely nominal, whilst other rulers made their influence felt in Ankara, such as the Germiyanid Ya‘qūb and the members of the Akhī fraternity.

In the beginning of the 14th century, after the collapse of the empire of the Rūm Saljuqs, Ankara belonged to that part of Anatolia which was incorporated into the Mongol Il-Khanid empire of Persia. There are coins made in Ankara for the Il-Khanids from the year 703/1304 to 742/1342. There is also a Persian inscription of the Il-Khanid Abū Sa‘īd (over the entrance to the fortress) dated 730/1330, in which the taxes payable by the population are recorded. The Il-Khanid rule extended over the area towards the west, beyond Ankara, as far as Siwrihisār. After the collapse of that empire, Ankara belonged to the territory of the *amīr* (after 1341, Sultan) Eretna of Sīwās, and his descendants. It may be assumed, however, that the rule over Ankara of both the Il-Khāns and the Eretnids was merely one of military occupation and tax collection, whilst the actual government remained in the hands of rich merchants and craftsmen of the city who were able to exercise considerable influence through the Akhī organisation. The Akhī Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 751/1350) appears to have been the most prominent personality. He made donations to the main mosque in Ankara, the Arslan-Khāne mosque, and he lies buried in a *türbe* beside this mosque. In the inscription on his wooden sarcophagus (now in the ethnographical museum in Ankara), he calls himself *akhī mu‘azzam*.

According to John Cantacuzenus (ed. Bonn, iii, 284), Ankara is supposed to have been occupied for the first time by the Ottomans in 1354 under Süleymān, the son of Orkhan, but the Ottoman chronicles make no mention of this. This occupation, if it occurred, can only have been a temporary one. It was not until the beginning of the reign of Murād I (762/1361) that Ankara became Ottoman. The early chronicler Neshrī (ed. Taeschner, i, 52, ii, 80 (57) reports that Ankara was at that time in the hands of the Akhīs, and that they handed it over to Murād Beg. Murād’s rule in Ankara in the year 763/1361–2 is proved by an inscription in the ‘Alā’ al-Dīn mosque in the fortress. In the early days of

Ottoman rule, the wealthy Akhī families seem to have retained some influence in Ankara, as we can gather from inscriptions in the mosques they built (such as that of a certain Akhī Ya‘qūb of 794/1391 and a certain Akhī Evran of 816/1433). Later on there is no mention of them. On 20 July 1402, there took place, on the Chubūq Ovası, north of Ankara, the battle in which Tīmūr defeated Bāyezīd I and took him prisoner. During the time of the subsequent fights between Bāyezīd’s sons, Ankara belonged to the area of Mehmed Chelebi. On various occasions he had to defend the city against his brothers, in 1404 against ‘Isā Chelebi, in 1406 against the *amīr* Süleymān. During the quarrels between Bāyezīd II and his brother Jem, the governor of Ankara decided in favour of Jem in 1482, until Bāyezīd succeeded in conquering the city. During the reign of Ahmed I, Ankara became the centre of a revolt led by a native of the town, a robber chieftain by name of Qalender-oghlu. This revolt spread over most of Anatolia (1607) until it was put down by the Grand Vizier Quyuju Murād Pasha in 1608.

The most prominent figure in Ottoman Ankara is Hājīr Bayrām Walī (753–833/1352–1430), the founder of the Sufi order of the Bayrāmiyya. His *türbe* and the mosque belonging to it (an attractive building with a tiled roof and a flat wooden ceiling inside, built in the beginning of the 15th century) are close up against the ruins of the temple of Augustus.

There are a number of small and medium-sized mosques of Ottoman times in Ankara. Amongst these some are worthy of special mention, such as the ‘Imāret Jāmi‘ (built in 831/1427–8 by a certain Qaraja Beg, perhaps the one killed in the battle of Varna in 848/1445) in the style of an ancient Ottoman mosque on a ⊥ shaped plan, and the mosque of Jenābī Ahmed Pasha, also called Yeñi or Qurshunlu Jāmi‘. This was built in 973/1565–6 by Sinān, the greatest of Ottoman architects. It has one dome, and beside it stands the *türbe* of its founder (d. 969/1561–2; concerning mosque and *türbe* see E. Egli, *Sinan, Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit*, Stuttgart 1954, 86–8). Other ancient buildings of Ottoman times which deserve a mention here, are the *khān* (Qurshunlu Khān, *waqfiyye* of 1159/1746; see A. Galanté, *Ankara tarihi*, ii, 133) and the *bedistān* beside it, which are halfway up the fortress hill. Both these were in ruins until recently, when they were restored for use as a museum of antiquities.

In Ottoman times, Ankara was the capital of a *sanjaq* (*livā*) of the *eyālet* of Anadolu. In the beginning it was at the same time the capital of the *eyālet*, until Kütāhiya took over this function. Under the re-organisation of the internal government in the *Tanzīmāt* times (law of 7 Jumādā II 1281/7 November 1864), Ankara became the capital of a *wilāyet* with the *sanjaqs* of Anqara, Yozgad, Qırşehir and Qayseri. The *sanjaq* of Anqara had the following *qaḍās*: Anqara, Ayash, Bala, Zir, Beypazar, Jibuqābād, Haymana, Sifriḥiṣār, Mihalīchiq, Nallihan and Yabanābād.

Since 1892, the town has been connected by railway with Ḥaydarpasha, opposite Istanbul. Before the First World War it was a small town; Cuinet gave 27,825 inhabitants for *ca.* 1890, with a Christian minority of *ca.* 10%. Other reports about the number of inhabitants of Ankara agree with this. The figure 70,000, given by Sāmī Bey Frāsherī, *Qāmūs al-a'lām*, i, 439, was undoubtedly exaggerated.

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire towards the close of World War I, Istanbul and other western parts of the Empire were occupied by the victorious Allies. In the anti-Ottoman nationalist reaction led by Muṣṭafā Kemāl (the later Atatürk), the National Congress met at Sivas in eastern Anatolia in June 1919, but in October it moved the seat of the nationalist government to Ankara, entered by Kemāl on 27 December 1919. On 13 October 1923, the Great National Assembly declared Ankara to be the capital of Turkey.

As the national Capital, Ankara developed considerably over the next decades, although Istanbul remained the cultural and intellectual centre of Turkey. Ankara has subsequently continued to be an important crossroads for commerce, with a modern communications system (road, rail and air), and by 1965 it had surpassed Izmir as Turkey's second largest centre for industrial production. As well as being the national capital, Ankara is also the administrative centre of an *il* or province of the same name, an area productive in agriculture and stock-rearing, including for sheep and goats, the latter animals producing their long silk hair, the famed Angora mohair. Educational institutions include Ankara University, founded in 1946; Hacitepe University, founded in 1967; and the Middle East Technical University founded in 1956. The population was, according to the 2000 census, four millions.

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## B

**BAGHDAD**, in Arabic Baghdād, a city of central Mesopotamia which existed in Antiquity but which enjoyed an efflorescence as the capital in Iraq, from the mid-8th century A.D. onwards, of the Islamic ‘Abbasid caliphate. It lies in lat. 33° 26' N., long. 44° 23' E., on both banks of the Tigris at the point where that river and the Euphrates come, in their respective middle courses, the nearest to each other. Temperatures at Baghdad are high, from 45° C/114° F to 50° C/121° F in summer, and around –3° C/26° F to 0° C/31° F in winter. During World War I, the British and Indian expeditionary force which landed in southern Iraq in autumn 1914 was in late 1915 besieged in Kūt al-‘Amāra, which fell to the Ottoman forces in spring 1916; but operations were resumed in autumn 1916 and Baghdad was captured from the Turks in March 1917. In 1920 the state of Iraq was set up under a British mandate and the Hashemite prince Fayṣal b. al-Ḥusayn installed as king. Baghdad became the capital of the new monarchy until the bloody coup of 1958 by ‘Abd al-Karīm Qāsim brought the monarchy to an end and ushered in a period of despotic rule culminating in the régime of Ṣaddām Ḥusayn.

### I. ORIGINS

The name Baghdad is pre-Islamic, related to previous settlements on the site. Arab authors realise this and as usual look for Persian origins. They give different hypothetical explanations, the most common of which is “given by God” or “Gift of God” (or the Idol). Modern writers generally tend to favour

this Persian derivation (cf. Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 10–11). Others tend to give the name an Aramaic origin meaning, “the home or enclosure of sheep” (Y. Ghanīma and A. Karmalī in *Lughat al-‘Arab*, iv, 27; vi, 748). Delitzsch favoured an Aramaic origin without explaining the meaning.

A legal document from the time of Hammurabi (1800 B.C.) mentions the city of Bagdadu (Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, no. 197 l. 17). This indicates that the name was in use before Hammurabi and definitely before any possible Persian influence. Bag and **Hu** are rendered by the same sign. However, a boundary stone from the time of the Kassite King Nazimaruttaš (1341–1316 B.C.) mentions the city Pilari on the bank of “Nahr. Sharri” in the district of Bagdadi. This with the mention of Bagdatha several times in the Talmud makes Bag the more acceptable reading (*Jewish Encyc.*, art. *Baghdad*). Another boundary stone of the reign of the Babylonian king Mardukapaliddin (1208–1195 B.C.) mentions the city Baghdad. Adad-nirari II (911–891 B.C.) plundered places amongst which was Bagda(du). In the 8th century B.C. Baghdad became an Aramaean settlement. Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 B.C.) mentions Bagdadu in connexion with an Aramaean tribe. From all this, is only fair to admit that the origins of the name are not clear. The fact that Bag was adopted by the Persians about the 8th century B.C. to denote “God”, and that it figured in personal names does not change the situation.

Al-Manṣūr called his city Madīnat al-Salām (city of peace), in reference to paradise (Qur’ān, VI, 127; X, 26). This was the official name on documents, coins,

weights, etc. Variations of the name, esp. Bughdān and appellations such as Madīnat Abī Ja'far, Madīnat Manṣūr, Madīnat al-Khulafā' and al-Zawra' were used. Al-Zawra' seems to be an old name as the *Kitāb al-Fakhrī* states. Arab authors state that al-Manṣūr built his city where many pre-Islamic settlements existed, the most important of which was the village of Baghdad, on the west bank of the Tigris north of Ṣarāt. Some consider it of Badūryā and refer to its annual fair, and this would help to explain why al-Karkh (see below) was later the quarter for merchants. A number of old settlements, chiefly Aramaean, were on the western side in the vicinity of al-Karkh. Among these were Khaṭṭābiyya (by Bāb al-Shām), Sharafāniyya, and north of it Wardāniyya which became within al-Ḥarbiyya quarter, Sūnāya near the junction of Ṣarāt with the Tigris (later al-'Atīq) Qaṭuftā at the corner where the Rufayl canal flows into the Tigris, and Barātha where the al-Karkhāya canal branches from the 'Isā canal. Three small settlements were between the al-Karkhāya canal and Ṣarāt, i.e., Sāl, Warthālā (later Qallā'in quarter) and Banāwrā. Al-Karkh itself (Aramaic *karkha* meaning a fortified town) takes its name from an earlier village, which Persian traditions attribute to Shāpūr II (309–79 A.D.).

According to Xenophon, the Achaemenids possessed vast parks in the district of Baghdad (at Sitake). Arab authors refer to two such gardens (cf. al-Khaṭīb, 28; Mustawfī, 40). Near the mouth of the 'Isā canal, there was a Sasanid Palace (*qaṣr Sābūr*) where al-Manṣūr later built a bridge. The old bridge (*al-qanṭara al-'atīqa*) across the Ṣarāt canal, south-west of the Kūfā gate, was Sasanid. On the eastern side, Sūq al-Thalāthā' and Khayzurān cemetery were pre-Islamic. There were some monasteries in the area which are pre-Islamic like Dayr Mārfathion (al-Dayr al-'Atīq) where al-Khuld palace was built, Dayr Bustān al-Quss, and Dayr al-Jāthalīq near which Shaykh Ma'rūf was buried.

None of these ancient settlements attained any political or commercial importance, so that the city of al-Manṣūr may be regarded as a new foundation. Baghdad is very often confused with Babylon by European travellers in the Middle Ages and sometimes with Seleucia, and appears in their accounts as Babel, Babelionia, etc. The erroneous application of the later name to Baghdad is likewise common in the Talmudic exegetic literature of the Babylonian Geonim (in the 'Abbasid period) as well as in later

Jewish authors. Pietro della Valle who was in Baghdad (1616–17) was the first to refute this error, widely spread in his time. Up to the 17th century, the name Baghdad was generally known in the West in the corrupted form Baldach (Baldacco) which might be derived from the Chinese form of the name.

## II. THE NEW FOUNDATION

The 'Abbasids turned to the east and looked for a new capital to symbolise their *dawla*. The first caliph, al-Saffāḥ, moved from Kufa to Anbār. Al-Manṣūr moved to Hāshimiyya near Kufa, but he soon realised that the turbulent pro-'Alid Kufa was a bad influence on his army, while Hāshimiyya was vulnerable, as was proved by the Rāwandiyya rising. He looked, therefore, for a strategic site. After careful exploration, he chose the site of Baghdad for military, economic and climatic considerations. It stood on a fertile plain where cultivation was good on both sides of the river. It was on the Khurasan road and was a meeting place of caravan routes, and monthly fairs were held there, and thus provisions could be plentiful for army and people. There was a network of canals which served cultivation and could be ramparts for the city. It was in the middle of Mesopotamia, and enjoyed a temperate and healthy climate and was fairly safe from mosquitoes. Apocryphal stories about its merits and al-Manṣūr's destiny to build it found circulation later. Baghdad was to succeed Babylon, Seleucia and Ctesiphon and to outshine them all.

Al-Ya'qūbī (278–891), and Ibn al-Faṭḥ (290/903), give early detailed descriptions of Baghdad by quarters, while Suhrāb (*ca.* 900 A.D.) describes the network of canals in the area. The city with its fortifications and its inner plan looks like a big fortress. There was first a deep ditch, 40 *dhirā's* (= 20.27 m) wide, surrounding the city, then a quay of bricks, then the first wall 18 *dhirā's* (= 9 m), at the base, followed by a space 56.9 m in width (= 100 *dhirā's*) left empty for defensive purposes. Then came the main wall of sun-burnt bricks – 34.14 m high, 50.2 m wide at the bottom and 14.22 m at the top – with great towers numbering 28 between each two gates, except those between the Kufa and Basra gates which numbered 29. On each of the gates a dome was built to overlook the city, with quarters below for the guards. Then came a space 170.70 m wide where houses were built. Only officers and

loyal followers (*mawālī*) were allowed to build here, and yet each road had two strong gates which could be locked. Then came a simple third wall enclosing the large inner space where only the caliph's palace (Bāb al-Dhahab), the great mosque, the *diwāns*, houses of the sons of the caliph, and two *saqīfas*, one for the chief of the guard and the other for the chief of police, were built. To ensure control of the city and facilitate communications internally and with caravan routes externally, the city was divided into four equal parts divided by two roads running from its equidistant gates. The Khurasan gate (also called Bāb al-Dawla) was to the north-east, the Basra gate to the south-west, the Syria gate to the north-west and the Kufa gate to the south-east. To get to the inner circle, one had to cross the ditch and to pass five doors, two at the outer wall, two huge doors at the great wall and one door at the inner wall (see al-Ya'qūbī, *Buldān*, i, 238–42). Ancient imperial traditions are also noticeable in the plan. The seclusion of the caliph from his people, the grandiose plan of the palace and the mosque to show the greatness of the new *dawla*, the division of the people in separate quarters which could be locked and guarded at night, all testify to that. Al-Manṣūr granted to some devoted followers and captains tracts of land by the gates outside the city, and gave his soldiers the outskirts (*arbād*) on which to build, and granted some of his kinsfolk outlying places (*aṭrāf*).

The glory of the Round City was the Green Dome, 48.36 m high, towering over the palace with a mounted horseman on top. It fell in 329/941 on a stormy night, probably struck by a thunderbolt. However its walls lasted much longer, and they finally crumbled in 653/1255. Marble and stone were used in the building of the Bāb al-Dhahab, and gold decorated its gate. It continued to be the official residence for about half a century, and though al-Rashīd neglected it, al-Amīn added a new wing to it and built a *maydān* around it. During the siege of Baghdad in 198/814 it suffered much damage. Then it ceased to be the official residence and was neglected.

The mosque (Jāmi' al-Manṣūr) was built after the palace and thus was slightly divergent from the *qibla*. In 191/807 al-Rashīd demolished it, and rebuilt it with bricks. It was enlarged in 260–1/875 and finally in 280/893. Al-Mu'taḍid added another court to it and renewed parts of it. The mosque had

a minaret which was burnt down in 303/915, but was rebuilt again. It continued to be the great mosque of Baghdad during the period of the caliphate. It was flooded in 653/1255 but survived this and the Mongol invasion.

The plan of Baghdad reflects social ideas. Each quarter had a person in charge, and generally had a homogeneous group, ethnically (Persian, Arabs, Khwārazmians), or by vocation. Soldiers had their homes outside the walls, generally north and west of the city, while merchants and craftsman had their centres south of the Ṣarāt in al-Karkh.

Markets play a prominent part in the plan of Baghdad. Initially, along each of the four ways from the great wall to the inner wall were high, arched rooms (*tāqāt*) where shops were put, thus constituting four markets. Besides, the caliph ordered that each of the four sections outside the wall should have ample space for markets, so that each section should have a great market. Safety considerations prompted al-Manṣūr in 157/773 to order the removal of markets from the Round City to al-Karkh. He wanted to keep the turbulent populace away from the city and to ensure that gates of quarters are not left open at night for the markets, and to guard against possible spies infiltrating into the city. He drew a plan for the markets to be built between the Ṣarāt and 'Īsā canals. Each craft or trade had its separate market or street (*darb*). Among the markets of al-Karkh were the fruit market, the cloth market, the food market, the money-changers' market, the market of bookshops, the sheep market. With the growth of the city we hear of merchants from Khurasan and Transoxania, Marw, Balkh, Bukhara and Khwārazm, and they had their markets in the Ḥarbiyya quarter, and each group of these merchants had a leader and a chief. It seems that each craft had its chief chosen by the government.

There is a tradition that al-Manṣūr wanted to pull down a part of the White Palace in Ctesiphon to use the bricks in his buildings, but that he stopped because expenditure did not justify the operation. Another report attributes to him the idea of repairing that palace, but says that he did not have the time to carry it through. Both traditions are reminiscent of the Shu'ūbiyya controversy. The city was built mainly of sun-burnt bricks. Al-Ya'qūbī reports that the plan was drawn up in 141/755 but work started on 1 Jumādā 145/2 August 762. Four architects

worked on the plan of the city. Al-Ḥajjāj b. Arṭāt was the architect of the mosque. Al-Manṣūr assembled 100,000 workers and craftsmen to work in the construction. A canal was drawn from the Karkhāya canal to the site to provide water for drinking and for building operations. It seems that in 146/763 the palace, mosque and *ḍiwāns* at least were completed and al-Manṣūr moved to Baghdad. By 149/766, the Round City was completed.

The "Round City" of al-Manṣūr is a remarkable example of town planning. It was circular so that the centre was equidistant from the different parts and could be easily controlled or defended. Arab traditions consider this design unique. However, the circular plan is not unfamiliar in the Near East. The plan of Uruk is almost circular. Assyrian military camps are circular enclosures. Creswell enumerates eleven cities that were oval or circular, amongst which are Ḥarrān, Ecbatana, Hatra and Dārābjird. Dārābjird bears a remarkable resemblance to the city of al-Manṣūr in its plan. It is likely that the architects of the Round City knew of such plans. Ibn al-Faḡh indicates that the choice of the plan was between the square and the circle and that the latter is more perfect. It is, however, more probable that the idea of the circular fort was responsible for the plan. Al-Ṭabarī states "al-Manṣūr made four gates (for the city) on the line of military camps".

There are different reports on the dimensions of the city of al-Manṣūr. A report makes the distance from the Khurasan gate to the Kufa gate 800 *dhirā's* (= 405.12 m) and from the Syrian gate to the Basra gate 600 *dhirā's* (= 303.12 m). Another report from Wakī' makes the distance between each two gates 1200 *dhirā's* (= 608.28 m). Both reports underestimate the size of the city. A third report given by Rabāḥ, one of the builders of the city, gives the measurement as one mile between each two gates (or 4,000 *dhira' mursala* or 1848 m). This estimate is given in Ibn al-Jawzī and other authorities, and confirmed by the measurement carried by the orders of al-Mu'taḍid and reported by Badr al-Mu'taḍidī. This makes the diameter of the city 2,352 m. Al-Ya'qūbī's estimate of the distance between each pair of gates outside the trench or *khandaq* as 5,000 black *dhirā's* (or 2534.5 m) becomes probable in this light.

Various reports are given of al-Manṣūr's expenditure on the city. One report makes the cost 18 million, understood to mean dīnārs. A second puts it at a

hundred million dirhams. However the official report based on caliphal archives states that al-Manṣūr spent on the Round City four million and 883 dirhams. This is understandable if we take into account the low cost of labour and provisions and the strictness of al-Manṣūr in supervising his accounts.

In 157/773 he built a palace on the Tigris below the Khurasan gate, with spacious gardens, and called it al-Khuld. The place was free from mosquitoes and noted for the freshness of its air. The name "The Eternal" was reminiscent of paradise.

Strategic considerations, al-Manṣūr's policy of dividing the army, and lack of space soon led the caliph to build a camp for his heir al-Mahdī on the eastern side of the Tigris. The central part was the camp of al-Mahdī (later called al-Ruṣāfa after a palace built by al-Rashīd), where his palace and the mosque were built, surrounded by the houses of officers and followers. The commercial side was soon expressed in the famous *sūqs* of Bāb al-Ṭāq. The military side is shown by a wall and a ditch surrounding the camp of al-Mahdī. Work started in 151/768 and ended in 157/773. Al-Ruṣāfa was almost opposite the city of al-Manṣūr.

### III. THE EXPANSION OF THE CITY

Baghdad expanded rapidly in buildings, commercial activities, wealth and population. People crowded into East Baghdad, attracted by al-Mahdī's gifts, and later by the Barmakids who had a special quarter at the Shammāsiyya gate. Yaḥyā the Barmakid built a magnificent palace and gave it the modest name Qaṣr al-Ṭīn "Palace of the Figs". Ja'far built a great luxurious palace below eastern Baghdad, which was given later to al-Ma'mūn. At the time of al-Rashīd, the eastern side extended from the Shammāsiyya gate (opposite the Qaṭrabbul gate) to Mukharrim (its southern limit is the modern al-Ma'mūn bridge). On the other side, al-Amīn returned from the Khuld palace, where al-Rashīd resided, to Bāb al-Dhahab, renewed it and added a wing to it and surrounded it by a square. Queen Zubayda built a mosque on the Tigris (called after her) near the Royal palaces and another splendid mosque at her grant of land (*qaṭī'a*) north of the city. She also built a palace called al-Qarār near al-Khuld.

The western side expanded between the Qaṭrabbul gate in the north and the al-Karkh quarter, which in



turn extended as far as great ʿĪsā canal (this flowed into the Tigris at the present Tulūl Khashm al-Dawra); to the west it almost reached al-Muḥawwal. Poets extolled the beauty of Baghdad and called it “paradise on earth”. Its wonderful gardens, green countryside, its splendid high palaces with sumptuous decorations on the gates and in the halls, and their exquisite rich furniture were famous.

Baghdad suffered a severe blow during the conflict between al-Amīn and al-Maʾmūn. War was brought to the city when it was besieged for fourteen months. Exasperated by the stubbornness of the defence, Ṭāhir ordered the destruction of the houses of the defenders, and many quarters “between the Tigris, Dār al-Raqīq (north of the Khurasan gate), the Syrian gate, the Kūfa gate up to Ṣarāt, the al-Karkhāya canal and Kunāsa” were devastated according to al-Ṭabarī. The work of destruction was completed by the rabble and the lawless volunteers and *ʿayyārūn*. The Khuld palace, other palaces, al-Karkh, and some quarters on the east side suffered heavily. “Destruction and ruin raged until the splendour of Baghdad was gone”, as al-Ṭabarī and al-Masʿūdī put it. Chaos and trouble continued in Baghdad until the return of al-Maʾmūn from Marw in 204/819. Al-Maʾmūn stayed at his palace, enlarged it considerably to add a race-course, a zoo, and quarters for his devoted followers. Then he gave this palace to al-Ḥasan b. Sahl – to become al-Ḥasanī palace – who bequeathed it to his daughter Būrān. Baghdad revived again under al-Maʾmūn. Al-Muʿtaṣim built a palace on the eastern side. Then he decided to look for a new capital for his new Turkish army. Baghdad was too crowded for his troops and both the people and the old divisions of the army were antagonistic to his Turks and he feared trouble. During the period of Sāmarrā (836–92) Baghdad missed the immediate attention of the caliphs, but it remained the great centre of commerce and of cultural activities.

Baghdad also suffered from disorders caused by the Turkish soldiery, when al-Mustaʿin moved there from Sāmarrā and was besieged by the forces of al-Muʿtazz, throughout the year 251/865–6. At this period, al-Ruṣāfa extended to Sūq al-Thalāthāʾ (up to modern Samawʿal Street). Al-Mustaʿin ordered the fortification of Baghdad; the wall on the eastern side was extended from the Shammāsiyya gate to Sūq al-Thalāthāʾ, and on the western side from Qaṭīʿāt Umm Jaʿfar around the quarters up to Ṣarāt, and the

famous Trench of Ṭāhir was dug around it. During the siege, houses, shops and gardens outside the eastern wall were devastated as a defensive measure, and the eastern quarters of Shammāsiyya, al-Ruṣāfa and Mukharrim suffered heavily.

In 278/892 al-Muʿtamid finally returned to Baghdad. He had asked Būrān for the Ḥasanī palace, but she renewed it, furnished it to suit a caliph and handed it to him. Then in 280/893, al-Muʿtaḍid rebuilt the palace, enlarged its grounds and added new buildings to it, and built prisons on its grounds (*maṭāmīr*). He added a race-course and then surrounded the area with a special wall. It was to be the Dār al-Khilāfa and remained, with additions, the official residence. Then he laid the foundations of the Tāj palace on the Tigris nearby, but later saw much smoke from the city. He decided to build another palace, two miles to the north-east. He built the magnificent and lofty al-Thurayyā, linked it with an underground passage to the Qaṣr [al-Ḥasanī], surrounded it with gardens, and brought water to it from the Mūsā canal. He also ordered, in order to keep the air pure, that no rice and palm trees be cultivated around Baghdad. Al-Thurayyā lasted in good condition till 469/1073–4 when it was swept away by the flood and ruined. The ruin of the Round City now started. Al-Muʿtaḍid ordered the demolition of the City wall; but when a small section was pulled down, the Hāshimites complained, as it showed ʿAbbasid glory, so al-Muʿtaḍid stopped. People, however, gradually extended their houses at the expense of the wall, and this led ultimately to its demolition and the ruin of the City.

Al-Muktaḍī (289–95/901–7) built the Tāj with halls and domes, and a quay on the Tigris. He built a high semi-circular dome in its grounds, so that he could reach its top mounted on a donkey. In 289/901 he demolished the palace prisons and built a congregational mosque (Jāmiʿ al-Qaṣr) which became the third congregational mosque, until the time of al-Muqtadir.

Al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32) added new buildings to the Royal palaces and beautified them fabulously; he paid special attention to the zoo (*ḥayr al-wuḥūsh*). Al-Khaṭīb’s detailed description for the year 305/917–18 is striking. The strong wall surrounding the palaces and the secret passage from the audience hall of al-Muqtadir to one of the gates were necessary defensive measures. Among the wonders was the *dār*

*al-shajara*, a tree of silver, in a large pond with 18 branches and multiple twigs, with silver or gilt birds and sparrows which whistled at times. On both sides of the pond were 15 statues of mounted horsemen which moved in one direction as if chasing each other. There was a mercury pond  $30 \times 20$  *dhirā's* with four gilt boats, and around it was a fabulous garden. The zoo had all sorts of animals. There was a lion-house with a hundred lions. There was the Firdaws palace with its remarkable arms. Twenty-three palaces were counted within the Royal precincts.

Baghdad reached its height during this period. The eastern side extended for five miles (1 mile = 1848 m) from Shammāsiyya to Dār al-Khilāfa in the 4th/10th century. Ibn Abī Tāhir Ṭayfūr (d. 280/893) reports that al-Muwaffāq ordered the measurement of Baghdad before 279/892; its area was found to be 43,750 *jaribs* of which 26,250 *jaribs* were in east Baghdad and 17,500 *jaribs* in West Baghdad. Another version of Ṭayfūr makes East Baghdad at the time of al-Muwaffāq 16,750 *jaribs* (1 *jarīb* = 1366 m<sup>2</sup>) and West Baghdad 27,000 *jaribs*; this is more probable, as West Baghdad was still more important at that time. Another version puts the area at 53,750 *jaribs*, of which 26,750 *jaribs* were east and 27,000 *jaribs* west. It is more likely that the last figure represents the period of al-Muqtadir, when much expansion took place in East Baghdad. In all these reports, the length of Baghdad on both sides was almost the same. For the first figure, considering the length of Baghdad as stated by al-Iṣṭakhrī and by Ṭayfūr, Baghdad was, in 279/892, about 7.25 km in length and 61.5 km in width, while under al-Muqtadir (320/932) it was about 81.5 km in length and 71.25 km in width.

#### IV. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY (see Fig. 7)

Baghdad's geographical position, its active people, the encouragement of the state to trade and the prestige of the caliphate, soon made Baghdad the great centre of commerce. Markets became an essential feature of its life, in al-Ruṣāfa and especially in al-Karkh. Each trade had its market, and among those were the fruit market, the cloth market, the cotton market, the market of booksellers which had more than a hundred shops, the money-changers' market and the *alṭārīn* market in al-Karkh. Markets for foreign merchants were at Sūq Bāb al-Shām. On the eastern side, there was a variety of markets including Sūq

al-Ṭīb for flowers, a food market, the goldsmiths' market, the sheep market, a booksellers' market, and a market for Chinese merchandise. Since the time of al-Manṣūr, a *muḥtasib* was appointed to watch over markets, to prevent cheating and to check on measures and weights. The *muḥtasib* also supervised baths and possibly watched over mosques. He also prevented subversive activities.

Each market or craft had a chief appointed by the government. In a craft there were the *Ṣāni'* and the *Ustādh*. Baghdad exported cotton stuffs and silk textiles especially kerchiefs, aprons, turbans, crystals turned on lathes, glazed ware, and various oils, potions and electuaries. Baghdad manufactured shirts of different colours, turbans of thin texture and celebrated towels. Its thin white cotton shirts were peerless. The *saqlaṭūn* (silk stuff), the *mulḥam* and *'attābī* stuffs (of silk and cotton) of Baghdad were famous. Excellent swords were made at Bāb al-Ṭāq. It was famous for its leather manufacture and for the manufacture of paper.

A great incentive to commerce and industry was the development of the banking system in Baghdad, as shown in the activities of the *ṣarrāfs* and *jahbadhs*. The *ṣarrāfs* had their own markets, especially in al-Karkh, and primarily served the people, while *jahbadhs* served mainly the government and its officials.

Baghdad grew international in its population. Its inhabitants were a mixture of different nations, colours and creeds, who came for work, trade, as recruits for the army, slaves, and for other careers. It is noticeable that the populace began to play an important part in its life, seen in their revolt against the rise in prices in 307/919, and their efforts to keep order in 201/816 during the confusion which followed the murder of al-Amīn. The activities of the *'ayyārīn* and *shuṭṭār* began at this period.

It is difficult to give an estimate of the population of Baghdad. Estimates of mosques and baths are obviously exaggerated (300,000 mosques and 60,000 baths under al-Muwaffāq, 27,000 baths under al-Muqtadir, 17,000 baths under Mu'izz al-Dawla, 5,000 under 'Aḍud al-Dawla, 3,000 baths under Bahā' al-Dawla). Baths were counted in 383/993 and found to number 1,500. Traditions stress that each bath served about 200 houses. If the average number in a house was five, then the population of Baghdad was about one million and a half. Al-Muqtadir ordered Sinān b. Thābit to examine physicians and

to give licences only to those qualified, and the result was that 860 physicians were given licences. If we add those serving in government hospitals and those who did not have licences, the number would probably reach a thousand. The number of people who prayed on the last Friday of the month at the mosque of al-Manṣūr and that of al-Ruṣāfa was judged, by measuring the area for prayer, to be 64,000. The number of river boats about the end of the 3rd/9th century was calculated to be 30,000. From those figures and the area of Baghdad, we can estimate the population of Baghdad in the 4th/10th century at a million and a half.

There were aristocratic quarters such as Zāhir, Shammāsiyya, al-Ma'mūniyya and Darb 'Awn. There were poor quarters like Qaṭī'at al-Kilāb, and Nahr al-Dajāj. Houses were of two storeys, and those of the common people were of one storeys. Those of the rich had baths and were usually divided into three quarters surrounded by a wall – the ladies' quarters, the reception rooms, and the servants' quarters. Special attention was paid to gardens. Carpets, divans, curtains and pillows were noted items of furniture. Fans and specially cooled houses and *sardābs* were used in summer. Inscriptions and drawings of animals and plants or human faces decorated entrances.

Baghdad was a great centre of culture. It was the home of the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools of law. It was the centre for translations, in the Bayt al-Ḥikma and outside, and of some scientific experimentation. Its mosques, especially the Jāmi' al-Manṣūr, were great centres of learning. The large number of bookshops which were sometimes literary salons, indicates the extent of cultural activities. Its poets, historians, and scholars are too numerous to mention. One can refer to the *History of Baghdad* by al-Khaṭīb to see the vast number of scholars, in one field, connected with Baghdad. Not only caliphs, but ministers and dignitaries gave every encouragement to learning. The creative period of Islamic culture is associated with the city. Later in this period, public libraries as centres of study and learning were founded, the most famous being the Dār al-Ilm of Abū Naṣr Sābūr b. Ardashīr. When the *madrasa* appeared, Baghdad took the lead with its Nizāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya and influenced the *madrasa* system both in programme and architecture. Much attention was paid to hospitals, especially in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. Of these, the Bīmāristān al-Sayyid (306/918), al-

Bīmāristān al-Muqtadiri (306/918) and al-Bīmāristān al-ʿAḍudī (372/982) were famous. Viziers and others also founded hospitals. Doctors were at times subject to supervision (see above).

Under al-Rashīd there were three bridges in Baghdad. The two famous ones were by the Bāb Khurāsān and at al-Karkh. Al-Rashīd built two bridges at Shammāsiyya, but they were destroyed during the first siege. The three bridges continued to the end of 3rd/9th century. It seems that the northern bridge was destroyed, and al-Iṣṭakhrī talks of two bridges only. In 387/997 Bahā' al-Dawla built a bridge at Sūq al-Thalāthā' (Mishra'at al-Qattānīn) to become the third bridge. This indicates a shift of emphasis from North Baghdad to the Sūq al-Thalāthā'.

Life in the city was stable until the time of al-Amīn. The first siege brought out turbulent elements in the common people. Flood and fire also began to play their rôle from the last quarter of the 3rd/9th century. Flood in 270/883 ruined 7,000 houses in al-Karkh. In 292/904 and 328/929 Baghdad suffered considerably from flooding. In 373/983 flooding swept beyond the Kufa gate and entered the city. The neglect of canals, especially during the *ʿAmīr al-Umarā'* period (324–34/935–45, was responsible for floods and for the ruin of the Bādūrayā district). Consequently, whereas famines and plague were rare before 320/932 they were recurrent after that. The famine of 307/919 was a result of monopoly and was quickly overcome. Famines occurred in 323/934, 326/937, 329/940 (with plague), 330/941, 331/942 (with plague), 332/943, 337/948 and life became unbearable. In 308/920 and 309/921 al-Karkh suffered considerably from fire. In 323/934 the fire there swept through the quarters of the *ʿaṭṭārīn* (the drug sellers), the ointment sellers, jewellers and others and its traces could be seen years after.

The Buyid period was somewhat hard for Baghdad. Mu'izz al-Dawla in 335/946 first repaired some canals at Bādūrayā, and this improved living conditions, but a period of neglect followed and many canals which irrigated West Baghdad were in ruins. ʿAḍud al-Dawla (367–72/977–82) had them cleared up, and rebuilt bridges and locks. Then we hear no more of such activities. Building activities were limited. In 350/961 Mu'izz al-Dawla built a great palace at the Shammāsiyya gate with a large Maydān, a quay and beautiful gardens. For this palace he took the seven iron doors of the Round City and

spent about a million *dīnārs* (11 million *dirhams*). However, it was pulled down in 418/1027. 'Aḍud al-Dawla rebuilt the house of Sabuktakīn, chamberlain of Mu'izz al-Dawla, at upper Mukharrim, added spacious gardens to it, and at great expense brought water to it by canals from Nahr al-Khālīs. It became the Dār al-Imāra or official residence of the Buyids.

'Aḍud al-Dawla found Baghdad in bad shape. He ordered that its houses and markets be renewed, and spent much money in rebuilding its Friday mosques; he repaired quays by the Tigris, and ordered the wealthy to repair their houses on the Tigris and to cultivate gardens in ruined places which had no owners. He found the central bridge narrow and decayed and had it renewed and broadened. In 372/982 he built the 'Aḍudī Hospital, appointed physicians, supervisors and storekeepers to it, and provided it with plenty of medicines, potions, instruments and furniture. *Waqfs* were allotted to it for its upkeep. However, the city declined under the Buyids (al-Tanūkhī, made it in 345/956 one-tenth of its size under al-Muqtadir). The city of al-Manṣūr was neglected and had no life then. Most of the quarters of West Baghdad were in bad shape and had shrunk. The most flourishing section of West Baghdad was al-Karkh, where the merchants had their places of business. Thus the western side is now called al-Karkh.

The eastern side of the city was more flourishing, and dignitaries generally resided there. Here, the bright spots were the Bāb al-Ṭāq where the great market was, the Dār al-Imāra at Mukharrim and the caliph's palaces at the southern end. Odd houses reached Kalwādhā. Ibn Ḥawqal saw four congregational mosques: the mosque of al-Manṣūr, the Ruṣāfa mosque, the Barāthā mosque, and the mosque of Dār al-Ṣulṭān. Then in 379/989 and 383/993, the Qatī'a mosque and the Ḥarbiyya mosque became Friday mosques.

Ibn Ḥawqal saw two bridges, one out of order. It seems there were three bridges at the time of Mu'izz al-Dawla (one at the Shammāsiyya gate, near his place, the other at Bāb al-Ṭāq and the third at Sūq al-Thalāthā). The first was transferred to Bāb al-Ṭāq, making two there, then one fell into disuse.

Baghdad suffered much from the turbulence of the mob, because of sectarian differences encouraged by the Buyids and from the *'ayyārūn*. Our sources talk

much of the ignorance of the *'amma*, their readiness to follow any call, their good nature and their lawlessness. In 279/892 al-Mu'taḍid forbade *quṣṣā* and fortune-tellers to sit in the streets or mosques, and forbade people to congregate around them or to indulge in controversies. Before the Buyids, the Ḥanbalīs were the source of trouble. They tried at times to improve morals by force. At this period, sectarian troubles multiplied and caused much loss in property and people. The Shi'ite Buyids made 10 Muḥarram a day of public mourning, ordered the closing of markets, and encouraged the populace to make processions with women beating their faces. On the other hand, the Day of Ghadr Khumm on 18 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja was made a day of celebrations. This led the Sunnis to choose two different days, each eight days after the ones mentioned. Conflicts between the Shi'ites and the Sunnis became usual occurrences at this period, starting from 338/949, when al-Karkh was pillaged. In 348/959, fights between the two groups led to destruction and fire at Bāb al-Ṭāq. In 361/971 troubles in al-Karkh led to its burning and 17,000 people perished, 300 shops, many houses and 33 mosques were burnt down. In 363/973 fire burnt down much of al-Karkh. In 381/991 troubles broke out and fire recurred in many quarters. In 406-7/1016 the Nahr Ṭābiq, Bāb al-Quṭn and much of the Bāb al-Baṣra quarters were burnt down. In 422/1030 many markets were ruined during the troubles. More damage and confusion was caused by the *'ayyārūn*, who were especially active throughout the last quarter of the 4th/10th century to the end of this period. Historians misunderstand their activities and describe them as robbers and thieves, but their movement was also a product of their hard living conditions and of political chaos. Their rise was against the wealthy and the rulers, and this explains why their activities were directed primarily against the rich, the markets, the police and the dignitaries. They had moral principles such as honour, and help to the poor and to women, co-operation, patience and endurance. The *Futuwwa* later was somewhat related to their movement. In the 4th/10th century, they were organised, and among the titles of their chiefs were al-Mutaqaddim, al-Qā'id, and al-Amīr, and they had special ceremonies for initiation. However, they too were divided into Shi'ites and Sunnis.

The *'ayyārūn* kept people in constant terror for life and property. They levied tolls on markets and

roads or robbed wayfarers, and constantly broke into houses at night. They spread havoc by sword and fire and burnt many quarters and markets especially Bāb al-Ṭāq and Sūq Yaḥyā (in East Baghdad) and al-Karkh, since those were the quarters of the wealthy. People had to lock the gates of their streets, and merchants kept vigil at night. Disorder and pillage made prices high. A preacher prayed in 421/1030 “O God! Save the state from the populace and the rabble”. Al-Burjūmī, a notorious *‘ayyār* leader, practically ruled Baghdad for four years 422–5/1030–3, and spread havoc. The government was powerless and they were left to levy taxes and tolls to avoid their terror. Many people left their quarters and departed for safety. Their terror continued till the advent of the Saljuqs.

In 447/1055 Ṭoḡhrīl Beg entered the city, and the Saljuqs reversed Buyid policy and encouraged the Sunnīs. In 450/1058 Arslān al-Basāsīrī seized Baghdad in the name of the Fatimids, but was defeated and killed by the Saljuq forces in 451/1059. During this period the city assumed a shape which thereafter changed but little. In 448/1056 Ṭoḡhrīl Beg enlarged the area of the Dār al-Imāra, pulled down many houses and shops, rebuilt it and surrounded it with a wall. In 450/1058 it was burnt down and rebuilt again. It became known as Dār al-Mamlaka. It was rebuilt in 509/1115, but was accidentally burnt down in 515/1121 and a new palace was built. Malik Shāh enlarged and rebuilt the mosque of Mukharrim, which was near the palace, in 484/1091, hence called Jāmi‘ al-Sultān. It was repaired in 502/1108, and was finally completed in 524/1129.

Life centred in East Baghdad around the caliphal palaces. Al-Muqtadī (467–87/1074–94) encouraged building, and the quarters around the palaces, such as Baṣaliyya, Qaṭr’a, Ḥalaba, Ajama, etc. flourished. He also built the River Bank palace (Dār Shāṭi’iyya) by the old Tāj palace. In 524/1129 the Tāj palace was pulled down and rebuilt. These quarters were not walled and they suffered much from flooding in 462/1070. In 488/1095 al-Mustazhir built a wall around the so called Ḥarīm quarters. Then in 517/1123 al-Mustashid rebuilt it with four gates and made it 22 *dhirā’s* in width. The flood of 554/1159 surrounded the wall, made a breach in it, and ruined many quarters. The breach was repaired and a dyke was begun, and later completed around the wall.

Other attempts to rebuild or repair the wall took place under al-Nāṣir and al-Mustanṣir. This wall set the limits of East Baghdad till the end of Ottoman period.

## V. ACCELERATED DECLINE

The city was in decline during this period and lived on its past glory. From the second half of the 5th/11th century, there were many changes in its topography. Many quarters in West Baghdad were ruined, and waste land replaced previous gardens or houses. This probably explains the increase in the number of congregational mosques. The old quarters of Shammāsiyya, al-Ruṣāfa and Mukharrim were neglected. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad around 567/1171, talks of the greatness of the caliphal palace, with its wall, gardens, a zoo and a lake. He speaks highly of the ‘Aḡudī hospital with its sixty doctors, and a sanatorium for the mad. He found 40,000 Jews in Baghdad with ten schools for them (*Itinerary*, ed. and tr. A. Asher, New York, 1840–2, i, text 54–64, tr. 93–105). Ibn Jubayr described Baghdad in 581/1185. He noticed the general decline, and criticised the arrogance of its people. Much of the eastern side was ruined, yet it had seventeen separate quarters, all with two, three or eight baths. The caliphal quarters, with magnificent palaces and gardens, occupied about a quarter or more of the area. This side was well populated and had excellent markets. Qurayya was the largest quarter, (very likely between the modern al-Aḥrās bridge and Ra’s al-Qarya) and near it the suburb (*rabaḍ*) of Murabba‘a (probably by Sayyid Sultān ‘Alī now). It had three congregational mosques, the Jāmi‘ al-Sultān, north of the wall, and the al-Ruṣāfa mosque about a mile north of the latter, and the Jāmi‘ al-Khalīfa. There were about thirty *madrasas* (colleges), all housed in excellent buildings with plenty of *waqf* endowments for their upkeep and for the students’ expenses. The most famous *madrasa* was the Nizāmiyya, which was rebuilt in 503–4/1110.

Ibn Jubayr describes the wall, built by al-Mustashid, surrounding Sharqiyya as having four gates – 1. Bāb al-Sultān to the north (later called Bāb al-Mu‘azzam). 2. Bāb al-Zafariyya (northeast), later, Bāb al-Waṣṭānī. 3. Bāb al-Ḥalaba (east), later Bāb al-Ṭilisim. 4. Bāb al-Baṣaliyya (south), later Bāb al-Sharqī. The wall surrounded Sharqiyya in a semi-

circle reaching the Tigris at both ends. He talks of the populous quarter of Abū Ḥanīfa, while the old quarters of al-Ruṣāfa, Shammāsiyya, and most of Mukharrim were ruined. In western Baghdad ruin spread everywhere. Of quarters here, he mentions al-Karkh as a walled city, and the Bāb al-Baṣra quarter which contained the great mosque of al-Manṣūr and what remained of the old city. By the Tigris was the Shāri' quarter which constituted with al-Karkh, Bāb al-Baṣra and Qurayya, the largest quarters of Baghdad. Between al-Shāri' and the Bāb al-Baṣra was the quarter of Sūq al-Māristān, like a small city, with the famous 'Aḍudī hospital, which was well staffed and provisioned. Of other quarters, he noticed the Ḥarbiyya quarter as the northernmost, and the 'Attābiyya, famous for its silk-cotton (*attābī* cloth. He speaks of 2,000 baths and eleven Friday mosques in Baghdad.

In the time of al-Mustarshid (512–29/1118–34) there was one bridge near the 'Īsā canal, later moved to Bāb al-Qurayya. During the period of al-Mustaḍī (566–75/1170–9) a new bridge was made at Bāb al-Qurayya, and the old one was returned to its place by the 'Īsā canal. Ibn Jubayr saw the first bridge only, but confirms that there were usually two bridges and Ibn al-Jawzī, who wrote just before the fall of Baghdad, confirms this.

Half-a-century later, Yāqūt (623/1226) gave some useful data. He shows West Baghdad as a series of isolated quarters each with a wall and separated by waste land of ruins. Ḥarbiyya, al-Ḥarīm al-Ṭāhirī in the north, Chahār Sūj with Naṣīriyya, 'Attābiyyīn and Dār al-Qazz in the south-west, Muhawwal to the west, Qaṣr 'Īsā to the east, and Qurayya and al-Karkh in the south, are the described quarters.

In East Baghdad, life centred in the quarters around Ḥarīm Dār al-Khilāfa, which occupied about a third of the area enclosed in the walls. Of the large flourishing quarters, there were Bāb al-'Azaj with its markets, al-Ma'mūniyya next to it, Sūq al-Thalāthā', Nahr al-Mu'allā and Qurayya.

Congregational mosques increased in Gharbiyya, i.e. West Baghdad, at this period, indicating the semi-independent status of quarters. Ibn al-Jawzī mentions six between 530/1135 and 572/1176 in addition to the Jāmi' al-Manṣūr. The mosques of al-Karkh were repaired by Mustanṣir and the Jāmi' al-Qaṣr was renewed in 475/1082, and again by al-Mustanṣir in

673/1235. The Qamariyya mosque (still in existence) was built in 626/1228.

The strength of Sufism is shown by the large number of *ribāṭs* or convents built during the last century of the caliphate, built by the caliphs or their relatives.

Much attention was given to the founding of *madrasas* or colleges. This movement could be explained initially by the religious revival among Shāfi'īs, and by political and administrative needs; but it was continued as a cultural movement. Ibn Jubayr saw thirty *madrasas* in East Baghdad. Other *madrasas* were founded after his visit. The most famous were the Nizāmiyya founded in 459/1066, the *madrasa* of Abū Ḥanīfa founded in the same year (still existing as Kulliyat al-Sharī'a) and al-Mustanṣiriyya, founded by al-Mustanṣir in 631/1233 and continued till the 17th century. All those *madrasas* specialised in one of the four schools of law, except the Mustanṣiriyya and the Bashīriyya (founded in 653/1255), which taught the *fiqh* of the four schools. There was a *maktab* or school for orphans established by Shams al-Mulk, son of Nizām al-Mulk. In 606/1209 guest-houses (*dār al-dīyāfa*) were built in all quarters of Baghdad to serve the poor in Ramaḍān.

Baghdad suffered at this period from fire, floods and dissension. In 449/1057 al-Karkh and Bāb Muḥawwal quarters and most of the market of al-Karkh were burnt down. In 451/1059 much of al-Karkh and old Baghdad was burnt down. The quarters and markets near the Mu'allā canal and Dār al-Khilāfa were burnt more than once. In 551/1156 fire spread from neighbouring quarters to Dār al-Khilāfa and neighbouring *sūqs*, and there were other fires in those quarters in 560/1164, 569/1173, 583/1187.

The *'ayyārūn* were quite active in Saljuq times. They pillaged shops and houses and caused insecurity. The troubles of the *'amma* or mob and their sectarian fights (Ḥanbalīs against Shāfi'īs, and Sunnis against Shi'ites) continued to cause much bloodshed and destruction. Ibn al-Athīr reports a temporary conciliation in 502/1108 and adds "Evil always came from them (*i.e.*, the *'amma*)". This was short-lived, and quarrels and fights continued and became terrible under al-Musta'ṣim. In 640/1242 fights took place between the Ma'mūniyya and Bāb al-Azaj quarters which involved the Nizāmiyya market, and between Mukhtāra and Sūq al-Sulṭān quarters, and between

Qaṭuftā and Qurayya (in West Baghdad) quarters; many were killed and shops pillaged. By 653/1255 things had deteriorated considerably. Fights took place between al-Ruṣāfa (Sunni) and Khuḍayriyyin (Shi'ite), and soon the people of Bāb al-Baṣra supported al-Ruṣāfa, while al-Karkh supported the others. These quarrels also indicate the spirit of competition between quarters, increased by the lack of government control. When fights were renewed between al-Karkh and Bāb al-Baṣra, soldiers sent to stop it pillaged al-Karkh, making the situation worse. The climax came in 654/1256, when someone was killed by the people of al-Karkh, and the soldiers, sent to keep order, were joined by crowds of the *amma* and they pillaged al-Karkh, burnt several places in it, killed many persons and took away women. Reprisals followed, but the tragedy was not forgotten. The *ayyārūn* were very active at this time, and they pillaged shops and robbed houses at night; even the Mustanṣiriyya was twice robbed.

The authorities were too weak to keep order. Floods recurred, indicating the weakness of government and the neglect of irrigation. In 641/1243 floods reached the Nizāmiyya and its neighbourhood and ruined some quarters. In 646/1248 floods surrounded East Baghdad, destroyed a part of the wall, and reached some quarters of Ḥarīm. It also flooded al-Ruṣāfa and many of its houses collapsed. West Baghdad was submerged, and most houses except part of Bāb al-Baṣra and al-Karkh. Houses on the river collapsed. Floods entered the city in 651/1253, and again in 653/1255, when a great number of houses collapsed and cultivation was damaged. The worst flood was in 654/1256, when both sides were surrounded by water and the flood even entered the markets of East Baghdad, Dār al-Khilāfa and the Nizāmiyya. Thus nature and man joined hands to ruin Baghdad.

## VI. THE MONGOL DOMINATION

Two years later, the city was attacked by the Mongols. On 4 Ṣafar 656/10 February 1258, the caliph al-Musta'ṣim made an unconditional surrender. Its people were put indiscriminately to the sword, for over a week. Large numbers of the country people who flocked to Baghdad before the siege shared its tragic fate. Estimates of the number killed vary between 800,000 and two million, the estimates

mounting with the lapse of time. The Chinese traveller Ch'ang Te states (1259) that several tens of thousands were killed; his information is obviously from Mongol sources. It is thus difficult to give any accurate figure, but it probably exceeded a hundred thousand. Many quarters were ruined by siege, looting or fire, and the mosque of the caliphs, and the shrine of al-Kāẓimayn, were burnt down. Baghdad was, however, spared complete devastation, and the *fatwā* exacted from the *ulamā'* that a just *kāfir* was better than an unjust *imām* probably helped. Before leaving, Hülegü ordered the restoration of some public buildings. The supervisor of *waqf* rebuilt the Jāmi' al-Khulafā' and saw to it that schools and the *ribāṭs* were reopened. Culture suffered much but was not uprooted. Baghdad now became a provincial centre in all respects.

Until 740/1339–40 the city remained under the Il-Khanids and was administered by a governor with a *Shihna* or military commander and a military garrison. The Mongols registered the population of Baghdad in tens, hundreds, and thousands for the sake of taxation. A poll-tax was imposed on all except the aged and children; it continued to be levied for about two years. The city began to revive gradually, as its administration was chiefly entrusted to Persians; much of this is due to the policy of 'Aṭā' Malik Juwaynī, governor for about 23 years (657–81/1258–82). Under him, the minaret of the Jāmi' al-Khulafā' and the Nizāmiyya market were rebuilt, and the Mustanṣiriyya was repaired and a new water system added. The mosques of Shaykh Ma'rūf and Qamariyya were repaired.

Some of the old colleges resumed work, especially the Nizāmiyya and Mustanṣiriyya, the Bashīriyya, the Tataṣhiyya and Madrasat al-Aṣḥāb. Juwaynī's wife founded the 'Iṣmatiyya school for the four schools of law, and a *ribāṭ* near it. The Il-Khanid Tegüder (881/1281) sent a message to Baghdad asking for the return of endowments to schools, and mosques, as under the 'Abbasids, probably a pious wish. The Il-Khanids' policy led to outbreaks against non-Muslims. They patronised Christians, and exempted them from the *jizya*. They rebuilt churches and opened schools. This led to an outbreak in 665/1263. The Jews rose to prominence under Arghun (683–90/1284–91) through Sa'd al-Dawla the Jewish finance minister, who appointed his brother governor of Baghdad. In 690/1291 Sa'd

al-Dawla was killed and the populace in Baghdad fell on the Jews. Under Ghazan, non-Muslims suffered through dress distinctions, the reimposition of the poll-tax and the attitude of the mob, and many adopted Islam. Öljeytū stirred up trouble when he vacillated between Shi'ism and Sunnism. The Il-Khanids tried to impose the *chao* (paper money), but it was very unpopular in the city and was finally abolished by Ghazan in 697/1297.

During this period we have the accounts of three geographers: Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (ca. 700/1300), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (727/1327 and Mustawfī (740/1339). The author of the *Marāsid al-iltilā'* states that nothing remained of West Baghdad except isolated quarters, the most populated of which was al-Karkh. He mentions the Qurayya quarter, the populous Ramliyya quarter, the Dar al-Raḳīq market, the Dār al-Qazz standing alone where paper was manufactured, and the Bāb Muḥawwal quarter which stood as an isolated village. He refers to the 'Aḍudī hospital, and indicates that nothing remained of the Ḥarīm al-Tāhirī, Nahr Tābiq and Qaṭī'a quarters, while Tūthā quarter looked like an isolated village. Of East Baghdad, the *Marāsid* states "when the Tatars came, most of it was ruined. They killed its people and few were left. Then people from outside came". He states that Ḥalaba, Qurayya and Qaṭī'at al-'Ajam were populous quarters. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions two bridges in Baghdad and gives new details about the excellent baths in the city. He states that mosques and schools were very numerous, but were in ruins. Mustawfī's data is significant. His description of the wall of East Baghdad agrees with that of Ibn Jubayr. It had four gates, and encloses the city in a semi-circle with a circuit of 18,000 paces. West Baghdad, he calls al-Karkh; it was surrounded by a wall with a circuit of 12,000 paces. He found life easy in Baghdad and people pleasant, but their Arabic was corrupt. He found Shāfi'is and Ḥanbalīs dominant there, though adherents of other law schools were numerous. *Madrasas* and *ribāṭs* were numerous, but he noted that the Nizāmiyya was "the greatest of them all" while the Mustanṣiriyya was the most beautiful building. It is possible that the Sitt Zubayda tomb belongs to this period, and the lady concerned could be Zubayda, the granddaughter of the eldest son of al-Musta'ṣim.

In 740/1339 Ḥasan Buzurg established himself in Baghdad and founded the Jalāyirid dynasty which

lasted till 813/1410. The Marjān mosque dates from this period. From its inscriptions, we know that Marjan, a commander of Uways, started building the *madrasa* with its mosque under Ḥasan Buzurg and finished the building under Uways in 758/1357. This *madrasa* was for the Shāfi'is and Ḥanafīs. Only the gate of the *madrasa* – or later, mosque – remains now.

Baghdad was twice taken by Tīmūr, first in 795/1392–3 when the city escaped with little damage, and second in 803/1401 when its population was indiscriminately put to the sword, and many of its public ('Abbasid) buildings and quarters ruined. This was a devastating blow to culture there. In 807/1405 the Jalāyirid Aḥmad returned to Baghdad, restored the walls destroyed by Tīmūr and tried to repair some of the buildings and markets, but his stay was brief.

In 813/1410 it passed to the Qara Qoyunlu Turkmens, who held it till 872/1467–8, to be followed by the Aq Qoyunlu Turkmens. Baghdad sank still deeper under them and suffered considerably from misrule. Many of its inhabitants left the city, and the ruin of the irrigation system accounts for the recurrence of floods with consequent devastation. Under the year 841/1437, al-Maqrīzī says "Baghdad is ruined, there is no mosque or congregation, and no market. Its canals are mostly dry and it could hardly be called a city". In addition, tribal strife spread and tribal confederations began to play their turbulent rôle in the life of the country.

## VII. SAFAVIDS AND OTTOMANS

In 914/1507–8 it came under Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafawī, and a period of Perso-Ottoman conflict for the possession of Baghdad opened, typified in the Baghdadi song "between the Persians and the Rūm, what woe befell us". On Shāh Ismā'īl's orders, many Sunni shrines, especially those of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gilānī, were ruined, and many of the leading Sunnis were killed. However, he started building a shrine for the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. He appointed a governor with the title *Khalīfat al-Khulafā'*. Many Persian merchants came to Baghdad and increased commercial activity. After a brief space in which the Kurdish chief Dhu 'l-Fiḳār seized it and announced his allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān Qānūnī, Shāh Tahmāsp recaptured the city in 936/1530. In 941/1534 Sultan Süleymān



entered Baghdad. He built a dome on the tomb of Abū Ḥanīfa, with the mosque and *madrasa*, rebuilt the mosque, *tekke* and tomb of Gīlānī and had guest-houses for the poor at both mosques. He also had the shrine and mosque of al-Kāzīmāyn, started by Shāh Ismāʿīl, completed. He ordered landed property to be surveyed and registered, and organised the administration of the province. The administration was entrusted to a governor (*pasha*), a *defterdār* (for finances), and a *qāḍī*. A garrison was stationed in Baghdad with the Janissaries as its backbone.

Few buildings were erected during the following period. In 978/1570 Murād Pasha built the Murādiyya mosque in the Maydān quarter. The Gīlānī mosque was rebuilt. Chigalazāde built a famous inn, a coffee house and a market. He also built the Jāmiʿ al-Ṣaghā or Jāmiʿ al-Khaḫāfin, and rebuilt the Mawlawī *tekke*, known now as the Āṣafiyya mosque. Ḥasan Pasha built the mosque known after him, also called Jāmiʿ al-Wazīr. He also made a rampart and a ditch around al-Karkh to protect it from Bedouin marauders.

European travellers begin to visit Baghdad at this period. They speak of it as a meeting place of caravans, and a great centre of commerce for Arabia, Persia and Turkey. Caesar Frederigo (1563) saw many foreign merchants in the city. Sir Anthony Sherley (1590) saw “excellent goods of all sorts and very cheap” (Purchas, viii, 384). It had a bridge of boats tied by a great chain of iron and when boats passed up or down the river, some of the boats of the bridge were removed until the traffic had passed (Ralph Fitch in 1583, Hakluyt, iii, 282–3). Rauwolf (1574) saw streets narrow and houses miserably built. Many buildings were in ruins. Some public buildings, like the Pasha’s residence and the great bazaar or exchange, were good. Its baths were of low quality. The eastern side was well fortified with a wall, and a ditch, while the western side was open and looks like a great village (Rauwolf, *Travels*, in Ray’s collection, London 1605, i, 179 ff.). The city walls were built of bricks and had subsidiary works including four bastions on which heavy bronze guns in good conditions were mounted (Texeira, *Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31). The circuit of the walls is given as two to three miles. John Eldred (1583) noticed that three languages were spoken in the city, Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (Hakluyt, iii, 325). Ralph Fitch (1583) found Baghdad not very large but very populous. The

Portuguese traveller Pedro Texeira (1604) estimated houses in east Baghdad at twenty to thirty thousand. There was a mint in Baghdad in which gold, silver and copper coins were struck. There was a school of archery and another of musketry maintained by the government (*Travels*, Hakluyt ed., 31).

Following the insurrection of the Subashī Bakr, Shāh ʿAbbās I conquered Baghdad in 1032/1623. School buildings and Sunni shrines, including the mosques of al-Gīlānī and Abū Ḥanīfa, suffered destruction. Thousands were killed or sold as slaves and others were tortured. In this period the Sarāy (government house) was built by Ṣafī Qulī Khān, the Persian governor. Baghdad was regained in 1048/1638 by the Ottomans under the personal command of Murād IV. He had the shrines, especially the tombs of Abū Ḥanīfa and al-Gīlānī, rebuilt. On his departure, the Bāb al-Tilisim was walled up and continued thus until it was blown up by the retreating Turks in 1917. His Grand Vizier put the Qalʿa (citadel) in good repair.

Further information comes from travellers of this period, like Tavernier (1652), Ewliyā Chelebi (1655) and Thevenot (1663). The wall around East Baghdad was almost circular in shape. It was 60 *dhirāʿ*s high and 10–15 *dhirāʿ*s broad, with holes for guns. It had large towers at the principal angles, of which four were famous at this period, and smaller towers at short distances from each other. On the large towers, brass cannons were planted. The wall was completed on the river side for proper defence (the map of Naṣūḥ al-Ṣilāḫī drawn for Sultan Süleymān in 1537 already shows this wall, A. Sousa, *Atlas of Baghdad*, 12). There were 118 towers in the wall on the land side and 45 on the river side; Ker Porter (1819) reports 117 towers, of which 17 were large (*Travels*, 265); cf. Buckingham, *Travels*, 372). The wall had three gates on the land side (since the Tilisim gate was walled up): Bāb Imām al-Aʿzam in the north at 700 *dhirāʿ*s from the Tigris, Qaranliq Qapu (Bāb Kalwādhā) or the dark gate in the south at 50 *dhirāʿ*s from the Tigris, and Aq Qapu (Bāb al-Waṣṭānī) or the white gate in the east. The fourth gate was at the bridge. Ewliyā Chelebi measured the length of the wall and found it 28,800 paces in slow walking or seven miles (1 mile = 4,000 paces), while Ḥājī Khalīfa makes its length 12,200 *dhirāʿ*s or two miles (Niebuhr and Olivier consider the length of East Baghdad as two miles). Wellsted thought the circuit

of the walls 7 miles. Felix Jones, who surveyed the city in 1853, gives the circuit of the walls of East Baghdad, including the river frontage, as 10,600 yards or about 6 miles.

The wall was surrounded by a ditch, sixty *dhirā's* in width, with water drawn from the Tigris. At the north-western corner of the wall stood the Qal'a (inner castle), from the Bāb al-Mu'azzam to the Tigris; it was encompassed by a single wall, with little towers upon which cannon were planted. Barracks, stores of ammunition and provisions as well as the treasury and the mint were there. The Sarāy, where the Pasha resided, stood below the castle; it had spacious gardens and fair kiosks. On the other end of the bridge at al-Karkh stood a castle called Qushlar Qal'asī or Birds' Castle, with a gate on the bridge. Ewliya Chelebi refers to the numerous mosques of Baghdad and mentions nine important ones. Of the colleges, two were the largest, the Marjāniyya and Madrasat al-Khulafā' (al-Mustanşiriyya). Of the many inns, two were good. He mentions eight churches and three synagogues, and gives exaggerated figures for *tekkes* (700) and *hammāms* (500). The bridge of boats had 37–40 boats according to the height of the river, and some boats in the middle could be removed either for safety at night, or for river traffic, or as a military precaution. The main languages of the city were Arabic, Turkish and Persian. Baghdad had the best carrier-pigeons. However, it was still in decline; its population was at the low figure of 15,000.

The city was governed by 24 pashas between 1048/1638 and 1116/1704, and there was no room for real improvement. The pashas were semi-autonomous, and the power of the Janissaries was great. The power of the tribes increased and gradually became a threat to the life of the city. Little was done beyond repairs to the city walls or mosques. Küçük Hasan Pasha (1642) built three towers near Burj al-'Ajam. Khāṣṣakī Mehmed Pasha rebuilt Tabiyat al-Fātiḥ and repaired the walls after the flood of 1657. Aḥmed Bushnāq repaired the towers, especially Burj al-Jāwīsh (Chāwūsh) and built Burj al-Şābūnī (1687). Mosques received some attention. Deli Ḥusayn Pasha (1644) rebuilt the Qamariyya mosque. Khāṣṣakī Mehmed (1657) built the Khāṣṣakī mosque at Ra's al-Qarya. Şīlahdār Ḥusayn Pasha (1671) rebuilt al-Faql mosque which became known as the Jāmi' Ḥusayn Pasha, and surrounded the shrine of 'Umar al-Suhrawardī by a wall and brought water to it by a canal. 'Abd

al-Raḥmān Pasha (1674) repaired the Jāmi' Shaykh Ma'rūf and completed the dam started by his predecessor to protect A'zamiyya from flooding. Qaplan Muṣṭafā (1676) rebuilt the Jāmi' al-Shaykh al-Qudūrī, which became known as the Jāmi' al-Qaplāniyya. 'Ömer Pasha (1678) repaired the mosque of Abū Ḥanīfa and allotted new *waqfs* for it. Ibrāhīm Pasha (1681) renewed the Jāmi' Sayyid Sulṭān 'Alī and the Jāmi' al-Sarāy. Ismā'il Pasha (1698) rebuilt the Jāmi' al-Khaḫāfīn. Aḥmad Bushnāq (1678) built the famous Khān Banī Sa'd, while Şīlahdār Ḥusayn Pasha built a new bazaar near the Mustanşiriyya.

The beginning of the 18th century saw the *eyālet* of Baghdad terribly disorganised, the Janissaries masters of the city, the Arab tribes holding the surrounding country, and peace and security for trade non-existent. The appointment of Ḥasan Pasha in 1704, followed by his son Aḥmad, inaugurated a new period for the city. They introduced the Mamluks (*Kölemen*) to check the Janissaries and laid the foundation for Mamluk supremacy which lasted till 1831. The Janissaries and Arab tribes were controlled, order was restored and the Persian threat averted. Ḥasan Pasha rebuilt the Sarāy Mosque (Jadīd Ḥasan Pasha). He abolished taxes on firewood and on foodstuffs, and relieved quarters from exactions following murders. Aḥmad Pasha continued on the lines of his father and enhanced greatly the prestige of Baghdad. Nādir Shāh besieged it twice, in 1737 and 1743, and though the city suffered much in the first siege, Aḥmad Pasha held out and saved the city. When he died in 1747, Istanbul tried to reimpose its authority there, but failed because of Mamluk opposition. In 1749 Süleymān Pasha was the first Mamluk to be made governor of Baghdad, the real founder of Mamluk rule in Iraq. Henceforth, the sultan had to recognise their position and generally to confirm their nominee in the governorship. Ḥasan Pasha, who was brought up in the Ottoman slave household, wanted to follow its example; he established houses and initiated the training of Circassian and Georgian Mamluks and the sons of local magnates in them. Süleymān now expanded this, and there were always about 200 boys receiving training in the school to prepare officers and officials. They are given a literary education and training in the use of arms, the arts of chivalry and sports, and finally some palace education, in order to create an élite for government. A governing class was thus created, trained, energetic, and

compact. But their weakness came from jealousies and intrigues. Süleymān Pasha subdued the tribes and assured order and security, and encouraged trade. ‘Alī Pasha followed in 1175/1762 and ‘Ömer Pasha in 1177/1764. In 1766 the establishment of a British residency in the city was sanctioned by the East India Company authorities. In 1186/1772 a terrible plague befell Baghdad and lasted for six months; thousands perished, others migrated, and commercial activities came to a standstill. Nevertheless, an eyewitness wrote in 1774, “this is the grand mart for the produce of India and Persia, Constantinople, Aleppo and Damascus; in short it is the grand oriental depository”.

Dissension and weak leadership among the Mamluks led to a period of troubles, of tribal chaos, and the Persian conquest of Basra. It ended when Süleymān Pasha the Great became governor (1193/1779) and combined Baghdad, Shāhrazūr and Basra. The tribes were checked, peace was restored and Mamluk power revived. He repaired the walls of East Baghdad, and built a wall around al-Karkh and surrounded it with a ditch. He rebuilt the Sarāy. He also built the Sulaymāniyya school and renewed the Qaplaniyya, Faql and Khulafā’ mosques. In addition, he built the Sūq al-Sarrājīn. His *kahya* or chief executive started building the Aḥmadiyya mosque (Jāmi‘ al-Maydān), to be completed by the *kahya*’s brother. His last year (1802) saw a plague in Baghdad. Küchük (“The Little”) Süleymān (1808) abolished execution except when religious courts decided it, and forbade confiscations and cancelled dues to courts, and allotted salaries to judges.

Dāwūd Pasha came in 1816 after a troubled period. He controlled the tribes and restored order and security. He dredged and cleaned out some irrigation canals, established cloth and arms factories, and encouraged local industry. He built three large mosques, the most important being the Ḥaydar-Khāna mosque. He founded three *madrasas*. He also built a *sūq* by the bridge. He organised an army of about 20,000 and had a French officer to train it. His energetic and intelligent administration brought prosperity to the city. However, he had to impose heavy taxes in Baghdad. Dāwūd’s fall and the end of the Mamluks came about as a result of Maḥmūd II’s centralising and reforming policy, aided by a terrible plague, scarcity, and flood, which affected most of the city population (1831).

The administrative system of Baghdad was copied on a small scale from that of Istanbul. The Pasha held supreme military and administrative power. As the head of the administration was the *katkhudā* (or *kahya*) who was like a minister. He was assisted by the *defterdār*, who was director of finances, and by the *düwān efendisi* or chief of the chancellery. There was the commander of the palace guards and the *āghā* of the Janissaries. There was the *qāḍī* as the head of the judiciary. The Pasha summoned the *düwān* which included the *kahya*, the *defterdār*, the *qāḍī*, the commander and other important personages, to discuss important issues. In the palace there were houses, with teachers and instructors (*lālāt*) to educate the Mamluks. The Mamluk army numbered 12,500, and in case of need it could be augmented to 30,000 by local levies and contingents from other parts of the *wilāyat*.

European travellers of this period give some data on the city. Some notice that the walls were constructed and repaired at many different times, the old portions being the best. The enclosed area within the walls (east), according to Felix Jones’ measurement, was 591 acres. The wall on the river seems to have been neglected and houses were built on the bank. A large part of the city within the walls, particularly in the eastern side, was not occupied. The section near the river was well populated, but even there gardens abounded, so that it appeared like a city arising from amid a grove of palms. The Sarāy was spacious, enclosing beautiful gardens, and was richly furnished.

The western side, al-Karkh, was like a suburb with numerous gardens. It was defenceless at first, until Süleymān Pasha the Great built its wall. It had four gates – Bāb al-Kāzīm (north), Bāb al-Shaykh Ma‘rūf (west), Bāb al-Ḥilla (south-west), and Bab al-Kraimāt (south). The walls were 5,800 yards long, enclosing an area of 246 acres. Ker Porter (1818) found it well furnished with shops along numerous and extensive streets. Moreover, it was not so populated as the eastern side, and generally inhabited by the common people. The bridge of boats was 6 ft. wide and people used it or used “guffas” to cross the river.

The population gradually increased in this period. Rousseau (*ca.* 1800) estimated it at 45,000, Olivier at 80,000, while the inhabitants put the figure at 100,000; Buckingham (1816) made the estimate 80,000. Ker Porter (1818) put the figure at 100,000.

Al-Munshī al-Baghdādī echoed local views in saying that there were 100,000 houses in Baghdad, of which 1,500 were Jewish and 800 were Christian. By 1830 the estimate was brought up to 120,000–150,000 (Frazer, and Wellsted). There was a mixture of races and creeds. The official class was Turkish (or Mamluk), the merchants primarily Arab, and there were Persians, Kurds and some Indians. There were numerous bazaars in Baghdad, especially near the bridge, and the grand ones were vaulted with bricks while the others were covered with palm trees. There were many *khāns*, 24 *ḥammāms*, five great *madrasas*, and twenty large mosques and many small ones.

The streets were narrow, and some had gates closed at night for protection. Houses were high, with few windows on the streets. The interior consisted of ranges of rooms opening into a square interior court, usually with a garden. *Sardābs* were used to avoid heat in summer, while open terraces were convenient for the late afternoon. In summer, people slept on the roof. Baghdad had some industries, especially tanneries and the fabrication of cotton, silk and woollen textiles.

#### VIII. THE LATER OTTOMAN PERIOD

From 1831 to the end of the Ottoman period, the city was directly under rule from Istanbul. Some governors tried to introduce reforms. Mehmed Reshīd Pasha (1847) was the first to try to improve economic conditions. He formed a company to buy two ships for transport between Baghdad and Basra, the success of which led to the corresponding British project. Nāmiq Pasha (1853) founded the *damīr-khāna* which could repair ships. Midḥat Pasha (1869–72) introduced the modern *wilāyet* system. The *wālī* had a *mu'āwin*, or assistant, a *mudīr* for foreign affairs, and a *ma'mūn* or secretary. The *wilāyet* was divided into seven *sanjāqs*, headed by *mutasarrıfs*, Baghdad being one of them. He abolished some obnoxious taxes – the *ihtisāb* (octroi duty) on all produce brought to the city walls for sale; the *tālībīyya*, a tax on river crafts; the *khums ḥatab*, or 20% on fuel; and a tax on irrigation wheels for cultivation, replacing it by a *'ushr* on agricultural produce. In 1870 Midḥat founded a tramway linking Baghdad with al-Kāzımayn, and it continued for 70 years. He established (1869) the first publishing house, the *wilāyet* printing press in Baghdad, and founded *al-Zawra'*, the first newspaper

to appear in Iraq as the official organ of the provincial government; it continued until March 1917 as a weekly paper (Ali Haydar Midhat, *The life of Midḥat Pasha*, London 1903, 47 ff.). With the exception of a few French Missionary schools, there were no modern schools in Baghdad. Between 1869–71, Midḥat established modern schools, a technical school, a junior (*Rushdī*) and a secondary (*I'dādī*) military schools, and a junior and secondary civil (*Mulkī*) schools. Midḥat pulled down the city walls as a step towards its modernisation, and completed the Saray building started by Nāmiq Pasha.

The education movement started by Midḥat continued after him. The junior girls' school was opened in 1899. Four primary schools were opened in 1890, and a primary teachers' school in 1900. By 1913 there were 103 schools in 'Irāq, 67 primary, 29 junior (*Rushdī*), 5 secondary and one college, the law college. Five printing presses were founded between 1884–1907. Newspapers appeared in Baghdad after 1908 and by 1915, 45 papers were being issued by different persons.

*Wālīs* followed Midḥat in quick succession, and little was achieved. In 1886 conscription was established (for Muslims only). In 1879 the hospital built by Midḥat was finally opened. In 1902, a new bridge of boats, wide enough for vehicles to pass, and with a cafe on the south side, was constructed. In 1908 the city sent three representatives to the Ottoman Parliament. In 1910 Nāzım Pasha, the last energetic *wālī*, constructed a bund surrounding East Baghdad to protect it from floods. Administration was headed by the *wālī* assisted by a council, about half of which consisted of elected members, and the rest were appointed (*ex-officio*). About two of the elected members were non-Muslims. The *wālī* was assisted by a *qā'im maqām*. Among important offices were the *Ma'ārif* directorate, the *Tapu* directorate, the registration office, and the civil courts. Until 1868, the city was the centre of the three *eyālets* of Mosul, Basra and Baghdad. In 1861, Mosul became separate, and in 1884 Basra was separated, and Baghdad became the centre of three *mutasarrıflıqs*.

The plague and flood of 1831 left terrible marks on Baghdad. Most of the houses of East Baghdad were ruined and two-thirds of the space within the walls was vacant, while most of al-Karkh was ruined. The walls on both sides had great gaps opened by the flood. The city was in a miserable state compared to

the days of Dāwūd Pasha. Southgate (1837) noticed that the city was slowly recovering from the calamity, and put the population at 40,000. But he saw the *madrasas* neglected and their allowances not properly used. When Felix Jones surveyed the city (1853–4) things had improved. He mentions 63 quarters in East Baghdad, 25 quarters in al-Karkh, most of which still retain their names.

The population of the city increased steadily after the middle of the 19th century. In 1853 it was about 60,000. In 1867, the male population of Baghdad was given as 67,273. In 1877 they were estimated at 70–80,000. In the 1890s the estimate was 80–100,000. In 1900 it was put at 100,000. Another estimate for 1904 is given at 140,000. By 1918, the population was given as 200,000. Travellers were impressed with the great mixture of races, the diversity of speech and the rare freedom enjoyed by non-Muslims and the great toleration among the masses. This mixture has left its imprint on the dialect of Baghdad.

However, Arabic was the common language. The Arab population was increased by the advent of tribal elements. Usually, people of one creed or race congregated in a particular quarter. The Turks generally occupied the northern quarters of the city, while Jews and Christians lived in their ancient quarters north and west of Sūq al-Ghazl respectively. Most of the Persians lived on the west side, but al-Karkh was mainly Arab. Though people of the three religions spoke Arabic, their dialects differed.

At the turn of the century there were still some industries. Among the textiles of Baghdad were silk stuffs, cotton fabrics, stuffs of wool-silk mixture, striped cotton pieces, and coarse cotton cloth for head-scarves and cloaks, sheets and women's outer garments. The silk fabrics were famous for their colour and workmanship. An excellent dyeing industry existed. Tanning was one of the principal industries, and there were about 40 tanneries at Mu'azzam. Carpentry and the manufacture of swords were advanced. There was a military factory for textiles. The Baghdad bazaars were either covered or uncovered like the Sūq al-Ghazl. At the eastern bridgehead was the chief place for trade in the bazaars of the Sarāy, Maydān, Shorja, and the cloth bazaar rebuilt by Dāwūd Pasha. Some bazaars had crafts with their own guilds and, usually, the bazaar was named after it, such as Sūq al-Ṣafāfir (coppersmiths) Sūq al-Sarrājīn (saddlery), Sūq al-Ṣāghā (sil-

versmiths), Sūq al-Khaffāfin (shoemakers), etc. There were two important streets, one from the North Gate to near the bridge, and the other from the South Gate to the end of the main bazaar. In 1915 the North Gate was connected with the South Gate by a road, now known as Rashīd street. In 1862 Nāmiq Pasha tried to repair some of the streets, and in 1889 Sirrī Pasha transformed the Maydān into an open square with a garden. In 1869 Midḥat had formed an elected municipal council and orders were issued to clear the streets. In 1879 municipalities were formed and orders were issued for achieving cleanliness and drainage. Lighting with kerosene lamps was adopted and given to a contractor, but in fact only streets inhabited by notable residents were lit.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the city of Baghdad covered an area of about 4 sq. miles. The remains of the city wall on the eastern side demolished by Midḥat formed, with the river, a rough parallelogram about two miles long with an average width of over a mile. About a third of this area was empty or occupied by graveyards or ruins, and towards the south much space was covered by date groves. Al-Karkh began further upstream than East Baghdad but was much smaller in length and depth. In 1882 there were 16,303 houses, 600 inns, 21 baths, 46 large mosques (*jāmi's*) and 36 small mosques (*maṣjids*), 34 children's *maktabs* and 21 religious schools, 184 coffee-shops and 3,244 shops. In 1884 the figures were: 16,426 houses, 205 inns, 39 baths, 93 *jāmi's* and 42 *maṣjids* and 36 children's *maktabs*. In 1903 the city had 4,000 shops, 285 coffee-shops, 135 orchards, 145 *jāmi's*, 6 primary schools, 8 schools for non-Muslims and 20 convents (*tekkes*), 12 bookshops, one public library, 20 *maktabs* for boys, 8 churches, 9 tanneries, one soap factory, 129 workshops for weaving and 22 textile factories.

By 1909 there were 90,000 houses, and three private printing presses, six churches and six synagogues. Shukrī al-Alūsī described 44 mosques in East Baghdad and 18 in al-Karkh.

During the Ottoman period, Baghdad produced some distinguished poets, including Fuḍūlī, Dhīhnī, Akhras and 'Abd al-Bāqī al-'Umarī; historians like Murtaḍā, Ghurābī and M. Shukrī Alūsī; and jurists like 'Abd Allāh al-Suwaydī and Abu 'l-Thana' al-Alūsī (see al-Alūsī, *al-Misk al-adhfar*, Baghdad 1930).

From the 1930s onward, Baghdad expanded to link up with al-A'zamiyya and al-Kāzimayn to the north,

with the eastern bund to the east, with the great bend of the Tigris to the south, and with the Airport and with nearby suburbs like al-Mansūr and al-Ma'mūn cities. During World War II, Baghdad was the epicentre in spring 1941 of the pro-Axis revolt against Britain of Rashīd 'Alī al-Gaylānī (al-Jilānī), which speedily collapsed but not before a savage massacre of the Jewish population of Baghdad had taken place. In the post-war years, the city expanded so that it came to cover some 15 sq. miles, with a metropolitan area of some 80 sq. miles. The population of the city is now 6.4 millions (2005 estimate).

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**BAKU**, in Arabic script Bākū (with early forms found in the Arabic geographers like Bākuh and Bākuya), a city of eastern Transcaucasia, in north-eastern Azerbaijan, and situated on the western shore of the Caspian Sea and on the southern side of the Apsheron (Ābshārān) peninsula. It lies in lat. 40° 22' N. and long. 49° 53' E., with much of the site of the city being, like the Caspian Sea itself, below sea level. The Bay of Baku provides shelter from northwesterly winds and makes Baku the best harbour of the Caspian.

The early history of Baku is obscure, though the locality seems to be mentioned in Antiquity (cf. J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 97). It is perhaps to be identified with the Gangara or Gaetara of Ptolemy (*Geographia*, ed. C. Müller, i/2, 929). Baku is not apparently mentioned in accounts of the early Muslim conquests, nor by Ibn Khurradādhbih (3rd/9th century), but thereafter it comes fairly into view and is known by name to the 10th-century Muslim geographers, being mentioned by Abū Dulaf in his *Second Risāla* (cf. V. Minorsky, in *Oriens*, v [1952], 25). Abū Dulaf claims to have reached Bākūya, as he calls it, from the south and found there a spring of petroleum, the lease (*qabāla*) of which was 1,000 dirhams a day, with another adjacent well producing white petroleum, which flowed unceasingly day and night and whose lease (*damān*) was also 1,000 dirhams. These details are repeated in several much later accounts, notably those of Yāqūt, i, 477, and al-Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 389. About the same time as Abū Dulaf, al-Mas'ūdī several times mentions Baku. He gives an account of a Russian raid on the Caspian littoral ca. 301/913–14, in the course of which the invaders reached “the naphtha (or petroleum) coast in the country of Shirwān, which is known as Bākuh” (*Murūj*, ii, 21). Al-Mas'ūdī also speaks of Baku as a place to which ships went back and forward from Jīl (Jīlān), Daylam, etc. on the Caspian, if not also from Atil, the Khazar capital on the lower Volga (*ibid.*, 25). In the *Tanbīh*, a later work (written in 345/956) he again speaks of Baku, its “white naphtha” and its volcanoes (*ātām*) (viii, 60).

The *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (written in 372/982 but making use of earlier sources) knows of Baku as a borough or small town, lying on the sea-coast near the mountains. All the petroleum in the Daylamān country came from there (Minorsky, 145, cf. 411: the Daylamīs used it for a kind of flame-thrower). In another passage (*ibid.*, 77) the waters of the Kur and Aras rivers are said to “flow between Mūqān and Baku to join the Khazar Sea (i.e. the Caspian)”, where regions rather than cities are perhaps intended. Since it lay north of the Aras, Baku was usually reckoned as in Shirwān, but according to al-Maqdisī, in 375/989 (who appears to be the first to mention its excellent harbour), Baku was distinct from Shirwān and both were included in Arrān, to which al-Maqdisī gives a much greater extension than most Muslim writers. Al-Iṣṭakhrī (*ca.* 340/951) mentions Baku and already knows of its petroleum.

The best description of mediaeval Baku is by a native of the place, ‘Abd Rashīd b. Šāliḥ al-Bākuwī, who wrote in 806/1402, shortly after the campaigns of Tīmūr in this region. The town was built of stone, actually on rocks, close to the sea, which at the time of writing had carried away part of the walls and had reached the vicinity of the principal mosque. The air was good, but there was a shortage of water. Since in consequence the district was infertile, provisions had to be brought from Shirwān and Mūqān, though there were gardens situated at a distance from the town, producing figs, grapes and pomegranates, to which the inhabitants went in summer. There were two well-built fortresses in the town, of which the larger, on the seaward side, had resisted the attacks of the Tatars, although the other, which was very high, had been partially destroyed during the sieges. Day and night, in winter, high winds blew, sometimes so strongly as to sweep men and animals into the sea. At Baku there were petroleum wells from which daily more than 200 mule-loads were drawn. A by-product in the form of a hard yellow substance was used as fuel in private houses and baths. At a *farsakh* from the town was a perennial source of fire, said to be a sulphur-mine, near which was a village inhabited by Christians, who made and sold lime. There were also salt-mines, the produce of which was exported to other countries. Nearby was an island to which people went to hunt sharks. The skins, when suitably prepared, were filled with petroleum, after which

they were loaded on ships to be taken to the different countries. There was also a considerable trade in silk. In some years a great fire was seen emerging from the sea, visible for a day’s journey. The inhabitants were Sunnī Muslims.

From the later 9th century onwards, Baku came within the lands of the Yazīdī family of Shīrwān Shāhs. The salt-workings (*mallāḥāt*), and the oil deposits (*naḡāla*) which were to make Baku’s fortune in the 20th century, are mentioned at this time as producing much revenue for the Shahs, but the town was not of any great importance then. This long-lived line of Yazīdī Shahs survived the Mongol invasions of the 13th century, which swept northwards through the Caucasus, until the time of the Timurids, after which eastern Transcaucasia came for a while under Ottoman Turkish control, but from 1550 was included within the Safavid empire of Shah Tahmāsp I. For a brief period (1583–1606) Baku reverted to Ottoman control, but then, together with the rest of the western Caspian shore northwards to Darband, became once more part of Safavid Persia. Peter the Great overran eastern Azerbaijan as far as Rasht and Gilan in 1723, but in 1735 Baku and Darband were returned to Persian rule. In 1804 war broke out between the expansionist Russian empire and Qajar Persia; Russian troops eventually, in 1806, occupied Baku, and their possession of it was confirmed by the Gulistān Treaty of 1813.

Baku under Russian dominion was at first very slow to develop. In 1807 the town had only 5,000 inhabitants, grouped within the old citadel. The naphtha deposits, exploitation of which had been a monopoly of the former rulers of Baku, now became Imperial Russian crown property, and the first drilling took place in 1842 on the Apsheron peninsula. In 1872 exploitation was freed, and the deposits sold by auction.

This period marks the beginning of Baku’s rapid growth, favoured by the construction in 1877–8 of a pipe-line connecting Baku with the Apsheron oil fields. In 1883 the town was connected by railway with the rest of Transcaucasia and with the interior of Russia. Finally, in 1907 the pipe-line linking Baku with the port of Batum on the Black Sea coast of Georgia was completed. Whereas in 1859 Baku had still only 13,000 inhabitants, the “oil rush” of 1879 brought the figure up to 112,000. By the turn

of the century, the Baku oil field was the largest in the world.

In the opening years of the 20th century, industrialised Baku was racked by unrest and strikes, and trade unions were formed under Social Democratic Party stimulus. The revolutionary upheavals within Russia during 1917–18 led to the collapse of Imperial Russian rule in Baku, and on 31 July 1918 there was set up an independent Republic of Azerbaijan, dominated by the Turkish ethnic majority of the region and with Baku as its capital; but once the civil warfare in Russia was ended, with the Bolsheviks generally in control, the Red Army invaded and suppressed the Azerbaijan Republic on 28 April 1920. Under Soviet rule, the Azerbaijan SSR was set up and Baku became a Western-type industrial city as the centre of the oil industry; it acquired a university and became the seat of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences. By 1939 it was the fifth city of the USSR, with 809,000 inhabitants, one-third of whom were Azerbaijani Turks, one-third Armenians and one-third Russians. By the later 20th century it was the seventh largest city of the USSR.

In 1991 Baku became the capital of the independent Azerbaijan Republic. In the ensuing fighting between Azerbaijan and the new Armenian Republic, the Armenian population of Baku, at that time some 200,000, fled to the Armenian Republic. Baku now has an estimated population of over two million people.

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**BASRA**, in Arabic, al-Baṣra, in mediaeval and early modern Western usage, Balsora, Balsara, Bassorah etc., a city of Lower Mesopotamia which had a glorious early Islamic past and is now a major city of the Iraq Republic. It is situated on the left bank of the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab some 115 km/70 miles from the open water at the head of the Persian Gulf, 420 km/280 miles to the south of Baghdad, and in lat. 30° 30' N., long. 47° 50' E.

In the course of history the site of the town has changed somewhat, and we may distinguish between Old Basra, marked today by the village of Zubayr, and New Basra, which was founded in the 11th/18th century in the proximity of the ancient al-Ubulla and which is the starting point of the modern town of Basra, for the rapid growth of which the discovery of oil to the west of Zubayr is responsible.

#### I. BASRA UNTIL THE MONGOL CONQUEST (656/1258)

Although probably built on the site of ancient Diriditis (= Teredon) and more certainly on the site of the Persian settlement which bore the name of Vahishtābādh Ardashēr, the Muslim town can be considered as a new construction. After having camped, in 14/635, on the ruins of the old Persian post called by the Arabs al-Khurayba (“the little ruin”), the Companion of the Prophet ‘Utba b. Ghazwān chose this location, in 17/638, to establish, on orders from ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the military camp which was the basis of the town of Basra (the name of which is probably derived from the nature of the soil). Situated at a distance of approximately 15 km from the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab, this camp was destined to afford a control over the route from the Persian gulf, from Iraq and from Persia, and to constitute a starting base for the subsequent expeditions to the east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, while at the same time it contributed to the settlement of the Bedouins. At the outset the dwelling places were simple huts made out of rushes which were easily gathered from the neighbouring Baṭā’ih or marsh lands; they were subsequently strengthened with low walls, and then, after a conflagration, rebuilt with crude bricks. It was only under Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān that the latter were replaced by baked bricks and that the town began to assume a truly town-



like appearance, with a new Great Mosque and a residence for the governor; the rampart, bordered by a ditch, was not constructed until 155/771–2. At all times, the supplying of Basra with drinking water posed a grave problem and, in spite of the digging of different canals and the utilisation of the bed of the ancient Pallacopas to provide the town with a river port, the inhabitants were forced to go as far as the Tigris to get their supplies.

This inconvenience, added to the rigours of the climate, would have been enough to prevent the military encampment becoming a great city, but political, economic and psychological factors were sufficiently strong to keep the Basrans in the town which owed its development to them, until the time when other factors intervened – in the first place the foundation of Baghdad, and then the dissolution of the central power and political anarchy, which ushered in a decline as total as the growth had been rapid.

At the beginning of its existence, Basra provided contingents for the Arab armies of conquest, and the men of Basra took part in the battle of Nihāwand (21/642), and the conquests of Iṣṭakhr, Fars, Khurasan and Sijistān (29/650). At this stage the military camp was playing its natural rôle, but then the booty began to flow in and the men of Basra began to be aware of their importance; then it was that the pace of events accelerated and the town became the stage for the first great armed conflict in which Muslims fought against their brother Muslims, the Battle of the Camel (36/656). Before the fight the inhabitants had been divided in their loyalties, and the victory of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib served only to increase their disorder, but, on the whole, the population remained, and was to remain, more Sunni than Shi‘ite, in contrast to ‘Alid Kūfa. In the following year (37/657), men from Basra took part in the battle of Ṣifṭīn in the ranks of ‘Alī, but it was, at the same time, also from Basra that a considerable number of the first Khārījites were recruited. In 41/662 Mu‘āwiya re-asserted the authority of the Umayyads over the town, and then sent there, in 45/665, Ziyād, who may, to a certain degree, be considered as the artisan of the town’s prosperity. Basra was divided into five tribal divisions (*khums*, pl. *akḥmās*): Ahl al-‘Āliya (the inhabitants of the high district of Ḥijāz), Tamīm, Bakr b. Wā’il, ‘Abd al-Qays and Azd. These Arab elements constituted the military aristocracy of Basra and absorbed, in the ranks of *mawālī* or slaves, the indigenous population

(undoubtedly relatively few in number) and a host of immigrant peoples (Iranians, Indians, people from Sind, Malays, Zanj, etc.), who espoused the quarrels of their masters, among whom the old tribal *‘aṣabiyya* or group solidarity was slow to lose its force. The local situation was aggravated under the rule of the governor ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād, and on his death (64/683) serious disturbances broke out; after a period of anarchy the Zubayrids seized control of Basra which remained under their authority until 72/691. During the following years, the primary concern of the Umayyads was to be the suppression of a number of uprisings, the most important of which was that of Ibn al-Ash‘ath in 81/701. The period of calm which then prevailed until the death of al-Ḥajjaj (95/714) was only to be further disrupted by the revolt of the Muhallabids in 101–2/719–20 and certain seditions of a minor character. The town then passed, without too much difficulty, under the control of the ‘Abbasids, but the proximity of the new capital was not slow in robbing Basra of its character of a semi-independent metropolis which it had possessed since its foundation; it became henceforth a simple provincial town, periodically threatened by revolts of a character more social than political; first the revolt of the Zuṭṭ, who spread a reign of terror in the region from 205 to 220/820–35, then the Zanj who seized power in 257/871, and finally the Carmathians who plundered it in 311/923; shortly after this it fell into the hands of the Barīdids, from whom the Buyids recaptured it in 336/947; then it passed under the sway of the Mazyadids and experienced a resurgence of prosperity, although the new rampart constructed in 517/1123, at a distance of 2 km within the old one, which had been destroyed towards the end of the 5th/11th century, is sufficient proof of the decline of the town. The neighbouring nomads (in particular the Muntafiq) took advantage of the political anarchy to subject the town to their depredations; from 537/1142/3, affirms a copyist of Ibn Ḥawqal, a number of buildings were destroyed; and in our time there is nothing left of the ancient metropolis save a building known by the name of Maṣjid ‘Alī and the tombs of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Ibn Sīrīn and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.

The town reached its zenith in the 2nd/8th century and the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. At this period it was fully developed and its population had increased to considerable proportions. Although

the figures given are wildly divergent (varying from 200,000 to 600,000), Basra was, for the Middle Ages, a very great city and, what is more, a “complete metropolis”: it was at the same time a commercial centre, with its Mirbad which was halting place for caravans and its river port, al-Kallā’, which accommodated ships of fairly large tonnage; a financial centre, thanks to the Jewish and Christian elements and the bourgeois of non-Arab stock; an industrial centre with its arsenals; even an agricultural centre with its numerous varieties of dates; and finally, the home of an intense religious and intellectual activity. “Basra, in fact, is the veritable crucible in which Islamic culture assumed its form, crystallised in the classical mould, between the first and 4th century of the *hijra* (from 16/637 to 311/923)” (L. Massignon). It is, in fact, worth remembering that it was here that Arabic grammar was born and made illustrious by Sibawayh and al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad in particular, and that Mu’tazilism was developed with Wāṣil b. ‘Aṭā’, ‘Amr b. ‘Ubayd, Abu ‘l-Hudhayl, al-Nazzām and so many others; here also it was that scholars such as Abū ‘Amr b. al-‘Alā, Abū ‘Ubayda, al-Aṣmā’ī and Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Madā’inī collected verses and historical traditions which nurtured the works of later writers. In the religious sphere, the sciences shone with an intense brilliance, while al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and his disciples founded mysticism. In the field of poetry, Basra can claim the great Umayyad poets and the modernists Bashshār b. Burd and Abū Nuwās; finally, it was in this town that Arabic prose was born, with Ibn al-Muqaffā’, Sahl b. Hārūn and al-Jāhīz. After the 3rd/9th century, the intellectual decline is not so clearly marked as the political and economic decline, and, thanks to Ibn Sawwār, the town was endowed with a library whose fame was to endure; the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and al-Ḥarīrī made their contribution to the maintenance of the ancient city’s prestige, but Arab culture in general was already decadent, and Baghdad, as well as other provincial capitals, tended to supplant Basra completely.

## II. LATER MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN BASRA

Basra, already much reduced in size and vitality in the 5th–7th/11th–13th centuries, was further and faster debilitated by the destruction, near-anarchy and neglect which followed the Mongol Hülegü’s

visit to Iraq in 656/1258, and the installation there of an Il-Khanid government, for which Basra was the remotest of provinces, with periods of disturbance, insurgence or secession. In the mid-8th/14th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the city largely in ruins, and, while some principal buildings (including the great mosque) still stood, already tending towards transfer from its original site to another (its modern location), a dozen miles distant, on or near the site of Ubulla: a move dictated by reasons partly of security, partly by the deterioration of the canals. The great date-belt of the Shaṭṭ al-‘Arab remained the wealth and pride of the Basrans. But its cultural and economic life declined throughout the Jalāyirid and Turkmen periods of Iraqi history – 740/1340 to 914/1508 – and when at last at the latter date it fell, with all Iraq, to the Persian power of Shāh Ismā‘īl for a brief generation – 914/1508 to 941/1534 – it was, in its now established new position two miles upstream of a main canal (the modern ‘Ashār creek), a provincial town of little interest apart from its sea-port status, its gardens, and its predilection for local independence from distant suzerains.

The Ottoman conquest of Iraq in 941/1534, which further strengthened the Sunni elements in the population already prevalent, had little other effect on its status or fortunes; the Turkish pasha of Baghdad was satisfied with a minimum of respect and tribute from the marsh-surrounded and tribe-threatened city of the far south; and when in 953/1546 the independent amirs of Basra became too offensive, two expeditions from central Iraq succeeded in restoring some semblance of the sultan’s authority as against powerful local (tribal or urban) candidates for power. A longer and more successful attempt at quasi-independence, under merely nominal imperial suzerainty, was made by a local notable of now unascertainable origins, Afrāsiyāb, and his son and grandson ‘Alī Pasha (1034/1624) and Ḥusayn Pasha (ca. 1060/1650). This interesting dynasty opened the gates of Basra and its waterways to the representatives and merchant-fleets of the Europeans – Portuguese, British, Dutch – then active in the commerce of the Persian Gulf; it survived, with vicissitudes and interruptions, for some 45 years against the armed and diplomatic efforts of the Pasha of Baghdad, the threats of the Safavid Shāh, and the intrigues of local rivals and turncoat tribesmen. Its restoration to the empire was still incomplete until after a further full

generation of local uprisings and Persian penetration, tribal dominance (of the Ḥuwayza tribes and the Muntafiq), and decimation by plague.

Throughout the two centuries (18th–19th) following these events, Basra remained the metropolis of southern Iraq, the country's sole port – however primitive and ill-equipped – the base for a decayed and microscopic fleet, the centre of the date trade, and the gateway to the tribes and princes of Arabia, Khūzistān, and the Persian Gulf. The city, whose administration evolved after 1247/1831 only slowly towards modernity, was ever at the mercy of tribal marauders and even invaders, notably by the great Muntafiq tribal group, and by plague and inundation.

During the campaigns of Nādir Shāh in Iraq in the mid-18th century, Basra was threatened and for a time besieged, and his withdrawal was followed by the usual attempts at secession. Sound and vigorous government was witnessed under rare governors or *mutasallims* of higher quality, including Sulaymān Abū Layla from 1749 and Sulaymān the Great from 1765. The establishment of European (British, French, Italian) permanent trading-posts, consulates and missions slowly gained ground, but disorder scarcely diminished and tribal threats increased with the rise, after 1740, of the powerful Sa'dūn leadership in the Muntafiq. The siege and occupation of the city and district in 1775–9 by the Persian forces of Ṣaḍīq Khān, brother of Karīm Khān Zand, was a curiously detached episode of Basra's history; it was succeeded by the return of all the familiar conditions. Threats to Basra by the fleet of the Imām of Muscat in 1798 came to nothing, though rivals for tribal or governmental power in southern Iraq sought him as an ally, for example in 1825. The great plague of Baghdad in 1831 did not fail to infect the Port also, and increased its weakness and disorders. The period 1832–1914 was one of slow development, improving security and increasing commercial links with Europe and America. Basra became a province or *wilāyet* in 1850 and, among its eminent families and personalities, a centre of nascent Arab nationalism.

During the British occupation of Iraq (from 1914) and subsequent Mandate (1920–32), the transformation of Basra into its most modern form was rapid. The port was constructed on spacious modern lines and fully equipped, a deep channel at the mouth of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab dredged, and the town itself and its suburbs improved by a variety of new roads,

buildings and public services. It became the southern terminus of Iraq Railways, and an air centre of increasing importance. Under the Iraq government, it became the headquarters of a *liwā* which included the dependent *qaḍās* of Abu 'l-Khaṣīb and Qurna. The city, with its suburbs of Ma'qīl and 'Ashār, contained in 1955 some 200,000 souls. With improved security and communications, Basra took its place as by far the leading port and entrepôt of the Persian Gulf, and Iraq's indispensable outlet. During the three decades preceeding 1957 further important improvements were carried out to its urban pattern, streets (including an imposing cornice road), public and commercial buildings, and public services and facilities. The vast date gardens (within which, however, life remained poor and primitive) and the magnificent waterway of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab offer a remarkable setting to the modernised city of Basra and its spreading suburbs, with their characteristic mixture of the primitive, the mediaeval, and the fully modern. The date export trade has been further organised and centralised under a Board located at Basra. Exploration for petroleum by a Company of the Iraq Petroleum Co. group was rewarded by the discovery of an important oil-field near Zubayr in 1948, followed by others (notably al-Rumayla) in the *liwā*. Export of oil, by pipelines to Fāḍ, began in 1951. The industry developed rapidly and on a major scale, and became Basra's greatest source of employment, technical education and wealth. A small oil refinery was completed at Muftiyya in 1952. Meanwhile, the city and district continued to benefit greatly, from 1934 but increasingly after 1952, from the growing richness of the central government of Iraq through its exploited oil resources. Important developments in flood-protection, land reclamation and perennial irrigation were planned in the vicinity of the city.

Basra was near the front line during the Iraq-Iran War of the 1980s. It has retained its position as Iraq's third largest city and as the administrative centre of the *muhāfaẓa* or province of the same name. The population (2005 estimate) is 2.5 million.

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The history of Basra during its first two or three centuries was written by at least four authors, 'Umar b. Shabba, Madā'inī, Sājī and Ibn al-A'rābī. None of these works has

survived, but material from them can be found in the standard historians and geographers for these early centuries (Balādhurī, Ṭabarī, Ibn Sa'd, Ibn al-Athīr, Ibn al-Faḡh, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Maqdisī, Idrīsī, Yaqūt, etc.). See the syntheses of these in Caetani, *Annali del Islam*, iii, 292–309, 769–84; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 44–6; Ch. Pellat, *Le milieu basrien at la formation de Ġāhiz*, Paris 1953. Also Qāḍī Nūr al-Dīn al-Anṣārī, *al-Nuṣra fī akhbār al-Baṣra*, ed. Yūsuf 'Izz al-Dīn, Baghdad 1396/1976. For the ancient topography of the city, L. Massignon, *Explication du plan de Baṣra*, in F. Meier (ed.), *Westöstliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi. Zum siebzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern*, Wiesbaden 1954, 154–74; F.M. Donner, *Tribal settlement in Baṣra during the first century A.H.*, in Tarif Khalidi (ed.), *Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East*, Beirut 1984, 97–120; Ṣāliḥ al-'Alī, *Khūṭaṭ al-Baṣra wa-mintaqatihā*, Baghdad 1406/1986. For social and economic institutions in the early period, al-'Alī, *al-Tanzīmāt al-ijtimā'iyya wa 'l-iqtisādīyya fī 'l-Baṣra fī 'l-qarn al-auwal al-hijrī*, Baghdad 1953.

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**BEIRUT**, Beyrouth, in Arabic Bayrūt, a city and port on the Levant coast of the eastern Mediterranean. In its earliest stage it was situated on the northern edge of St. George's Bay, but is now an urban agglomeration stretching along the coasts and inland towards the Lebanese mountain chain, the Matn region to the north and the Shūf to the south. It lies in lat. 33° 52' N., long. 36° 30' E. The etymology of the name, long disputed, is no doubt derived from the Hebrew *be'erot*, plural of *be'er* ("well"), the only local means of water supply until the Roman period. As a human habitat, the site is prehistoric, traces of the Acheulian and Levalloisian periods having been found there.

It is as a port on the Phoenician coast that the agglomeration appears under the name Beruta in the tablets of Tell al-'Amarna (14th century B.C.), at that time a modest settlement long since eclipsed

by Byblos (Jubayl). During an obscure period of twelve centuries, Beruta underwent the passage of armies coming up from Egypt or descending from Mesopotamia, among whom was Ramses II in the 13th century and Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, in the 7th century. Towards 200 B.C., Antiochus III the Great gained a victory over Ptolemy V and annexed Beirut to the Seleucid kingdom and Syria. The town, for a time called Laodicea of Canaan, was destroyed about 140 B.C. by the Syrian usurper Tryphon. Despite this disaster, the port saw a great rise owing to the commercial relations with Delos, the Italians and the Romans; Beirut then found its vocation as a link between Orient and Occident.

Taken by Marcus Agrippa in the name of the Emperor Augustus, the town was rebuilt, embellished by remarkable edifices and peopled by veteran Roman legionaries. In 14 B.C. it was raised to the rank of a Roman colony (*Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus*). Very rapidly Berytus became a great administrative centre (Herod the Great and his successors were resident there), an important station of commerce and exchange, and a well-attended university city. Its school of law, from the 3rd century A.D., enjoyed particular acclaim and by its brilliance rivalled Athens, Alexandria and Caesarea. The increase in population made it necessary to construct for its water supply an important aqueduct (*Qanātir Zubayda*) in the valley of the Magoras (*Nahr Bayrūt*). By the end of the 4th century Berytus was one of the most important cities in Phoenicia and the seat of a bishopric. A violent earthquake, accompanied by a tidal wave, destroyed it in July 551. Justinian had the ruins restored, but the city had lost its splendour, and it was a town without defences that the troops of Abū 'Ubayda took when they entered in 14/635 the most Roman of the cities of the Orient.

Under Muslim domination, a new era began for Beirut. The Umayyad caliph Mu'āwiya had colonists brought from Persia to repopulate the city and its surrounding area, sericulture prospered again, and commercial relations resumed at first with the interior (Damascus) and later with Egypt. In the first centuries of Islam, Beirut was considered a *ribāṭ*, and the holy Imām of Syria, Al-Awzā'ī, installed himself there in 157/774. In 364/975 the Greek Emperor John Tzimisce conquered the city, but shortly after the Fatimids retook it from the Byzantines. The Arab geographers of the 4th and 5th/10th and 11th

centuries all mention that the city was fortified, and subject to the *jund* of Damascus.

The Crusades brought fresh troubles. In 492/1099 the Crusaders coming from the north along the coast did no more than provision themselves at Beirut; they returned there after the capture of Jerusalem. In 503/1110 Baldwin I and Bertrand of St. Gilles blockaded the city by land and sea. An Egyptian fleet managed to get supplies to the besieged, but a reinforcement of Pisan and Genoese ships enabled them to launch an assault and take the city on 21 Shawwāl 503/13 May 1110. In 1112 nomination of the first Latin bishop took place, Baldwin of Boulogne, who relieved the Patriarch of Jerusalem, since in the Greek ecclesiastical organisation of the 11th century Beirut had been subject to Antioch. The Hospitallers built the church of St. John the Baptist, which became the mosque of al-'Umarī. In Rabī' II 578/August 1182, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sought to separate the County of Tripoli from the Kingdom of Jerusalem by retaking Beirut, but it was not until the second attempt in Jumādā II 583/August 1187 that the city capitulated. In Dhu 'l-Qa'da 593/September 1197, Amalric of Lusignan took the city, whose Ayyubid garrison had fled. The Ibelins restored the defences of Beirut and renewed its brilliance throughout the Latin Orient. In 1231 Riccardo Filanghiari occupied the city, but not the castle, on behalf of the Emperor Frederick II.

Shortly after the accession of the Mamluks at Cairo, the lords of Beirut were reduced to treat with them in order to preserve their independence with respect to the other Franks. In 667/1269 Baybars gave a guarantee of peace. In 684/1285 Sulṭān Qalāwūn granted a truce which allowed a resumption of commercial activity, and finally, on 23 Rajab 690/23 July 1291, the Amīr Sanjar Abū Shujā'ī, coming from Damascus, occupied Beirut in the name of al-Malik al-Ashraf Khalīl. Under the Mamluks, Beirut was an important *wilāya* in the province (*jund*) of Damascus, and its governor was an *amīr ṭablkhāna*. During the entire Middle Ages, possession of Beirut was a powerful trump card, for one could procure there two rare strategic materials, wood, from the pine forest south of the city, and iron, from the mines nearby.

In the 8th/14th century, commerce was troubled, the port having become the scene of rivalries between Genoese and Catalans, and the Mamluk rulers reinforced its defences, Tanghiz (744/1343) and Barqūq

(784–91/1382–9) each having a tower constructed. In the 9th/15th century, Beirut continued to be the meeting-place of western merchants who came there seeking silks, while fruit and snow were exported to the court at Cairo. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, the Frankish merchants were subjected to the extortions of the semi-autonomous governors nominated by the Porte. Under the Ma'nid *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn (1595/1634), the city saw a brilliant period, and relations were renewed with Venice. In exports, silk surpassed citrus fruits, while rice and linen cloth was imported from Egypt.

In the middle of the 18th century, Beirut was the most heavily populated coastal city after Syrian Tripoli, the nucleus of the population being the Maronites protected by the Druze *amīrs*. Suffering the counter-attacks of the Russo-Turkish war, Beirut was bombarded several times and finally occupied by the Russians in October 1773, until February 1774. From 1831 on, despite the competent administration of Bashīr II the Great (1788–1850), the campaigns of Ibrāhīm Pasha, which terminated in the bombardment of Beirut by a combined Austrian, English and Turkish fleet in 1840, ruined commerce. A new era began in 1860. The massacre of the Christians in Syria led to a major exodus towards Beirut, and the tiny city of 20,000 acquired a deep Christian imprint.

Beirut became the capital of a State of Greater Lebanon carved out of the Arab lands of the Ottoman Empire in 1920 and placed under a French mandate. Until the end of the mandate in 1943 it was the residence of the High Commissioner of France for the States of the Levant. Independence was achieved in 1943, and Beirut became the capital of the Lebanese Republic, the seat of its Parliament and administration. Beirut flourished greatly during the ensuing years, with its three universities of major repute, the American University of Beirut, the Université St.-Joseph and the Lebanese University, and it consolidated its long-established position as a major centre of Arab intellectual and cultural life, with a plethora of publishing houses there only equalled in number by those of Cairo. This florescence continued for over thirty years of independent Lebanon, but from 1975 the city was rent apart by the civil warfare which erupted in that year and continued for some twenty years. Much of downtown Beirut was destroyed, and is only slowly

being rebuilt, and the city became divided *de facto* into Muslim and Christian sectors. The port of Beirut, which had handled two-and-a-half million tons of freight in 1950, came to a halt. Only in recent years has Beirut revived somewhat, although the security situation there, despite the departure of what were in effect occupying Syrian troops, has remained fragile and has now been further worsened by the Israeli-Hizbollah warfare of summer 2006. The present population of the city has been estimated (in the absence of censuses) at two millions.

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**BIJAPUR**, in Arabic script Bijāpūr, an ancient town of South India, situated on the plateau of the Deccan in lat. 16° 47' N., long. 75° 48' E., some 480 km/300 miles to the southeast of Bombay.

#### I. HISTORY

As Vijayapura (“city of victory”) it was the capital of the Hindu Yādavā kings from 1190 to 1294, when it was captured by ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaljī for his uncle, the Delhi Sultan Jalāl al-Dīn Khaljī. In 895/1489 the commander Yūsuf Khan (to whom some historians fancifully assigned an Ottoman Turkish origin but who was more feasibly of servile Turkmen origin), who had been formerly in the service of the Bahmanids of the northern Deccan, assumed power at Bijapur. Amongst other places, he captured Goa, and assumed the title of ‘Ādil Shāh, thus founding

the dynasty of the ‘Ādil Shāhs which was to endure for almost two centuries (895–1097/1490–1686).

He was succeeded by three incapable or profligate rulers. In 965/1557 ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh came to the throne; he built the city wall of Bijapur, the Jāmi’ Masjid, aqueducts and other public utility works. In 973/1565 the combined troops of Bijapur, Aḥmadnagar and Golconda defeated the Vijayanagar forces at the battle of Tālikōṭa. ‘Alī ‘Ādil Shāh died in 987/1579 and was succeeded by his minor nephew Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh, under the regency of the famous Chānd Bībī. He died in 1036/1626 after an independent rule of 47 years and was succeeded by Muḥammad ‘Ādil Shāh, during whose reign, Sīvājī, the Marāthā leader, rose to power. His father Shāhjī Bhōnslē was a petty officer of the Bijapur Sultan. Having been bred and brought up on Bijapur “salt”, Sīvājī repaid the debt of gratitude by attacking Bijapur territory and between 1056/1646 and 1058/1648 he seized many forts of importance. In 1067/1656–7 Awrangzīb, while still a prince, attacked and besieged Bijapur but on hearing of the serious illness of Shāhjahān had to lift the siege and leave for Agra. Thirty years later (1097/1686), Awrangzīb succeeded in subduing Bijapur during the reign of Sikandar ‘Ādil Shāh, the last of the ‘Ādil Shāhs. Sikandar ‘Ādil Shāh was imprisoned and allowed a pension by Awrangzīb. He died in 1111/1699–1700. The ‘Ādil Shāhs had been great patrons of art and literature. Malik Qummī, the poet and Ṣūhūrī, the celebrated author of the two Persian classics, *Sih nathr* and *Mīnā bazār*, adorned for a considerable time the court of Ibrāhīm ‘Ādil Shāh, himself a poet, who composed in Dakhanī Urdu.

In 1100/1688 Bijapur was visited by a virulent type of bubonic plague which claimed 150,000 persons, including Awrangābādī Maḥall, a queen of Awrangzīb, while Ghāzī Dīn Firūz Jang, a high noble, lost an eye. Towards the close of his reign Awrangzīb appointed his youngest son, Kām Bakhsh, to the government of Bijapur. On Awrangzīb’s death, Kām Bakhsh proclaimed himself Emperor at Bijapur, assuming the title of *Dīn-Panāh*. In 1137/1724 Bijapur was included in the dominions of the Nizām of Ḥaydarābād. It was, however, transferred to the Marāthās in 1174/1760 for a sum of 6,000,000 rupees. On the overthrow of the Peshwā in 1234/1818 the British occupied Bijapur

and assigned it to the Rājā of Satārā, in whose possession it remained till 1266/1848 when, on the lapse of the State, it formed part of British Indian territory. In 1281/1864 Bijapur was made a separate district and in many of the old palaces were housed Government offices which were, however, later moved elsewhere.

Bijapur, apart from the plague epidemic of 1100/1688, also suffered from two terrible famines. The first occurred in 1130/1718 and continued for six long years, decimating the population of the city. It is still remembered as the Skull Famine, the ground being covered with the skulls of the unburied dead. The second occurred in 1234/1818–19 reducing the once flourishing city to a mere township of a few thousand souls, which has since then remained a city of desolate palaces and historical ruins.

Present-day Bijapur is the administrative centre of a District of the same name in the northern part of Karnataka State in the Indian Union. It has textile and chemical industries, and has colleges affiliated to Karnatak University in Dharwar. The population (2005 census) was 280,000.

## II. MONUMENTS

The ‘Ādil Shāhīs developed the building art above all others, and their architecture is the most satisfactory of all the Deccan styles, both structurally and aesthetically; hence their capital, Bijapur shows a more profuse display of excellent and significant buildings than any other city in India except Delhi. The Bijapur style is coherent within itself, and there is a gradual progression between its two main phases. Most worthy of note are the doming system with its striking treatment of pendentives; profuse employment of minarets and *guldastas* as ornamental features, especially in the earlier phase; elaborate cornices; reliance on mortar of great strength and durability. The materials employed are either rubble-and-plaster or masonry; the stone used in masonry work is local, a very brittle trap. There is evidence to show that architects were imported from North India, and that use was freely made of local Hindu craftsmanship.

Pre-‘Ādil Shāhī works are few: the rough *mīnārs* (Ar. *manār*) with wooden galleries, in the walling of the Makka Masjid; Karīm al-Dīn’s mosque, with an inscription of 720/1320, from pillars of old Hindū temples, trabeate, with elevated central portion

as clerestory, recalling the mosques of Gujarāt; the Bahmanī *wāzīr* Khwāja Jahān’s mosque, ca. 890/1485, similar but without clerestory.

No ‘Ādil Shāhī building can be certainly assigned to the reign of Yūsuf. The earliest dated structure, referred to as Yūsuf’s Jāmi’ Masjid, strikingly foreshadows the style to come with single hemispherical dome on tall circular drum with the base surrounded by a ring of vertical foliations so that the whole dome resembles a bud surrounded by petals, and façade arches struck from two centres, the curves stopping some way from the crown and continued to the apex by tangents to the curve; an inscription of 918/1512–13 records its erection by Khwāja Sanbal in the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh Bahmanī, indicating that Bahmanī suzerainty was still acknowledged some time after the ‘Ādil Shāhī defection. Of Ibrāhīm’s reign are also the massive Dakhnī ‘Īdgāh (within the present city walls) and several small mosques, on one of which (Ikhlās Khān’s) the arch spandrels are filled with medallions supported by a bracket-shaped device, later a very common ornament. Only one mosque of this period (Ibrāhīmpur, 932/1526) is domed.

The long reign of ‘Ālī I saw much building activity: the city walls, uneven in quality since each noble was responsible for a section, completed 973/1565, with five main gates flanked by bastions and machicolated, approached by drawbridges across a moat, beyond which is a revetted counterscarp and covert way (many bastions modified to take heavy guns; inscriptions of Muḥammad and ‘Ālī II); the Gagan (“sky”) Maḥall, an assembly hall with much work in carved wood; a mosque in memory of *sayyid* ‘Ālī Shāhīd Pīr, small (10.8 m square) but superbly decorated with cut-plaster, with a steep wagon-vaulted roof parallel to the façade, a tall narrow chimney-like vault over the *miḥrāb* which has a door leading outside; the Shāhpur suburbs; outside Bijapur, the forts of Shāhdrug (966/1558), Dhārwar (975/1567), Shāhanur and Bankapur (981/1573); ‘Ālī’s own severely plain tomb; and his Jāmi’ Masjid, generally ascribed to 985/1576, a fine large (137.2 by 82.3 m) building, not fully completed (only buttresses where tall *mīnārs* were to be added, no *kanguras* over façade), sparingly ornamented (only the central arch of seven in the *livān* facade is cusped and decorated with medallion-and-bracket spandrels), with the great hemispherical dome, standing on a square

triforium, capped by the crescent, a symbol used by the 'Ādil Shāhīs alone among the Dakhnī dynasties. The cornice is an improvement on earlier works by showing deeper brackets over each pier instead of a row of uniform size. The vaulting system of the dome depends on cross-arching: two intersecting squares of arches run across the hall between the piers under the dome, meeting to form an octagonal space over which the dome rests; the pendentives thus overhang the hall and counteract any side-thrust of the dome. The exterior walls are relieved by a ground-floor course of blind arches over which is a loggia of open arches.

In Ibrāhīm II's reign fine sculptured stonework replaces the earlier rubble-and-plaster. The palace complex dates from about 990/1582 (Sāt Manzil, "Granary", Chīnī Maḥall); the first building in elaborate sculptured stone is Malika Jahān's mosque (994/1586–7), which introduces a new shape by the dome forming three-quarters of a sphere above its band of foliation. The Bukhārī mosque and three others on the Shāhpur suburb are very similar, and fine stonework occurs also in perhaps the greatest work of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, the mausoleum of Ibrāhīm II and his family known as the Ibrāhīm Rawḍa: within a garden enclosure 137.2 m square stand a tomb and mosque on a common plinth; the tomb (shown by inscriptions to have been intended for the queen Tāj Sultāna only) has uneven spacing of the columns and other features, and the cenotaph chamber is covered with geometric and calligraphic designs, reputedly the entire text of the Qur'ān. The mosque columns are regular. The whole composition is in perfect balance and was minutely planned before building. An inscription gives the date of completion, by *abjad*, as 1036/1626. Palaces of this reign include the Ānand Maḥall, built for entertainments (*Basātīn al-salātīn* of Ghulām Murtaḍā), and the Āthār Maḥall (1000/1591) with fine painted wood decoration including some fresco figure-paintings thought to be the work of Italian artists. The Andā ("Egg") Maṣjid, 1017/1608, has the mosque (presumably for the use of women) on the upper storey, with a *sarā'ī* below; the masonry is polished and finely jointed, and above is a ribbed dome. In 1008/1599 Ibrāhīm proposed moving his seat of government some five km west of Bijapur where the water supply was better; but the new town, Nawraspur, was sacked in 1034/1624, before its completion, by Malik 'Anbar, and little

remains. Other work includes the mosque known as the Naw Gunbadh, the only Bijapur building with multiple doming; the fine but incomplete mausoleum of the brother *pīrs* Ḥamīd and Laṭīf Allāh Qādirī (d. 1011/1602 and 1021/1612); and, the supreme example of the later work of this reign, the Mihtar-i Maḥall, really a gateway to the inner courtyard of a mosque in the city, with a narrow façade based on a vertical double square, richly covered with stone diaper patterns and with a balcony supported by long struts of carved stone, their decoration resembling, and really more appropriate to, woodwork patterns; fine panelled ceilings within; superb cornices and elaborate *mīnārs*, outside, all richly carved.

Works of Muḥammad's reign are of uncertain chronology owing to lack of inscriptions and historical records. Muṣṭafā Khān's mosque is plain with a façade in which the central arch is much wider than the flanking ones, following the pattern of many of the older palaces; his Sarā'ī (inscription of 1050/1640–1); a *Maḥall* at 'Aynāpur; tombs of the *wazīr* Nawāz Khān (ob. 1058/1647) and of several *pīrs* showing a decadence in style with a second storey and dome too attenuated for the size of the buildings; Afḍal Khān's mausoleum and mosque, where the second storey is of insufficient height (the mosque being the only two-storeyed one in Bijapur, the upper *lūwān* being the duplicate of the lower except for the absence of a *minbar*, hence presumably for Afḍal Khān's *zanāna*, 63 members of which have their reputed graves one km to the south: inscription in mausoleum 1064/1653); and the major building work, one of the supreme structural triumphs of Muslim building anywhere, Muḥammad's own mausoleum, the Gol Gunbadh. The tomb building, standing within a mausoleum complex, is formally simple: a hemispherical dome, of 43.9 m external diameter, is supported on an almost cubical mass 47.4 m square (external), with a staged octagonal turret at each angle. The floor area covered, about 1693 m<sup>2</sup>, is the largest in the world covered by a single dome. External decoration is simple, confined to the great cornice 3.5 m wide supported by four courses of brackets, the openings on the pagoda-like corner turrets, and the merlons and *mīnārs* of the skyline. The dome is supported internally by arches in intersecting squares as in the Jāmi' Maṣjid; inscription over the south door gives the date of Muḥammad's death by *abjad* as 1067/1656, at which time work



on the building presumably stopped, the plastering being incomplete. Unfinished also is the tomb of his queen Jahān Bēgam at 'Aynāpur: foundations, piers and octagon turrets to the identical scale of the Gol Gunbadh, but the dome was intended to be carried across a central chamber.

Of 'Alī II's reign, the pavilion called Pānī Maḥall on the citadel wall, and the Makka Maṣjid, both with fine masonry and exquisite surface carving; the tomb-complex of Yāqūt Dābulī, unusual by having the mosque larger than the tomb; and 'Ālī's own unfinished mausoleum, with arches struck from four centres instead of the usual Bijapur arch. Later buildings are insignificant, except for Awrangzīb's eastern gate to the Jāmi' Maṣjid; the tomb of the last monarch, the minor Sikandar, closes the 'Ādil Shāhī effort with a simple grave in the open air.

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**BUKHARA**, a historic city of Central Asia, in the mediaeval Islamic province of Transoxania, the Arabic *Māwarā' al-nahr* "the land beyond the river [Oxus]," now in the Uzbek Republic. It lies in the western delta region of the Zarafshan river in lat.

39° 43' N., long. 64° 38' E. at an altitude of 222 m/722 ft. in the region known in Antiquity as Sogdiana (Ar. *al-Ṣughd*). The city has always been of strategic and historic significance from its position on the highway from northern Persia and Khurasan, across the Oxus and into Central Asia and beyond towards China.

We have few references to the city in pre-Islamic times. In the time of Alexander the Great, there was another town in Sogdiana besides Marakanda (Samarqand) on the lower course of the river, but it probably did not correspond to the modern city of Bukhara. The oasis was inhabited from early times and towns certainly existed there. The earliest literary occurrence of the name is in Chinese sources of the 7th century A.D., but the native name of the city, *pwγr*, found on coins, indicates on palaeographic grounds that the name may have been used several centuries earlier. The derivation of this word from Sanskrit *viḥāra* "monastery" is possible, in spite of linguistic difficulties, since there was a *viḥāra* near Numijkath, a town apparently the predecessor of Bukhara, and which merged into the latter (cf. Frye, *Notes*, in *HJAS*, in *Bibl.*), but has recently been rejected by Frye (*Bukhara finale*). The native dynasty was called Bukhār Khudāt (or Bukhārā Khudāh) by the Islamic sources; on the coins we have *pwγr wβ*, Sogdian for "Bukhara king", indicating that the local language was at least a dialect of Sogdian. Although the names of several of the pre-Islamic rulers occur on inscriptions and in later sources (cf. Frye, *Notes*) it is only after the Arabic conquests that the history of the city can be reconstructed.

The accounts of the first Arab raids across the Oxus River are partly legendary and require critical examination. The first Arab army is said to have appeared before Bukhara in 54/674 under 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād. The ruler of Bukhara at that time was the widow of the late ruler Bīdūn, or Bandūn. (In al-Ṭabarī, ii, 169, in place of her Qabāj Khātūn is mentioned as the wife of the reigning king of the Turks. Perhaps this name is to be read Qayikh or Qayigh, as the Turkish tribal name?). According to Narshakhī (ed. Schefer, 7, tr. Frye, 9), she ruled for 15 years as regent for her infant son Ṭughshāda (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1693, has Ṭūq Siyāda). This same Bukhār Khudāt appears again in al-Ṭabarī as a youth in 91/710 when Qutayba b. Muslim, after overthrowing his enemies, installed him as prince

of Bukhara. The rule of Islam in Bukhara was first placed on a firm footing by Qutayba. In Ramaḍān 121/August–September 739, Ṭughshāda was murdered in the camp of the governor of Khurasan, Naṣr b. Sayyār. During his long reign several rebellions against the Arab suzerainty took place and the Turks invaded the country several times. In 110/728–9 the town of Bukhara itself was lost to the Arabs and they had to besiege it but regained it the next year (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1514, 1529).

The son and successor of Ṭughshāda, called “Qutayba” in honour of the conqueror, behaved at first like a good Muslim. When in the year 133/750 the Arab Sharīk b. Shaykh raised a revolt in Bukhara against the new dynasty of the ‘Abbasids, the rebellion was put down by Ziyād b. Šāliḥ, lieutenant of Abū Muslim, with the help of the Bukhār Khudāt. Nevertheless the latter was a short time later accused of apostasy from Islam and put to death by order of Abū Muslim. His brother and successor Bunyāt (although another brother Skān, reading uncertain, may have ruled a few years between) met the same fate during the reign of the caliph al-Mahdī (probably in 166/782), for the caliph had him put to death as a follower of the heretic al-Muqanna‘. After this period, the Bukhār Khudāts appear to have been of little importance in the government of the country, but they retained an influential position because of their great estates. In the early years of the reign of the Samanid Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad, mention is made of the Bukhār Khudāt who was deprived of his lands but allowed the same income (20,000 *dirhams*) from the state treasury, as he had previously derived from his estates. It is not known how long the government fulfilled this obligation.

Besides the native prince there was of course in Bukhara, at least from the time of Qutayba b. Muslim, an Arab *amīr* or *‘āmil* who was subordinate to the *amīr* of Khurasan whose headquarters were in Marw. On account of its geographical situation Bukhara was much more closely connected with Marw than with Samarqand. The Bukhār Khudāt had even a palace of his own in Marw (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1888, 14; 1987, 7; 1992, 16). In the 3rd/9th century, when the *amīrs* of Khurasan transferred their seat to Nishapur, the administration of Bukhara remained separate from that of the other parts of Transoxania. Till 260/874 Bukhara did not belong

to Samanid territory but was under a separate governor immediately responsible to the Ṭahirids. After the fall of the Ṭahirids (259/873), Ya‘qūb b. Layth was recognised only for a brief period in Bukhara as *amīr* of Khurasan. The clergy and populace applied to the Samanid Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who was ruling in Samarqand, and he appointed his younger brother Ismā‘īl governor of Bukhara. The city was henceforth ruled by the Samanids until their fall. Ismā‘īl continued to live in Bukhara after the death of his brother Naṣr in 279/892 when the whole of Transoxania passed under his sway, and also after his victory over ‘Amr b. Layth in 287/900 when he was confirmed by the caliph in the rank of *amīr* of Khurasan. The city thus became the seat of a great kingdom, although it never equalled Samarqand in size or wealth during this period. It was in Bukhara that the New Persian literary renaissance bloomed.

The Bukhara of the Samanid period is described in detail by the Arab geographers and we also owe much to Narshakhī and later editors of his work. A comparison of these accounts with the descriptions of the modern town (particularly detailed is N. Khanikov, *Opisanie Bukharskago khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 79 ff.) shows clearly that in Bukhara unlike Marw, Samarqand, and other cities, only an expansion of the area of the town and not a shifting from one place to another, may be traced. Even after destruction, Bukhara has always been rebuilt on the same site and on the same plan as in the 3rd/9th century.

As in most Iranian towns, the Arab geographers distinguish three main divisions of Bukhara, the citadel (NP *kuhandiz*, from the 7th/13th century known as the *arg*), the town proper (Arabic *madīna*, Pers. *shahristān*), and the suburbs (Arabic *rabad*) lying between the original town and the wall built in Muslim times. The citadel from the earliest times has been on the same site as at the present day, east of the square still known as the “Rīgistān”. The area of the citadel is about one mile in circumference with an area of *ca.* 23 acres. The palace of the Bukhār Khudāt was here, and, as al-Isṭakhī shows, it was used by the early Samanids. According to al-Maḥdīsī, the later Samanids only had their treasuries and prisons there. Besides the palace there was in the citadel the oldest Friday mosque, erected by Qutayba, supposedly on the site of a pagan temple. Later this mosque was used as a revenue office (*ḍiwān al-kharāj*). The citadel

was several times destroyed in the 6/12th and 7/13th centuries, but was always rebuilt.

Unlike most other towns, the citadel of Bukhara was not within the *shahristān* but outside it. Between them, to the east of the citadel, was an open space where the later Friday mosque stood till the 6th/12th century. One may determine what part of the modern town corresponds to the *shahristān* for, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī, there was no running water on the surface of either the citadel or the *shahristān* because of their height. According to the plan given by Khanikov, this high-lying portion of the town is about twice as large as the citadel. It had a wall around it with seven gates, the names of which are given by Narshakhī and the Arab geographers.

According to Narshakhī (text, 29, tr., 30) at the time of the Arab conquest the whole town consisted of the *shahristān* alone, although there were scattered settlements outside which were later incorporated into the city. Narshakhī gives us a fairly detailed account of the topographical details of the *shahristān*. A new congregational mosque was built by Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaymān in 515/1121 in the *shahristān*, probably in the southern part of it where the Madrasa Mīr ‘Arab, built in the 10th/16th century, and the great minaret still stand. It was not till 235/849–50, according to Narshakhī, that the *shahristān* was linked with the suburbs to form one town and surrounded by a wall. In the 4th/10th century another wall had been built enclosing a greater area; it had eleven gates, the names of which are given by Narshakhī and the Arab geographers.

Besides the palace in the citadel there was one in the Rīgistān from pre-Islamic times. The Samanid Naṣr II (301–31/914–43) built a palace there with accommodations for the ten state *dūwāns*, the names of which are given by Narshakhī (text, 24, tr., 26). During the reign of Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ (350–65/961–76) this palace is said to have been destroyed by fire, but al-Maqqdisī tells us that the Dār al-Mulk was still standing on the Rīgistān and he praises it highly. During the Samanid period there appears to have been another royal palace on the Jū-yi Mūliyān Canal to the north of the citadel. In the reign of Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ a new *muṣallā* was built as the Rīgistān could not contain the multitude of believers. The new area of prayer was built in 360/971 at one-half *farsakh* (ca. 2 miles) from the citadel on the road to the village of Samatīn. In the 4th/10th

century the town was over-crowded and insanitary, with bad water and the like. Al-Maqqdisī and some of the poets (al-Tha‘ālibī, *Ṭatīma*, iv, 8) describe the town in the most scathing fashion.

Narshakhī and the Arab geographers give information on the villages and country around the city. Al-Iṣṭakhrī gives the names of the canals which led from the Zarafshān to water the fields. According to Narshakhī, some of these canals were built in pre-Islamic times and many of the names have survived to the present. Traces also survive of the long walls which were built to protect the city and surrounding villages from the incursions of the Turks. According to Narshakhī (text, 29, tr., 33) these walls were begun in 166/782 and completed in 215/830. The town itself was not in the centre but in the western half of the area enclosed within the walls. After the time of Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad the walls were no longer kept in repair. At a later period, the ruins of these walls were given the name Kanparak, and as Kampīr Duwāl (“wall of the old woman”) traces survive to the present on the borders of the steppes between the cultivated areas of Bukhara and Karmīna.

On the fall of the Samanids (389/999), the town lost much of its earlier political importance and was governed by governors of the Ilek Khāns or Qarakhānids. In the second half of the 5th/11th century, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm built a palace for himself to the south of the city and prepared a hunting ground; it was called Shamsābād, but fell into ruins after the death of his successor Khiḍr Khān. A *muṣallā* was made of the hunting ground in 513/1119. Even during the period of decline, Bukhara retained its reputation as a centre of Islamic learning. In the 6th/12th century a prominent family of scholars known as the Āl-i Burhān succeeded in founding a kind of hierarchy in Bukhara and making the area independent for a time. After the battle of Qaṭwān (5 Šafar 536/9 September 1141), the Qara Khitāy ruled Bukhara through the *ṣadr* (pl. *ṣudūr*) or head of this family. The *ṣadrs* maintained good relations with the pagan overlords and in 1207 took refuge with them when they were driven out of Bukhara by a popular (Shi‘ite?) rising (‘Awfī, *Lubāb*, ii, 385). In the same year the city passed under the rule of Muḥammad b. Tekish Khwārazm Shāh. He renovated the citadel and erected other buildings.

According to Ibn al-Athīr Bukhara submitted to the army of Chingiz Khān on 4 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 616/10

February 1220. The citadel was not taken until twelve days later. The town was sacked and burned, with the exception of the congregational mosque and a few palaces. Bukhara soon recovered and is mentioned as a populous town and a seat of learning under Chingiz Khān's successor.

In 636/1238 a peasant revolt occurred under the leadership of one Maḥmūd Ṭarabī who posed as a religious leader. After initial successes, mainly against the aristocracy, the revolt was suppressed by the Mongols (cf. Juwaynī, i, 86, tr. J.A. Boyle, i, 109). Little is known of early Mongol rule in Bukhara; *mullas* and *sayyids*, like the clergy of other religions, were exempted from all taxation. A Christian Mongol princess even built a *madrassa* called the Khāniyya in Bukhara at her own expense (cf. Juwaynī, iii, 9, tr. Boyle, ii, 552). On 7 Rajab 671/28 January 1273, Bukhara was taken by the army of Abaqa, Mongol Il-Khan of Persia, and the city was destroyed and depopulated. It was rebuilt and again ravaged in Rajab 716/19 September–18 October 1316 by the Mongols of Persia and their ally the Chaghatay prince Yasawur. Bukhara seems otherwise to have been of no importance in the political life of Transoxania under the rule of the house of Chaghatay or later under the Timurids. The *Kitāb-i Mullāzāda* of Mu'īn al-Fuqarā', written in the 9th/15th century, gives information about the town in this period (cf. Frye, in *Avicenna commemoration volume*, Calcutta 1955). Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband (d. 791/1389) and his order of dervishes, the Naqshbandiyya, flourished in Bukhara. Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449) built a *madrassa* in Bukhara in the centre of town.

Towards the end of the year 905/summer 1500, Bukhara was taken by the Uzbeks under Shībānī Khān and remained with them till the Russian Revolution except for two brief periods, after 916/1510 when Shībānī was killed, and in 1153/1740. The dominions of the Uzbeks were regarded as the property of the whole ruling family and divided into a number of small principalities. Samarqand was usually the capital of the Khān (normally the oldest member of the ruling house), but the prince who was elected Khān retained his hereditary principality and frequently resided there. Two princes of the house of Shībān, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Maḥmūd (ruled 918–46/1512–39), and 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar (ruled 964–1006/1557–98) had their capital in Bukhara. Through them Bukhara became again a centre of

political and intellectual life. The princes of the next dynasty, the Jānids or Ashtarkhānids, also ruled from Bukhara while Samarqand lost its importance.

The materials for the history of Bukhara during the Uzbek period are mostly in manuscripts, such as the *Ta'rikh-i Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Rāqim* from 1113/1701, the *Badā'ī' al-waqā'ī'* of Wāṣifī, and the *Baḥr al-asrār fī manāqib al-akhyār* or Amīr Walī (on these works see Storey, 381 ff.). A.A. Semenov has translated into Russian two important works on Uzbek history of special value for Bukhara, the *Ubaydalla-name* of Mīr Mukhammed Amīn Bukhārī, Tashkent 1957, and *Mukimkhanova istoriya* of Mukhammed Yūsuf Munshī, Tashkent 1957.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the highly active community of Bukharan merchants was trading southwards as far as Safavid Persia and the Persian Gulf shores, with Mughal India, with the other Central Asian khanates, and northwards to Siberia and Muscovy. Russia. Muscovite Russia was at this time extending eastwards across Siberia; in the 1590s Bukharan merchants were offered participation in trading ventures in such newly-established Russian forts as Tobolsk and Tiumen; in such places, all traders from Central Asia tended to be designated *Bukhartsī*. Textiles and furs were important items in this trade, together with slaves, the slave trade continuing in the Central Asian khanates till the latter 19th century (see Audrey Burton, *The Bukharans. A dynastic, diplomatic and commercial history 1550–1702*). Noteworthy also in connection with Bukhara's trade throughout the ages was the existence of an ancient community there of Jewish artisans and traders, with a special Jewish quarter there which subsists till today as the *maḥalla-yi kuhna* "old quarter." Bukharan Jewish merchants were so ubiquitous in Western Asia and the Russian lands that all Jews from Central Asia tended to be described as Bukharan (see W.J. Fischel, *The Jews of Central Asia (Khorasan) in medieval Hebrew and Islamic literature*, in *Historia Judaica* vii [1945], 29–50; M. Zand, *EI* art. *Bukhara*. vii. *Bukharan Jews*).

The reign of Khān 'Abd Azīz (1055–91/1645–80) was regarded by native historians as the last great period of their history. After him various princes made themselves independent and the Khān in Bukhara ruled only a small portion of his former kingdom, and even there the authority was rather in the hands of an Ataliq ruling in his name.

In 1153/1740 Nādir Shāh conquered Bukhara, but after his death it regained its independence, now under a new dynasty, for the Ataliq Muḥammad Raḥīm of the tribe of Mangīt had himself proclaimed Khān. His career has been recorded by Muḥammad Wafā Karmīnagī under the title *Tuhfat al-khānī*. His successor Dāniyār Bēg was content with the title of Ataliq and allowed a scion of the house of Chingiz Khān to bear the sovereign title. His son Murād or Mīr Maʿsūm, however, claimed the royal title for himself in 1199/1785 and called himself *amīr*.

Under his successor Ḥaydar (1800–26), the observance of religious ordinances was much more harshly enforced than under his predecessors. He was the last ruler of Bukhara to strike coins in his own name till the last *amīr*. His successor Naṣr Allāh (1827–60) succeeded in strengthening the power of the throne against the nobles and in extending his domains. The native chroniclers agree with European travellers in describing Naṣr Allāh as a bloodthirsty tyrant. Instead of tribal levies a standing army was created. In 1842 the capital of the rival Khanate of Khoqand was taken but the conquest could not be held. When Naṣr Allāh's successor Muẓaffār al-Dīn (1860–85) ascended the throne, the Russians had already secured a firm footing in Transoxania. After being repeatedly defeated, the Amīr had to submit to Russia and give up all claims to the valley of the Syr Darya which had been conquered by the Russians. He had to cede a part of his kingdom, with the towns of Jizaq, Ura-tūbe, Samarqand, and Katta Qurghān (1868) to the Russians. In 1873, however, Bukharan territory was increased in the west at the expense of the Khanate of Khīwa. In the reign of ʿAbd al-Aḥad (1885–1910), the boundary between Bukhara and Afghanistan was defined, England and Russia agreeing that the river Panj should be the boundary.

The relationship between Bukhara and Russia was also defined during the same reign. Beginning in 1887, a railway was built through the *amīr*'s domains but the station for Bukhara, ten miles away, is now a town called Kagan. In 1910 Mīr ʿĀlim succeeded his father after having been educated at St. Petersburg. He ruled until the Revolution drove him to Afghanistan, where he lived in Kabul till the end of World War II. Since the Revolution, Bukhara has become part of the Uzbek SSR with its capital in Tashkent.

The archeological and topographical investigation of Bukhara has made great progress from the 1930s, and the work of Shishkin, Pugachenkova, Sukhareva, and others, has greatly added to our knowledge. The existing architectural monuments of Bukhara which are of importance are: (1) the “so-called” mausoleum of Ismāʿīl Sāmānī from the 4th/10th century; (2) the *minaret-i kalān*, 45.3 m. (148 ft.) high (6th/12th century); (3) Mosque of Magaki Attar (the last construction of which dates from 1547); (4) Mosque of the Namāzgāh (*muṣallā*), dating from 1119; (5) Mausoleum of Sayf al-Dīn Bukhārī (d. 1261); (6) Mausoleum at the site of Chashma Ayyūb (end of 14th century); (7) Madrasa of Ulugh Bēg, restored in 1585; (8) Maṣjid-i kalān, 16th-century with the older minaret nearby; (9) Madrasa Mir ʿArab, (of 1535?); (10) Maṣjid Khwāja Zayn al-Dīn, many times restored. Other monuments exist in great numbers outside the town, mostly in ruins.

Bukhara was in Soviet times the centre of an extensive *oblast* or administrative region, but since 1991 has come within the independent Uzbek republic. It continues to be important for cotton-growing and the textile industry. Bukhara has a population (2005 estimate) of some 300,000.

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# C

**CAIRO**, Arabic form al-Qāhira, in older Islamic usage Miṣr or Miṣr al-Qāhira, the capital city of Egypt and one of the most important cultural and religious centres of the Arab world.

The city is now situated on both banks of the Nile, but with the pre-modern part of it substantially on the right bank, in lat. 30° 03' N., long. 31° 15' E., some 20 km/12 miles south of where the Nile fans out into the delta region, and where the Muqāṭṭam hills run almost down to the river on its east side. This strategic position dominated access from the delta region into Lower Egypt, and it has been inhabited since early times; but it became of prime importance during the Arab invasion of Egypt in the first half of the 7th century, when the Arab commander ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ laid out the foundations of a permanent encampment at al-Fuṣṭāṭ (see below, I.2). The present name for the city, al-Qāhira, derives from Miṣr al-Qāhira “Miṣr the Victorious,” an urban settlement founded by the Fatimid caliph al-Muʿizz in 970 on his conquest of Egypt, which gradually expanded and took over surrounding places (see below, II.1.(iv)).

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## I. HISTORY

### 1. *Miṣr as an early Islamic name for Cairo*

The actual name Miṣr appears in Old Testament genealogy (Gen. x. 1 ff.), where Miṣr is called the son of Ham, son of Noah. The biblical origin of this pedigree appears clearly in the form Miṣrāʾim or Miṣrām (cf. Hebr. *Miṣraim*). At present, and since

its foundation over 1,000 years ago, the city of Cairo (al-Qāhira) has been known thus, in full, Miṣr al-Qāhira. Miṣr occurs, however, already as the name of the city or the cities situated south-west of later Cairo, when the name had been transferred to this city, the name Miṣr al-Qadīma (Old Miṣr) clung to the old settlement, situated between the mosque of ‘Amr and the right bank of the Nile (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 16).

In the period between the Arab conquest and the foundation of Cairo, the name Miṣr was regularly applied to the settlement just mentioned. We are, however, not able to decide which of its parts (Babylon, Fuṣṭāṭ or the Ṭulunid capital) is especially denoted by it. It may be supposed that the combination of Fuṣṭāṭ Miṣr “Fuṣṭāṭ in Egypt” forms the link between the application of the name Miṣr to the country and to the capital. After the conquest of Egypt by the Muslims, there were two settlements only on the right bank of the Nile where it divides, viz. Babylon and Fuṣṭāṭ. The papyri never mention Miṣr as the name of either of these settlements. Yet in the latter part of the 7th century A.D., the application of the name Miṣr to one or to the other or to both must have begun, as is attested by John of Nikiu, who at least once uses Mesr as the name of a city, where he speaks of “The gates of Mesr”; in other passages, Mesr appears as the name of the country. The statement that the name Miṣr as the name of a town arose after the Muslim conquest only, is in opposition to Butler, who maintains that at least since the age of Diocletian there existed on the right bank of the Nile, to the south of the later Babylon, a city called Miṣr (cf. Butler, *Babylon of Egypt*, 15; idem, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 221 n.). Caetani (*Annali*, A.H. 19, § 47) has already pointed to the fact that the traditions concerning the Arab conquest of Egypt do not give the slightest credit to the existence of a city bearing the name of Miṣr. Butler’s reference to the Synaxary proves nothing, as this work was composed many centuries after the conquest. Finally, it may be noted that the Coptic name of Babylon was Keme.

## 2. *The first three centuries: al-Fuṣṭāṭ*

Al-Fuṣṭāṭ was the first city to be founded in Egypt by the Muslim conquerors and the first place of residence of the Arab governors. It was built on the

east bank of the Nile, alongside the Greco-Coptic township of Babylon or Bābalyūn, traces of which are still preserved in the ramparts of the Qaṣr al-Sham’. A bridge of boats, interrupted by the island of al-Rawḍa, linked the Qaṣr with the city of Giza (al-Jīza) on the other bank of the Nile. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ was partly built beside the river, which at that time followed a more easterly course, and partly on high desert ground, shaped in the form of a saddle and extending for more than 4 km from north to south. The hills to the south of Sharaf were called al-Raṣad after 513/1119; those to the north were called Jabal Yashkur. It was not far from Jabal Yashkur that the Khaṭīj started, the Pharaohs’ canal connecting the Nile with the Red Sea, which was restored on the orders of ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣ.

In former times, the name al-Fuṣṭāṭ was written in various ways, enumerated by the Arab authors, which betray uncertainty as to the true origin of the word. One of the meanings suggested is that of “tent”; for the town was founded on the spot where ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣ had pitched his tent (*fustāt*) during the siege of Babylon. It seems likely that this name was merely the arabisation of the word Φοσσάτον, camp, encampment, used by the bilingual papyri to denote the town. The chroniclers also use the expression Fuṣṭāṭ-Miṣr or even simply Miṣr, colloquially pronounced Maṣr. The quarter of modern Cairo, which contains the remains of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Babylon, is called Maṣr al-‘Atīqa, Old Cairo.

When ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣ returned from the first siege of Alexandria, probably early in 22/643, he established the foundations of a permanent encampment at al-Fuṣṭāṭ which was gradually transformed into a town. The proximity of Babylon made it easy for the Arabs to employ and control Coptic officials. Later came the distribution of the land and the building of the mosque (Jāmi‘ ‘Amr or al-Jāmi‘ al-‘Atīq). This mosque, the first to be built in Egypt, originally measured 50 by 30 cubits. It is possible that it had a *minbar* from the start; but the *miḥrāb*, in the form of a niche, seems to have been built only in 92/711. Reconstructed and enlarged several times, it attained its present dimensions in 212/827. It served simultaneously as a place of prayer, council chamber, court room, post (office) and as lodgings for travellers. It was there that the main grants of leases of land were made. Not far away was ‘Amr’s house and the army stores. There was also a *muṣallā*, an immense

place of prayer in the open air, where, on the *ʿīd al-Fiṭr* 43/January 664, prayers were offered over the body of ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣ, who had died the previous night. Each tribe was allotted a certain fixed zone (*khitta* which, in Fuṣṭāṭ, is the equivalent of the *ḥāra* in Cairo, that is to say, quarter or ward). Certain *khitta* included inhabitants belonging to different tribes, for example, the *khittat ahl al-rāya* surrounding ʿAmr's mosque, the *khitta al-laff* just to the north of it, and the *khitta ahl al-zāhir*, the last-named being reserved for new arrivals who had been unable to settle with their own respective tribes (cf. Guest, in *JRAS* [1907], 63–4). Each *khitta* had its own mosque. In 53/673, for the first time, minarets were built for ʿAmr's mosque and for those in the *khitta*, with two exceptions. The Arab army of conquest included a very large proportion of Yamanīs. Christians and Jews from Syria with political affiliations with the Muslims had accompanied the invading armies; they were settled in three different quarters near the river, named respectively, going north from ʿAmr's mosque, *Ḥamrāʾ al-dunyā*, *Ḥamrāʾ al-wuṣṭā*, and *Ḥamrāʾ al-quṣwā*. Other *dhimmīs* settled with them.

The original encampment was gradually transformed. The different quarters were separated by open spaces. Whole zones, particularly to the north in the desert, were then abandoned, only to be reoccupied later. Permanent structures multiplied. The treasury, *bayt al-māl*, was built (Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägypten*, ii, 162). Al-Fuṣṭāṭ was not fortified and, in 64–5/684, the Khārijites of Egypt, who had seized power, had a ditch built on the east side to defend the town against the caliph Marwān and his forces. The governor ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān, who founded or developed Ḥulwān, where he had taken refuge from the plague (70/689–90), also built houses, covered markets and baths in al-Fuṣṭāṭ. The Copts imperceptibly became intermingled with the conquerors. Coptic was spoken in al-Fuṣṭāṭ in the 2nd/8th century. Some churches also were built, and are occasionally mentioned by the chroniclers. Warehouses were set up along the Nile for waterborne merchandise. When the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II, in flight before the ʿAbbasids, went through al-Fuṣṭāṭ (132/750) he caused the stores of grain, cotton, chopped straw and barley, and indeed the whole town, to be set on fire, according to Severus of Ashmunayn (*Patr. Orient.*, v, 168). Further east, between al-Fuṣṭāṭ and the cliffs of Muqaṭṭam, was

the cemetery of al-Qarāfa. The ʿAbbasid governors did not reside in the centre of al-Fuṣṭāṭ; they chose instead the old *Ḥamrāʾ al-quṣwā*, in the open spaces of the original encampment, to found the suburb of ʿAskar. Al-Maqrīzī explains in this connexion that the actual town of al-Fuṣṭāṭ was divided into two districts – the *ʿamal fūq* or upper district with its western section (the high ground in the south as far as the Nile) and eastern section (the rest of the desert as far as ʿAskar), and the *ʿamal asfal* or lower district, including the remainder. The ʿAbbasids tried a new and short-lived settlement on the Jabal Yashkur, as a refuge from an epidemic, in 133/751. Later they settled at ʿAskar where a government house (*dār al-imāra*) was built and then in 169/785–6, just beside it, a large mosque (*jāmiʿ ʿAskar*, also called *jāmiʿ Sāḥil al-Ghalla*). All around there grew up a real town, with shops, markets and fine houses. Nothing now remains of it.

In the 3rd/9th century Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn also created his own capital called al-Qaṭāʾi, between the north-east tip of the Jabal Yashkur (where he had a large and striking mosque built) and the *mashhad* of Sayyida Nafisa and the future Rumayla square. The mosque (*jāmiʿ Ibn Ṭulūn*), the oldest in Greater Cairo still existing in its original form, was completed in 265/879. The architect, a Christian and probably of Mesopotamian origin, took his inspiration from the buildings of Sāmarrā. He had previously built an aqueduct, the ruins of which still stand to the north-west of Basāṭīn, leading towards ʿAyn al-Šīra. Besides the mosque and a number of houses, al-Qaṭāʾi also included a palace, a *dār al-imāra* and some magnificent gardens. These were all to vanish very swiftly. On the fall of the Tulunids (292/905), the ʿAbbasids demolished the palace. They did not touch the mosque, which was later restored by sultan Lājīn (696/1297) (cf. Salmon, *Études sur la topographie du Caire*, in *Méms. IFAO*, Cairo 1902, where also all necessary details on the later history of the district are given).

The founding of al-Qāhira (358/969) did not put an end to the prosperity of al-Fuṣṭāṭ which, in the Fatimid period, was one of the wealthiest towns of the Muslim world, with its lofty houses of from five to seven stories (Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, tr. Schefer, 146, even speaks of fourteen stories), the crowded souks round ʿAmr's mosque and the network of narrow streets recently excavated on the



desert plateau. Al-Qāhira, where the houses were lower and furnished with gardens, was then the city of the caliphs and the military aristocracy; al-Fuṣṭāṭ, more populous, remained the home of commerce and industry, as is attested by very fine ceramics and pieces of glassware discovered during excavations, as well as texts on papyrus and paper. In the 7th/13th century the town still manufactured steel, copper, soap, glass and paper, not to mention its production of sugar and textiles. In 513/1119 the town was able to produce a massive ring of polished copper, graduated, and measuring more than ten cubits in diameter, weighing several tons and intended to act as a support for an apparatus for astronomic observations. However, during the anarchic reign of the caliph al-Mustansir, over a period of eighteen years (from 446/1054 to 464/1072) the town suffered sixteen years of severe famine, accompanied by epidemics. ‘Askar, al-Qaṭā’i’ and whole zones of the desert quarters of al-Fuṣṭāṭ were consequently abandoned. The vizier Badr al-Jamālī then caused the materials of the ruined buildings to be removed for re-use in Cairo. A second operation of this kind took place between 495/1101 and 524/1130; it was concerned with those buildings which the owners, despite a general warning, had failed to put into a state of repair. The year 564/1168–9 was catastrophic. The Frankish armies of Amalric were encamped just to the south of al-Raṣad, at Birkat al-Ḥabash; Shāwar, their former ally, had summoned them four years earlier, and he himself was now attacked by them. Fearing that they would occupy al-Fuṣṭāṭ, which had no ramparts to defend it and which might be used by them as a base against Cairo, he had the town evacuated and his men systematically set it on fire. The conflagration lasted for fifty-four days. After all these cataclysms life began once again; the place was rebuilt. All the same, to prevent the recurrence of such incidents Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn built a city wall enclosing Cairo, the citadel and al-Fuṣṭāṭ. The remains of this wall can be seen to the south of the citadel, and also 900 m to the east as well as to the south-east of ‘Amr’s mosque. New quarters were built on the abandoned land by the Nile, while the notables erected pleasure pavilions alongside the water. The eastern districts were increasingly neglected, while ‘Amr’s mosque remained a flourishing centre of religious instruction until the great plague of 749/1348. Under the

Mamluk sultans, however, Cairo attracted great commerce; it was the souks of Cairo, not of Miṣr, that the astonished European travellers described. Al-Fuṣṭāṭ (which name disappears, being replaced by Miṣr) fell into obscurity. It remained merely the administrative capital of Upper Egypt, whose produce was constantly brought by ship to its river banks. At the time of Napoleon’s expedition, Old Cairo contained 10,000 inhabitants, 600 of whom were Copts.

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#### 3. *The Nile banks, the island of al-Rawḍa and the adjacent settlement of Gīza (Jīza)*

The task of clearing up the historical topography of Cairo and the neighbourhood is very much complicated by the fact that the Nile has several times changed its bed since the conquest. At that time, its waters washed the Qaṣr al-Sham’ and the Mosque of ‘Amr, but only a few decades later it had retreated so far back that there was sufficient land left dry between the castle and the new bank to be worth utilising. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān erected buildings here. The struggle with the Nile went on through the whole mediaeval period in the history of Cairo. Any methods of controlling the river were at this time quite unknown to the Muslims, and their amateurish efforts in this direction had at most but a very temporary success. The Nile then flowed much further east than at the present day and must also have taken a considerable turn to the east in the north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ so that great areas of the modern Cairo were then portions of the river-bed. The name al-Kabsh (*Qal’at al-Kabsh*) is given to that quarter of the town near the Tulunid Mosque. This Kabsh lay immediately to the west of the Jabal Yashkur and was a favourite resort since it lay on the Nile. At the present day, it is more than 1 km<sup>3/4</sup> mile distant from the river;

and this is a good deal in the plan of a town. The many dried-up pools (*birka*) within the modern city also remind one of the gradual shifting to the west of the Nile. First of all, islands arose in the river-bed, then the water-courses which separated them from the banks were cut off from the main bed; these were only filled with water at periods of flood, then they became *birkas*, till they finally dried up altogether. The areas gained from the river were first of all used as gardens, then finally built on, till now only the ancient name reminds one of the change they have undergone. It is in this way that the whole area between the modern bed of the Nile and the ancient settlements has arisen within the Islamic period. It is evident that this constant process of change does not facilitate the identification of localities.

At the period of the conquest, there was only one island in the Nile in this neighbourhood, called Jazīrat Miṣr or simply al-Jazīra. This island is in its nucleus identical with the modern island of Rawḍa. With Babylon it formed a single strong fortress and guarded the passage of the Nile. We have no definite information as to whether the Jazīra was already connected with Jīza also by a bridge in the time of the conquest or only with Babylon. In the time of the caliph al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33) – this is the earliest date known – there was a bridge over the whole Nile which was even then known as “the Old” and replaced by a new one. This old bridge must therefore – as is *a priori* probable – date back to the beginnings of Arab rule. In all the centuries following, this bridge crossed the whole Nile. It was a bridge of boats. According to some statements, the Jazīra was at first practically in the centre of the river. The arm which separated it from Babylon soon became silted up, however. In the year 336/947 the Nile had retreated so far that the inhabitants of al-Fuṣṭāṭ had to get their water from the Jīza arm of the Nile. It was at this period under Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī that the deepening of the eastern arm of the Nile was carried out, to be repeated several times in the 7th/13th century under the Ayyubids. In 600/1203, it was possible to walk dryshod to the Nilometer (*Miqyās*) on the Jazīra. In 628/1230, the energy of al-Malik al-Kāmil brought about a permanent improvement, though al-Malik al-Šāliḥ also annually took advantage of the period of low water to deepen the arm of the Nile which gradually became a canal. Why did they

wish to preserve this particular channel? The reason is to be found in the military importance of the Jazīra. At the conquest, the Arabs found a castle here; the Byzantines, who were shut in by the Arabs, were able to escape over the Jazīra. After the fall of Babylon, we hear nothing further of the island fortress. In the year 54/683, the naval arsenal (*al-ṣinā'a*), a dock for warships, was laid down here. This arsenal is mentioned in the papyri of the 1st century A.H.; it was also a kind of naval base. Ibn Ṭūlūn was the first to make the island a regular fortress again, when he thought his power was threatened (263/876); but the Nile was more powerful than the will of Ibn Ṭūlūn, and his fortress in the Nile gradually fell into the waters; the remainder was destroyed by Muḥammad b. Ṭughj Ikhshīd in 323/934; two years later, this prince removed the arsenal also to al-Fuṣṭāṭ and the Jazīra became a royal country residence. The island appears to have become larger in course of time and more people came to settle on it. Under the Fatimids, it was a flourishing town and one talked of the trio of towns, Cairo, al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Jazīra. Al-Afḍal, the son of the Fatimid general Badr al-Jamālī, built a pleasure palace with large gardens in the north of the island and called it al-Rawḍa. This name was gradually extended to the whole island which has retained it to the present day. Later, under the Ayyubids, the island became a *waqf*. This *waqf* land was rented by al-Malik al-Šāliḥ, who built the third great Nile fortress on it. This new fortress was called *Qal'at al-Rawḍa* or *Qal'at al-Miqyās*. Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ evicted all the inhabitants of the island and razed a church and 33 mosques to the ground. In their place, he built 60 towers and made the island the bulwark of his power; this was the reason of his regular dredging operations to deepen the canal separating the island from the mainland. There, surrounded by the Nile (*Baḥr*), he dwelled with his Mamluks who became known as Baḥrī Mamluks from their citadel: but even this stronghold in the Nile did not ensure his safety. After the fall of the Ayyubids, the Mamluk Aybak destroyed the fortress; Baybars rebuilt it, but later Mamluks like Qalāwūn and his son Muḥammad used it as a quarry for their buildings in Fuṣṭāṭ. In the 9th/15th century the proud citadel of the Nile had fallen to pieces and another dynasty was building on its ruins. Al-Rawḍa never again took a prominent part in history. At the present day the

most remarkable sight in al-Rawḍa is the Nilometer which dates from the time of the Umayyad caliph Sulaymān b. ʿAbd al-Malik.

Al-Rawḍa is now much built upon and only in the north, adjacent to Cairo University Hospital, do any gardens remain. Nothing came of the French expedition's plan of laying out a European quarter here. Before the regulating of the Nile this would have been a dangerous undertaking, for mediaeval writers tell us of occasional inundations of the island, when the Nile was exceptionally high. The idea, which was good in itself, was put into practice in a still better situation farther north on the Jazīrat Būlāq, the modern residential area of Zamālik.

From the historical point of view, al-Rawḍa is inseparably connected with Jīza (Gīza), with which it formed a defence of the passage up the Nile at the time of the conquest, and during the Middle Ages. Jīza was certainly not a foundation of the Arabs, but portions of the conquering army planted their *khīṭaṭ* there as did their companions in al-Fuṣṭāṭ. On account of its exposed situation to attack from the other side of the river, the caliph ʿUmar ordered Jīza to be fortified. The defences were completed by ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣ in 22/643. It was probably only a case of restoring or extending Byzantine fortifications. The *khīṭaṭ* of the tribes were partly outside the fortress, which was probably merely a stronghold at the entrance to the bridge. The strongest tribes settled here were the Ḥimyar and Hamdān; in the *maṣjīd* of the latter the Friday service was held; it was only under the Ikhshīdids that a Friday Mosque was built in Jīza in 350/961. Its military importance naturally went parallel with that of al-Rawḍa and the bridge over the Nile. This bridge collapsed in Ottoman times and was only rebuilt by the French. It was afterwards removed, and in 1907 the ʿAbbās Bridge was built, connecting the western edge of Rawḍa island with the west bank of the Nile at Jīza. In 1958 the new Jāmiʿa Bridge connected northern Rawḍa and the University on the west bank. Jīza is, of course, the site of one of the most imposing groups of pyramids, containing notably those of Cheops and Chefren, in Arabic *al-Ahrām*, and of the Sphinx, in Arabic Abu ʿl-Hawl. The main road from Jīza to the foot of the Great Pyramid of Cheops and the Mena House Hotel was built for the Empress Eugénie of France when she came to open the Suez Canal in 1869.

Jīza already had in the 19th century the Orman Gardens and the Jīza Palace built by the Khedive Ismāʿīl. By the early 20th century the Gardens came to house in part a zoo, and in 1925 the University of Cairo, originally Fuʿād al-Awwal University, established its campus there. In recent decades, extensive residential areas have grown up to the north of Jīza on the west bank at Duqqī and al-ʿAjūza. Jīza has been the chef-lieu of a province of the same name or *mudīriyya* since the 19th century, comprising the west-bank districts of Imbāba, Jīza itself and al-ʿAyyāt and the east-bank one of al-Ṣaff, with the governorate covering in 1965 1,099.5 km<sup>2</sup>. Jīza itself had in 1929 a population of 26,773, a figure now vastly swollen with the recent suburban spread of metropolitan Cairo and the influx of incomers from the countryside (see Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Qāmūs al-jughrāfī li ʿl-bilād al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1953–68, ii/3, 8–10).

#### 4. *The Fatimid City, Miṣr al-Qāhira, and the development of Cairo till the end of the 18th century*

The modern Cairo was originally only a military centre, like ʿAskar and al-Qaṭāʾī, north of the great capital of Miṣr al-Fuṣṭāṭ. When the Fatimids in al-Qayrawān saw the precarious position of Egypt under the later Ikhshīdids, they felt the time had come to put into operation their long-cherished wish to occupy the Nile valley. On 11 Shaʿbān 358/1 July 969, their general Jawhar overcame the feeble resistance which the weak government was able to offer him at Jīza, and entered al-Fuṣṭāṭ on the day following. He pitched his camp north of the city and for seven days his troops poured in through the city. When on 18 Shaʿbān/9 July the whole army had collected around him, he gave orders for a new city to be planned. Such an important undertaking could not be carried out in those days without first consulting the astrologers as to what would be the propitious hour to begin. The historians tell us that a suitable area had been marked off and all the more distant parts of it connected with a bell-pull, so that the given moment at a sign from the astrologers work might begin everywhere at the same distant. The bell-rope was, however, pulled before the auspicious moment by a raven and the building began at a moment when the unlucky planet Mars, the Qāhir al-Falak, governed the heavens. This calamity could not be

undone, so they sought to deprive the evil omen of its malignance by giving the new town the name of Maṣṣūriyya. As a matter of fact, Cairo does appear to have borne this name till the caliph al-Mu'izz himself came to Egypt and from his own interpretation of the horoscope saw a favourable omen in the rising of the planet Mars. The new foundation thus received the name al-Qāhira al-Mu'izziyya (al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭāt*, i, 377).

The process of expansion of the old city of the Fatimids can be reconstructed even at the present day without difficulty on a plan. The best is the French plan of the year 1798 in the *Description de l'Égypte*, because it was prepared before Cairo had been modernised; see also the various maps and plans in Janet Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 years of the City Victorious*. In the centre between the northern boundary of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Heliopolis (ʿAyn Shams), there lay at this time the little village of Munyat al-Aṣḥāgh, where the caravans for Syria used to assemble. Munyat al-Aṣḥāgh lay on the Khalīj, a canal which traversed the whole length of the plain, leaving the Nile to the north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, passing the ancient Heliopolis and finally entering the sea at the modern Suez. This canal was probably originally a silted-up branch of the Nile, which had been excavated for use as a canal even in ancient times. After the Arab conquest, it was again cleaned out by ʿAmr b. ʿĀṣ to make a navigable waterway between al-Fuṣṭāṭ and the Holy Cities in order to supply the latter with corn. It then received the name of Khalīj Amīr al-Mu'minīn. This Khalīj was closed in 69/688 to cut off the corn supply of the anti-caliph ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr in Medina and finally abandoned as a water-way to the Red Sea in 145/762 in the reign of Maṣṣūr. It was still to remain for a thousand years the water supply of the plain north of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and formed the water-road, so famed in song, on the west side and at a later period in the centre of Cairo. After the reign of the Fatimid caliph Ḥākim, who did much for it, it bore the name of Khalīj al-Ḥākimī; at a still later period it was called by a host of names of different stretches of it, which are given on the French map of 1798. Instead of flowing to the sea, in the latter centuries of its existence it ended in the Birkat al-Jubb in the north of Cairo and in its neighbourhood. It is only quite recently (the end of the 19th century) that it has vanished from the plan of Cairo. Its course is

still clearly recognisable; it corresponds to the broad road followed at the present day by the electric tram from the Mosque of Sayyida Zaynab, or rather from a farther point in the south of Cairo to the northern suburb of ʿAbbāsiyya (Shāriʿ Ḥalwān).

The Fatimid city lay immediately south of Munyat al-Aṣḥāgh between this canal and the Muqāṭṭam hill. Its northern and southern limits are still defined by the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb Zuwayla. The town founded by Jawhar was rather smaller in compass than the Cairo of the later Fatimid period. At first, the open space in the south, where the Muʿayyad Mosque now stands, and the Mosque of the Ḥākim in the north were both outside the walls. In the west, the Khalīj for centuries formed the natural boundary, as did the heights in the east. The main part of the Fatimid city was defined by a series of streets running north and south parallel to the Khalīj, connecting the two gates just mentioned with one another and dividing the city into two large sections not quite equal in size. This series of streets is also clearly defined at the present day, though it must have been broader originally. It is still known by different names in the various sections, of which the best known is Shāriʿ al-Naḥḥāsīn. This is crossed at right angles by al-Sikka al-Jadīda, the continuation of the Muskī. Its name "New" Street proves what must be particularly emphasised to avoid misconceptions, viz. that the Fatimid city had no such main street running from east to west. It only arose in the 19th century.

If al-Fuṣṭāṭ had been divided into *khīṭāt*, Cairo was divided into *ḥāras* or quarters, which is really only another name for the same thing, except that Cairo was intended to be a city from the beginning, while al-Fuṣṭāṭ grew out of the chance arrangement of a camp. The altered conditions of the period are shown in the fact that the quarters were no longer allotted to different Arab tribes but to quite different peoples and races. In the north and south lay the quarters of the Greeks (*Rūm*), to whom Jawhar himself possibly belonged. His settling his countrymen near the main gate of the city was probably intentional. Berbers, Kurds, Turks, Armenians, etc. were allotted other portions of the town. Some late-comers were settled in the Ḥārat al-Bāṭiliyya outside the first walls of the city between it and al-Muqāṭṭam. Lastly, the negroes, called briefly *al-ʿAbīd* "the Slaves", who formed a rather undisciplined body, were settled north of the

Bāb al-Futūḥ beside a great ditch which Jawhar had dug to defend the city against attacks from Syria. This part of the town came to be called *Khandaq al-'Abīd* from the ditch and those who dwelled near it.

The splendid places of the caliphs formed the central portion of the town. We must be careful to distinguish between a large eastern palace (*al-Qaṣr al-Kabīr al-Sharqī*) and a smaller western one (*al-Qaṣr al-Ṣaghīr al-Gharbī*). Their sites had previously been occupied, to the west of the main series of streets, by the large gardens of Kāfūr, to the east by a Coptic monastery (*Dayr al-'Izām*) and a small fortress (*Quṣayr al-Shawk*), which were used for the building of the palaces. The East Palace was the first to be built immediately after the foundation of the city. On 23 Ramaḍān 362/28 June 993, the caliph al-Mu'izz was able to enter it in state. It was a splendid building with nine doors, of which three opened on the west part of the main street. This part was 1,264 feet in length and the palace covered an area of 116,844 square yards; it lay 30 yards back from the present street, from which one may gather how much broader the latter must have been. On the other side of the street lay the Garden of Kāfūr, which stretched to the Khalīj. In it al-'Azīz (365–86/975–96) built the smaller western Palace also called 'Azīzī after him – the exact year is unknown – and its two wings stretched up to the street enclosing a broad square into which the street here expanded. As this series of streets passed between the two palaces in the centre of the town here, it was called *Raḥbat bayn al-Qaṣrayn*, a name which survived the palaces themselves for centuries and was still in use at the time of the French expedition. The whole street was also known more briefly as *Qaṣabat al-Qāhira*. The two palaces began to fall into ruins in the Ayyubid period. The history of this part of the town, and of the great palace in particular, of which some fragments still survive built into other houses, has been most carefully dealt with by Ravaisse in the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, i, iii.

As Cairo was from the beginning a military and at first not a commercial city at all, even Jawhar must have taken care to fortify it with walls. These walls were afterwards extended in the reign of the caliph al-Mustansir by the commander-in-chief Badr al-Jamālī and the gates built in the form in which they have survived to the present day. That Badr built all the walls, was disputed – perhaps wrongly – by

Casanova. Mention is made in later times of a third building of walls in the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. Jawhar's walls were of brick; no trace of them has survived. Even al-Maqrīzī knew only of a few unimportant fragments, and says that the last remaining portions of them were destroyed in 803/1400. In spite of al-Maqrīzī's admiring statements (i, 377), Jawhar's wall cannot have survived for any great length of time, for as early a traveller as Nāṣir-i Khusrāw (ed. Schefer, 131) describes Cairo as unfortified. Badr's defences, which were begun in 480/1087, consisted of a brick wall with strong gateways of stone, the portions of the walls adjacent to them being of stone also. Max van Berchem (*Notes d'archéologie arabe. 1. Monuments et inscriptions fatimides*, in *JA*, ser. 8, vol. xvii [1891], 443 ff.) exhaustively studied these walls and gates and called particular attention to the fact that the great gates, which still command admiration at the present day, the Bāb al-Futūḥ, Bāb Naṣr and Bāb Zuwayla, were built by architects from Edessa and differ in a rather marked degree from the later fortifications of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, which appear to be influenced by the Frankish style of the Crusading period. We also owe to van Berchem an accurate delineation of those portions of the walls which still survive at the present day and which date from the Fatimid period. The picture we have of the two walls of the Fatimid period is as follows. In the west, the town was bounded by the Khalīj which ran below the walls for 1300 yards and served as a moat. It is a debatable point whether we may conclude from the street name Bayn al-Sūrayn, which is still in use, that two walls existed here one behind the other. Jawhar's walls were certainly a fair distance from the canal, the space being large enough to allow of pleasure palaces being built on it. There were three (according to Casanova, only two) gates here, from south to north, the Bāb al-Sa'āda, Bāb al-Farāj and the Bāb al-Qanṭara. At the latter, near the north-western stretch of the walls, there was, as the name shows, a bridge over the canal. This connected the town with the suburb and harbour of al-Maks, on the Nile, the ancient Umm Dunayn. On al-Maks, cf. *Papyri Schott Reinhardt*, i, 53 ff.; the name appears in the Graeco-Arabic papyri of the 1st/7th century; even before the foundation of Cairo, therefore, this was the harbour at which the customs were collected. Al-Maks must have comprised the modern Ezbekiyye and the area adjoining it on the north. The northern side of the

town must naturally have been the most strongly fortified. Jawhar had a ditch dug here along the wall. The two gates, Bāb al-Futūḥ and Bāb Naṣr, built by him, lay more within the town than the modern gates of the same name which only date from Badr's time. The Mosque of Ḥākim was originally built outside the walls and was first included within the fortified area by Badr. There seem, however, to be reasons for believing that Ḥākim was the first to advance the line of fortifications here as well as in the south and to build new gates. The wall had two gates on the east, the Bāb al-Qarrāṭīn (afterwards al-Mahrūq) and the Bāb al-Barqīyya. In this locality, Badr's fortification also included the quarters which had arisen after the erection of Jawhar's wall. Finally, Badr moved the Zuwayla gate somewhat farther to the south. There were originally two gates. The town as extended by Badr was still anything but large. It may have been about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of a square mile in area.

The intellectual and religious life of Cairo was concentrated in the Great Mosque, the Jāmi' al-Azhar, in which the first act of worship was held on 7 Ramaḍān 361/30 October 971. The erection of the above-mentioned mosque outside the northern gates had already been begun in the reign of al-'Azīz and was completed by his successor, after whom it was called the Mosque of Ḥākim. The building operations lasted from 393/1002 to 403/1012. After an earthquake, it was entirely restored by Baybars II in 703/1303, who added the minarets. It was used by the French as a fortress and at the present day is in ruins. Of the other religious buildings of the Fatimids, only two deserve particular mention: the Mosque of Aqmar, with its charming stone façade, so important in the history of art (Figs. 8, 9). It was finished in 519/1125, but it was only under the Mamluks that it received the right of the *khutba* being delivered there in 801/1398. The second of these monuments is the older Juyūshī Mosque, built quite outside of Cairo on the summit of the Muqāṭṭam hills, which was built in 478/1085 by Badr al-Jamālī (van Berchem, *CIA, Egypte*, no. 32; idem, *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, ii). On other buildings and inscriptions of the Fatimids, cf. the works of van Berchem just quoted. It is impossible to detail here all their buildings, etc. mentioned in literature; see further on these below, II. Most of them did not survive the dynasty or survived it for a brief period only.

During the Fatimid period, Cairo was not yet the economic centre for all Egypt which it was to become under the Ayyubids and Mamluks. This role was first held, as we have seen, by al-Fuṣṭāṭ. On the other hand, Cairo was pre-eminently the seat of a splendid court with all its military pageantry. Ibn Ṭuwayr and others have given us vivid pictures, preserved in al-Qalqashandī and others, of the ceremonial processions and festivals, the magazines, treasuries and stables, the banners and insignia, the members of the royal household, the various classes of officers of state and court officials with all their punctilious ceremonial. Eye-witnesses, like Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, confirm these accounts. It must have been a glorious period for Cairo, but was soon followed in al-Mustanṣir's time by a desolate epoch of anarchy when the economic foundations of its prosperity were destroyed by famine and unrest. A better era dawned on Cairo with the accession to power of Badr al-Jamālī. Cairo now began slowly to gain over al-Fuṣṭāṭ in economic importance, a process which gradually became more definite in succeeding centuries.

##### 5. *The Citadel and other buildings of post-Fatimid Cairo*

Quite a new epoch in the history of Cairo, as in that of Egypt as a whole, dawns with the accession of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin) in 564/1169 and the advent of the Ayyubids. The history of the growth of the city only can be briefly discussed here. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn twice played a part in this development by erecting large buildings. P. Casanova has thoroughly dealt with this process in his *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire*, though his conclusions cannot perhaps be regarded as final on all points. The material is too imperfect. At any rate, he is probably right in saying that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in the first instance in 565/1170 only restored and improved the fortifications erected by Jawhar and Badr. It was only after his return from Syria, when he was at the height of his power, that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn conceived the colossal plan of enclosing the whole complex of buildings forming the two towns of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and Cairo within one strong line of fortifications (572/1179). This new foundation was to be commanded by a fortress (*qal'a*) after the fashion of the strongholds of the Crusaders. This fortress is the modern Citadel or, to be more accurate, its northern part. In the northwest, Cairo was to be protected by

this strong fortress and in the south-west, by al-Fuṣṭāṭ. The east wall of Cairo was to be advanced farther east to al-Muqaṭṭam, and the entrance for inroads from Syria was to be definitely closed. A new wall ran along the hills from the new tower in the north-east, the Burj al-Zafar, of which traces still exist. It then took a turn westward towards the old city wall, the fortifications of which were to be extended farther south to the citadel. The north wall of Cairo was to be advanced westwards up to the Nile and to run along it to near the Qaṣr al-Shamʿ, which was the extreme southern point of the whole system. A wall was to run thence in the east of al-Fuṣṭāṭ directly to the citadel. The citadel itself was to be the residence of the sovereign. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's trusted eunuch Qaraqush was entrusted with the task of carrying out this gigantic undertaking; he had previously carried out building operations for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The huge undertaking was never completed nor did Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn avail himself of the citadel, but when in Cairo, as a rule he lived in the old vizier's palace of the Fatimid city. The most important part was the completion of the north wall, which was actually built eastwards as far as the Burj al-Zafar and westwards as far as al-Maks on the Nile. The portion connecting the eastern wall of the Fatimid city with the citadel was not completed. The names of several gates in the great wall which was to run from the citadel to the south of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, have been handed down, but it can hardly be assumed that they were ever built. The wall along the Nile was never begun at all; but it was probably the least urgently required.

These buildings had considerable influence in two directions. After the north wall had been advanced up to the Nile, the broad stretch of land between the Khalīj and the Nile was secure from invasion and the way was paved for an extension of the city in this direction. The Khalīj thus gradually came to be in the centre of this extended city. Through the removal of the forces of defence and later of the court itself to the Citadel, Cairo began to develop in the south also and the union with the northern suburbs of al-Fuṣṭāṭ thus came about. This process was not however completed till the Mamluk period (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, i, 378 ff.).

The Citadel was first appropriated for the use to which it was originally intended as the residence for the sovereign by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's nephew al-Malik al-Kāmil, who was also the first to build a pala-

tial residence here. He entered the new palace in 604/1207. From this time onwards, with the exception of the reign of al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, whom we have already become acquainted with as the builder of the fortress and royal residence of al-Rawḍa in the Nile, the citadel remained the abode of all the princes and pashas who ruled Egypt till the Khedives went to live in various palaces which they had built for themselves in the plain again. It is difficult, however, to draw a picture of the gradual transformation of the Citadel, as the most radical changes were made in the Mamluk period. The present walls still show that we must divide the whole area into two sections, the original north or north-east citadel, the Qalʿat Jabal proper of the Ayyubid period, which was and is still separated from al-Muqaṭṭam by a deep ditch, and, in the south extending towards the town, the Citadel of the palaces where the Mamluks built a complicated entanglement of palaces, audience-chambers, stables and mosques. We must therefore distinguish between the Citadel proper and the royal town which adjoined the Citadel. Of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's buildings, which lasted seven years, there remains today only a portion of the wall and the so-called Joseph's Well (*Bīr Yūsuf*); the latter is a deep shaft from which Qaraqush, the architect of the fortress, obtained water. The machinery for raising the water was driven by oxen. A path-way hewn out of the rock leads down to the bottom of the well. The name Yūsuf is not of course the praenomen of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn but commemorates the Joseph of the Bible, legends of whom are attached to other portions of the Citadel also. Great alterations were made in the citadel by Baybars and his successors and their buildings again were completely altered by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, many of whose buildings have still survived, as for example the mosque wrongly called after Qalāwūn (erected in 718/1318) and remains of his palace in black and white, hence called al-Qaṣr al-Ablaq (built 713-14/1313-14). The same prince also laid down great aqueducts to bring the water of the Nile to the Citadel, as the wells were not sufficient to supply the increasing numbers of military personnel quartered there. At a later period, sultan Qāʾit Bey took an interest in the Citadel again and sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī also laid out a garden here. The Ottoman Pashas built a good deal here also, but they allowed more to fall into ruins. Muḥammad ʿAlī was the first to take an energetic interest in the Citadel again; he

repaired some of the ancient palaces and built the so-called Alabaster Mosque, the Jāmi' Muḥammad 'Alī, in the Turkish cupola style, the minarets of which give the present citadel its characteristic outlines. It was begun in 1829 and finished in 1857 by Sa'īd Pasha. The restoration of the walls also dates back to Muḥammad 'Alī.

It was not only in the Citadel but in the city lying at their feet also that the Mamluks erected numerous fine buildings. The Cairo created by them was practically the Cairo that existed when the French expedition arrived there. A vivid picture of the home of the Mamluks in the period of their splendour may be obtained from the plan of 1798. A series of splendid monuments stood here partly built on the ruins of Fatimid buildings. We will only mention a few that still exist: on the site of the 'Azīzī palace stood Qalāwūn's hospital, the *madrassa* and tomb of his son Muḥammad al-Nāṣir and Barqūq's *madrassa*. There were also numerous Mamluk buildings on the site of the great East Palace, including the Khān al-Khalīlī, well-known at the present day. Of other large buildings at this period, there may also be mentioned the Mosque of Zāhir, built by Baybars I, of which the massive walls still survive at the entrance to the 'Abbāsiyya, the Mosque of Sulṭān Ḥasan at the foot of the citadel (cf. Herz Bey, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1895), of great importance in the history of art, the Mu'ayyad Mosque at the Bāb Zuwayla, only completed after the death of its founder, and Qā'it Bey's *madrassa*; we cannot detail the numerous tombs outside the town proper nor the many other smaller buildings. What a lamentable contrast to this period of activity in architecture is afforded by what was done in the Turkish period (since 923/1517) in the city of the Mamluks; only a few *qonaqs* or residences for Pashas were built, a few *sabīls* or fountains and one or two smaller mosques and *tekkes*. The configuration of the town did not, however, change so much between 1500 and 1800 as in any earlier period of the same length. In spite of the ravages of their soldiers, the city must have flourished and increased under the warrior princes of the Mamluk period. It must have been a busy and splendid city. But the grave damage done by the Mamluk system could only be repaired by strong rulers. The Ottoman Pashas were not fit for the task and so Cairo slowly declined till Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors created a new Cairo which gradually became Europeanised.

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#### 6. The city from 1798 till the present day

The history of Cairo over the 19th and 20th centuries is primarily one of status: from being the important capital of an Ottoman province, it became the capital of independent Egypt. During the two centuries under consideration, the city experienced first of all a long period of stagnation; then, from the early 1870s, a strong political will brought an unprecedented development which pointed the way to the modern city. Some years later, the financial situation of Egypt put a brake on urban growth, which then entered upon a period of slow consolidation until the end of the First World War. The years 1920–50 are marked by a new departure, whose determinants are not so much political as migratory. After independence, and up to the end of the 1970s, Cairo became the city of superlatives, with municipal services expanding in all spheres. Then, the slowing down of the migratory movement, whose effects were felt from the beginning of the 1980s, allowed the municipal authorities to resume their policies. Hence the last two decades of



the 20th century were devoted to replacing equipment and public services. At the end of the century, Cairo stretched out at the same time into the desert zones and also into the agricultural lands along the outskirts as far as some 30 km/18 miles from its historic core. The city's history during these two centuries is also one of the progressive slipping away of its centre. At the present time, the places making up the centre are spread out around several focuses without nevertheless the older centres, the ancient city as much as the quarters developed at the end of the 19th century, being abandoned.

*A difficult start, 1800–68.* In 1798 General Bonaparte established his headquarters at Cairo, at a time when the city had 263,000 inhabitants. The French plans for the improvement of the road system were ambitious, but the results were scanty. The re-establishment of Ottoman authority a few years later was unfavourable for the city, whose population declined. However, Cairo experienced some changes which were to be determining factors for later works. At the outset, the governor of Egypt Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha embarked upon the first act of the discontinuous development of the urban agglomeration: the building of a palace some 12 km/7 miles north of the city. Nearer to the centre, the strengthening of the embankments for containing the floodwaters of the Nile allowed the laying out of vast gardens and the construction of palaces between the fringes of the old structure of the city and the river banks. In regard to urban administration, Muḥammad 'Alī took up again the structures of power from the previous century but put in place a new dividing out of the administrative which served as the base for the geographical extension of local public services. Heavy industry, whose development the Pasha embarked upon vigorously, was concentrated above all on Būlāq, where several factories for metalworking, printing and spinning were set up at this time.

In the mid-19th century, 'Abbās Pasha, governor of Egypt 1848–54, developed – around important barracks, a palace and a school – a new quarter to the north of the city, sc. 'Abbāsiyya. The first constructions for piping water began during this period but it was long before results were seen. Finally, in the framework of an agreement with the British, a railway was built between Alexandria and Suez via Cairo, with the Cairo railway station opening in

1856. At this time, the city's population was almost the same as it was a half-century previously.

*A fillip to urbanisation, 1868–75.* The succession of Ismā'īl Pasha at the beginning of the 1860s formed a turning-point. Taking as a pretext the need to receive fittingly European dignitaries for the opening of the Suez Canal at the end of 1869, he developed an immense project of extending the city westwards. Paris was the model, but Ismā'īl retained only the general picture of the French model rather than the exact procedure; nevertheless, the permanent markets and properties strongly resisted the project. In order to promote the new quarters, the Khedive had several public buildings erected there and enormous buildings to be let out in flats, and he gave other stretches of land gratis to those who contracted to build there quickly. After several checks, the beginning of the 1870s was marked by a resumption of works. At that time, Ismā'īl opened up for urban development the zones farthest away from the centre as far as the left bank of the Nile, and he founded the spa town of Ḥulwān some 30 km/18 miles to the south. More than 200 ha (the equivalent of one-fifth of the urbanised zone by *ca.* 1865) were offered to the land market over a few years. This development was interrupted as rapidly as it had been started up; in the mid-1870s, Egypt's bankruptcy dealt a brutal blow to the works. During this time, Cairo became the place of privileged exile for Syro-Lebanese intellectuals who formed the nucleus of the *Nahḍa* or Arab cultural awakening and who contributed considerably to the development of cultural life and the formation of the first press devoted to conveying opinion. It was also a high-point of the national movement whose activities were to lead to the British occupation of the country at the end of 1882.

*Slowing down and consolidation, 1875–1918.* This period was first of all one devoted to the servicing of the public debt. The greater part of resources was pledged to developing agricultural production for export. Cairo was in practice left to its own devices by the administration. After fifteen years of consolidating the quarters founded by Ismā'īl, new works were begun. But the municipal services were now deprived of all means of state intervention; urban development was left to the initiative of private companies, utilising capital which for the most part emanated from outside the country. It was above all

in the sphere of transport that these companies provided for the city's future. The first suburban railway dates from 1888, whilst the tramway system dates from a decade later. At this time, Cairo comprised 570,000 persons on the right bank of the Nile. In the wake of this process and the intense speculation which followed, numerous quarters were founded. In 1906, a Belgian tramway company obtained an authorisation to create a new city, in the desert a few kilometres to the northeast; Heliopolis ('Ayn Shams) was thus born. But not all private capital was invested in land speculation. Industrial production also enjoyed a substantial development; this brought about the impoverishment of an important part of the population which was regrouped in a very dense and crowded precarious habitat, in quarters sometimes established in insalubrious areas. Two worlds and two cities were now established cheek-by-jowl, often in close proximity.

*The period of growth, 1918–50.* After the First World War, the slowing down of agricultural development and improvements in public health brought about an excess of population in the countryside, causing an acceleration of migration to the great cities. Cairo now became a great safety-valve for this rural population growth, with its population jumping from 791,000 in 1917 to 2,320,00 in 1947. During these thirty years, the city went through numerous changes. The construction sector, private as well as public, was very dynamic. The campus of the University at Jīza (Gizah), the building for the Mixed Courts, the Parliament building, etc., all date from this period. Intervention by the public authorities in matters of urban development is less conclusive. Despite the first general development plan dating from the later 1920s, the works undertaken were largely those done from necessity. They affected mainly the structure of the old city, and if the public road system was improved, this was more a response to traffic problems than a project looking to the future. At the end of the 1940s, the first social housing appeared in Cairo. The period was also marked by a strong patriotic feeling expressed, in particular, in an abundant artistic and cultural production. Its exportation to the lands of both the Maghrib and the Mashriq made Cairo the cultural capital of the Arab world.

*The period of bursting activity, 1950–80.* After the Free Officers' *coup d'état* of July 1952, the rulers of Egypt adopted new approaches for the development of

Cairo. Great projects multiplied, including expressways along the banks of the Nile, additional bridges, etc. The first master plan for the Cairo agglomeration, prepared in 1956, was soon out of date: the population predicted for the year 2000 – 5.5 millions – was reached before the end of the 1960s. However, on the basis of this plan, the state built large quantities of low-cost housing. But the problem of the living environment was not thereby solved, and it led to an intolerable increased density of the old quarters, whose service infrastructure was now revealed as inadequate. From 1950 onwards, the city spread out in all directions, but above all on the left bank, which now saw an unprecedented development. It became covered with new, planned quarters, with a fairly low density, of thousands of villas and small dwellings. The city also developed in favour of the dividing-out of agricultural lands on the outskirts near to the developing urban area, pushing into zones not prepared for building by the city authorities. In order to frustrate these further extensions, in the mid-1970s there were plans for creating several new towns in the desert regions. But the actual start on this work was long delayed, and the sector not subject to planning continued to swallow up the greater part of the urban expansion.

*The period of overflowing development, 1980–2000.* At the beginning of the 1980s, demographers predicted the worst possible catastrophes for Cairo. The publication of the 1986 census put a stop to these suggestions; it showed that the population growth was less and less the result of migration. This change gave rise to a lowering of the density of the ancient urban structure which, as a counterpart, became increasingly occupied by the sector of semi-artisanal production. It also provided an adequate respite for the public services, allowing the preparation of a new master plan at the beginning of the 1980s and the inauguration of several great projects of re-developing public services; the city became an immense construction site. Between Cairo and Alexandria, the first new town, Madīnat al-Sādāt, saw the light. These constructions, large enough to accommodate three government ministries, were never to be occupied.

Despite the state's almost total withdrawal from the sphere of housing, the construction sector remains dynamic. Although the critical situation is obvious, with half the population of the agglomeration living in poverty in 1986, there has been a massive surge

of house building for the middle classes. Areas of empty housing units, the result of pure speculation activities, reached several hundred thousands of units by the mid-1990s.

At the turn of the millennium, the urban agglomeration held *ca.* 12 million persons. The plan for establishing new towns has been scaled down, the results of these being much inferior to what was envisaged. The idea of balancing living units and industrial or artisanal units in these places is one check to their growth; they function at the price of the daily movement across the city of thousands of employees. If, with regard to population, Cairo is one of the most densely populated cities of the world, with *ca.* 250 persons per hectare and Cairo city had in 2001 some seven million people, with many more millions in the metropolitan area. As a reaction to the inconveniences brought into being by this situation, a new form of development in the desert zone – houses or small properties grouped in an enclosure – appeared towards the end of the 1990s. It has caused a very rapid growth in the surface area of the agglomeration. In favour of these extensions, the groups of population become more homogeneous, but the distances between those living in security and the rest continue to deepen.

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## II. URBAN TOPOGRAPHY, MONUMENTS AND DEMOGRAPHY

### 1. *Monuments of the pre-modern city*

Numbers in square brackets after monuments are those given in the *Index to the Mohammedan monuments in Cairo* (Survey of Egypt 1951). An asterisk after a monument indicates that it is dated by reference to a foundation inscription (often more than one).

#### (i) *Nomenclature*

A considerable difficulty in the identification of monuments is orthographic, since current pronunciation of a name (Şarghatmish) [218], the literary sources (Şarghitmish [Budagov], Şuyurghutmush [Moritz, *Arabic palaeography*]) and the inscriptions (Şirghitmish, carefully pointed) often diverge markedly. For the sake of convenience, in reference to the standard art-historical authorities a modified form of the colloquial arabicised Turkish has been adopted (Qūşūn [224] and not Qawşawn, as it appears pointed on the porch of his mosque), except when popular etymology has so distorted the name (Taghrībirdī/Taghrīverdī [209] which has become Saghrīwardī) that the original is difficult to reconstruct.

#### (ii) *Topography*

The vast extent of the modern city of Cairo creates problems for the history of its monuments. Exceptionally among Middle Eastern cities, its development has been horizontal, rather than in terms of vertically superimposed layers, extensive rather than intensive. The original enceinte of al-Qāhira, located well to the north of the agglomerations of al-Fustāt, 'Askar and al-Qaṭā'i', was intended essentially as a centre of government, well outside the main habitation areas, containing a palace-complex, the barracks of the Fatimid armies and the new congregational mosque of al-Azhar [97]. For a time the walled city of old Cairo, Qaṣr al-Sham'/Bābalyūn and al-Fustāt maintained their importance as industrial centres with the chief port installations on the Nile and the major blocks of tenements. However, the progressive westward deflection of the course of the Nile, and the attraction of al-Qāhira as the centre of government led to a steady population movement northwards, so that the original mud (*labīn*) walls of Jawhar (358/969 onwards) had twice to be expanded, by Badr al-

Jamālī [6, 7, 199] in 480/1087 to 484/1091\*, and by Bahā' Dīn Qarāqūsh under Ṣalāh al-Dīn in 572/1176 to 589/1193. The 5th/11th-century expansion, allegedly motivated by fear of an attack by the Saljuq, Ātsiz, was less extensive than the latter, which included large areas between the walls of Jawhar and the Nile now commemorated only in the names of certain quarters of modern Cairo, the Bāb al-Lūq, the Bāb al-Ḥadīd, the Bāb al-Khalq (Kharq), etc. The steady northward population movement led to the desertion of large areas of al-Fuṣṭāṭ, which by the mid-6th/12th century had become abandoned (*kharāba*) and which in 572/1176 were partially connected to the inhabited areas by a wall, which remained incomplete at Ṣalāh al-Dīn's death.

From the Fatimid period onwards, the areas of al-Qaṭā'i' south of the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn became increasingly associated with the southern cemetery (the Qarāfa al-Kubrā', see below). The first major expansion outside the Fatimid enceinte was the Citadel built for Ṣalāh al-Dīn, 572/1176 onwards, not to fortify the city but as a place of refuge.

The Citadel was supplied with water from the Nile by means of an aqueduct [78] (*qanāṭir*) which in its present state dates only from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255–9), who in 712/1312 (*sic*) built four *sāqiyyas* on the Nile to raise water to the aqueduct of the Citadel and in 741/1341 incorporated into it the remains of Ṣalāh al-Dīn's wall, which had been intended to enclose the *kharāba* of al-Fuṣṭāṭ. It was restored and lengthened at various times during the 9th/15th century and particularly in the reigns of Qā'it Bāy and Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, to whom the large water-tower, now known as the Sab'a Sawāqī and still more or less on the Nile, must probably be attributed [78].

A second Ayyubid fortress, no longer extant and destroyed and rebuilt several times during the Mamluk period, was the Qal'at al-Rawḍa/Qal'at al-Miqyās, erected on the Island of al-Rawḍa (Roda) by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ, though the island was almost exclusively a residential area, like Jīza (Gīza), and very few monuments of any architectural importance now survive there.

Under the Bahārī Mamluks, the expansion continued mainly outside the Fatimid walls, those foundations within being almost exclusively funerary and

royal. The south-western slopes of the Citadel, which had remained unfortified in the Ayyubid period, were walled by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad but were principally occupied by the sultan's palace and the houses of his high amīrs. In this period we see the creation of the great Mamluk thoroughfares, the Darb al-Aḥmar leading from the Citadel to the Bāb Zuwayla [199]\*, the Shārī' al-Ṣalība leading from the Citadel towards the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn, and the Khalīj, originally a canal (now the Shārī' Port Sa'īd). The expansion to the north of the walled city of al-Qāhira was not so marked: the only two remaining foundations of any importance are the Mosque of Baybars in the Maydān Ḍāhir (Ḍāhir) [1], 665–7/1266–9\*, built on one of the royal polo grounds (see Figs. 12, 13, 14) and al-Qubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], dated by Creswell to 884–6/1479–81\*.

Under the Ottomans, the expansion of Cairo appears to have taken a different direction, to the west of the walled city of al-Qāhira, particularly in the Būlāq area, which then became the principal port of Cairo. There are only two pre-Ottoman buildings surviving in this quarter, the mosque of the Qāḍī Yaḥyā [344], 852–3/1448–9, and the mosque of Abu 'l-ʿIlā [340], *ca.* 890/1485. By contrast, the quarter contains the mosque (*kullīyya*) of Sinān Pāshā [349], 979/1571\*, a large number of 17th- and 18th-century foundations and many less important but interesting *khāns* (*wikālas*) as well as wooden houses of a distinctively Istanbul type. The area has been only cursorily surveyed and stands in need of a detailed study. The change of direction initiated by the Ottomans was continued with the development of residential quarters, at Jīza and Imbāba on the west bank of the Nile, at Shubra, where a palace of Muḥammad 'Alī built by 1850 (E. Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane*, 52–8) attracted a residential suburb, at 'Abbāsiyya, and ultimately in the development of Garden City and Heliopolis (see Fig. 19).

The history of settlement of al-Qāhira shows a secular northward movement continuing from that of al-Fuṣṭāṭ to al-Qaṭā'i'. Al-Qāhira itself, at least within the walled area enclosed by Ṣalāh al-Dīn, remained of central importance as the seat of government and in the 19th century, with the Europeanised town plan imposed upon the Ezbekiyya quarter, the centre of commerce as well. The same development, however,

was not followed in the cemeteries which now virtually surround the city and which are perhaps the most remarkable architectural feature of Cairo to strike the visitor.

(iii) *Cemeteries*

The great southern cemetery (al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā), the principal burial place of Cairo since the invasion of 'Amr, remained in full use in the Fatimid period, when it was the centre of a considerable cult, which was made acceptable to Sunni orthodoxy by the foundation of a *madrasa* at the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī soon after the Ayyubid conquest of Egypt (the present mausoleum [281], 608/1211, was built by al-Malik al-Kāmil; see Figs. 10, 11). At the south of the cemetery are a group of Fatimid *mashhads*, the most important of which is that of Yaḥyā al-Shabīḥ [285], c. 545–6/1151, the mausoleum of the Imām Layth [286] rebuilt by al-Ghawrī in 911/1505\* and restored in 1201/1786–7\*, the *khānqāh* and mausoleum of Shāhīn al-Khalawātī [212], 945/1538, and the mausoleum of Sīdī 'Uqba rebuilt by Muḥammad Pasha Silāḥdār in 1066/1655–6\* and restored in 1099/1688 [608], better known as the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya. Remains of the Mamluk period in this area are now sparse, though a detailed survey would doubtless permit the location of many funerary foundations mentioned by al-Maqrīzī and others. Behind the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī are the tombs of the late royal family, the Ḥawsh al-Pāshā.

The northern part of this cemetery contains a larger and more important group of Fatimid *mashhads*, including that of Sayyida Nafīsa (of which only restoration inscriptions dated to the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ now exist; the reconstruction proposed by D. Russell, *A note on the cemetery of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the shrine of Sayyida Nafīsa*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi (1939), 168–74, is highly speculative), Sayyida Ruqayya [273], 527/1133\*, and Sayyida 'Ātiqa [333], c. 1125. The sequence continues almost without interruption with the mausolea of late Ayyubid and Bahārī Mamluk sultans or princesses, including Shajar al-Durr [169], c. 648/1250, the *ḥawsh* and mausoleum of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs [276], possibly as early as 640/1242–3, and the mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalīl [275], 687/1288\*, the last Mamluk sultan to be buried in this area. Doubtless to be included within the same cemetery, in the area to the south-west of the Citadel, is a group of funerary foundations. The earliest of

these is conventionally known as the mausoleum of Muṣṭafā Pāshā [279], (?) 666/1267 to 672/1273, and they include the mausoleum and *khānqāh* of Qūṣūn [290–1], 736–7/1335–7\*, and a remarkable mausoleum with minaret, the Sulṭāniyya [288–9]; by reason of its domes, which resemble superficially Timurid domes at Samarqand and Herat, Creswell dates the latter to the mid-9th/15th century but it may well be a century earlier.

The fringes of the southern cemetery merit attention. The Christian cemeteries appear to have been located, as they are now, in the vicinity of Qaṣr al-Sham', though nothing of any antiquity remains there (those of the Jabal al-Aḥmar to the north-east of Cairo appear to date from the present century). The Jewish cemeteries were located even further south in the area of Basātīn Wazīr. The most puzzling of these fringe monuments, however, is the Mashhad al-Juyūshī [304], 478/1085\*, the mausoleum of Badr al-Jamālī, which now stands completely isolated on the Muqāṭṭam hills, though the literary sources refer to pavilions and other buildings (e.g., the Maṣjid al-Tannūr built on the supposed site of the Tannūr Fir'awn) which no longer remain. It is, in any case, the only funerary monument in this area.

The cemetery of the Bāb Wazīr to the north and north-east of the Citadel lies immediately outside the northern walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. The most important, as well as the earliest, foundation there is that of Manjak al-Yūsufī [138], 750/1349\*, described as a mosque in the *Index*, but, exceptionally, having a separate entrance gateway, and a tomb attached to the mosque in the form of a *madrasa*. The other monuments are also 8th/14th century, the *sabīl* of Shaykhū [144], 755/1354\*, the earliest free-standing *sabīl* in the architecture of Cairo, the *maṣjid* and *khānqāh* of Shaykh Nizām Dīn [140], 757/1356\*, and the mausoleum and *khānqāh* of Tankizbughā, situated in an isolated position some distance away on a low spur of the Muqāṭṭam hills [85], 764/1362\*. The latest of this group is the mausoleum of Yūnus al-Dawādār [139], pre-783/1382. None of the foundations is royal, and since the foundation of Manjak is not significantly smaller than those of the Bahārī Mamluk sultans, the creation of this small cemetery is an index of the pressure upon space created by the grand funerary constructions of the Mamluk sultans *intra muros* and in the main streets leading from the Citadel towards the centre.

The great northern, or north-eastern, cemetery, known misleadingly as the Tombs of the Caliphs, though almost contiguous with that of the Bāb Wazīr and now apparently separated from it only by a recent road, the Shāri' Šalāh Sālim, would appear (al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭat*, ii, 363) to be a separate development; the first tomb to be built in this area (known in his time as the 'Awāmid al-Sibāq) was that of Yūnus al-Dawādār [157], 783–4/1382, actually the burial place of Ānas\*, father of Barqūq. There is a topographical problem here, however, since in the southern sector of this cemetery, contiguous to that of Bāb Wazīr, are three important Bahrī foundations, of Tashūmūr [92], 735/1334\*, Tāybughā Tawīl, pre-768/1366 [372]\* and Khwānd Ṭughāy [81], known locally as Umm Anūk, pre-749/1348 (al-Maqrīzī, ii, 66–7), a mausoleum and *khānqāh* with remains of rich stucco decoration and some interesting faience mosaic at the base of the surviving dome. North of this group all the surviving monuments are Burjī (in spite of all the maps which indicate, without numbering, Bahrī remains); all are on a larger scale and many are royal. These include the *khānqāh* complex of Faraj b. Barqūq [149], 803/1400 to 813/1411\*, the funerary complex of Qā'it Bāy [94, 99, 101, 104], 877–9/1472–4\* (see Pl. 6) and the combined foundations of Sultan Īnāl [158], 855/1451 to 860/1456\*, and of the amīr Qurqumās [162], 911–3/1506–7\*. Once again, it is easy to ascribe the growth of this cemetery to the pressure upon building space within the city, all the more so since expropriation was discouraged and substitution (*tabdīl*) of *waqf* property generally required a special *fatwā*, the practice only becoming general, according to Ibn Iyās, in the 9th/15th century. However, the larger royal foundations of this cemetery included elements like the *rab'* (plural *rubū'*) of a decidedly commercial nature, and there is evidence (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 316–31) that Faraj b. Barqūq hoped to transfer the Sūq al-Ḥarīr to the neighbourhood of his *khānqāh*. The area has only recently been colonised and was for much of its extent isolated from Cairo itself by the line of rubbish heaps known as the Barqīyya. Access to the cemetery would appear, therefore, to have been not from the Bāb Wazīr but from the Bāb al-Barqīyya, remains of which, dated 480/1087 by an inscription, were discovered late in the 1950s (G. Wiet, *Une nouvelle inscription fatimide au Caire*, in *JA*, ccxlix [1961], 13–20).

The cemetery to the north of the walls of Cairo, now known as the cemetery of Bāb Naṣr, now contains only one monument of any antiquity, the Qubbat Shaykh Yūnus [511], c. 487/1094. Al-Maqrīzī (ii, 414) states that the quarter was particularly frequented after 700/1300 and that Mamluk notables even built houses there: it was deserted under al-Ashraf Sha'bān (776/1375–6) when prices rose and the Sūq al-Lift was forced to move. This emphasis upon habitation, reinforced by the lack of monuments, shows that the area was of very minor significance as a cemetery, and that its chief period of growth has been during the last hundred years. With this cemetery should perhaps be associated two isolated Burjī Mamluk mausolea, al-Qubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], probably the mausoleum of Yushbak al-Dawādār, an amīr of Qā'it Bāy, 884–6/1479–81\*, and that of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Tūmānbāy [2], 906/1501\*, in the quarter of Ḥusayniyya. They are both so far north of the walls of al-Qāhira that they cannot easily be attributed to any cemetery, but the former is so influential in the architecture of the Ottoman period in Cairo that mere eccentricity of location is irrelevant to their architectural importance.

With the Ottoman conquest, the chronological development of the cemeteries comes to an end. The Istanbul custom of having small cemeteries attached to pious foundations within the city was not adopted in Cairo; most of the Turks who happened to die in Egypt were buried in the *hawshs* of Mamluk cemeteries already in existence. No collection of Ottoman funerary inscriptions has ever been made. There are, moreover, few mausolea to show for 300 years of occupation, and the only remarkable building dating from this period is the tomb of Sulaymān Pasha (Colonel de Sèves), Commander-in-Chief of the Khedive Ismā'īl's troops, who is buried in a cast-iron pavilion on the east bank of the Nile just opposite the southern tip of al-Rawḍa.

#### (iv) *The Fatimid period*

##### *Palace*

The Fatimid palace, the political, religious and administrative centre of al-Qāhira from the 4th/10th–6th/12th centuries, has completely disappeared, though a tolerable reconstruction based upon al-Maqrīzī's description has been made by Ravaisse (see Bibl.). It almost certainly consisted of various quite separate

abodes, each with a central *qā'a* (an elongated hall with two axial *iwāns* [A. *liwān*] and a sunken central area, usually square, known as the *durqā'a*) and their appurtenances. Remains of one of these, most probably to be identified with the Dār al-Quṭbiyya, have recently come to light in the course of excavations in the courtyard of the *madrasa* of Qalāwūn. The *qā'a* also appears to have been an element of the domestic architecture of Fatimid Cairo, as witness the Qā' at al-Dardīr, which exceptionally has vaulted *iwāns* instead of the more usual flat roof. The *iwāns* could sometimes be closed off from the *durqā'a* by palatial doors, as in the case of a *qā'a* (Dayr al-Banāt) in the Greek Orthodox monastery of St. George at Old Cairo (Qaṣr al-Sham'), a construction of indeterminate date but with such doors of the Fatimid period, and as in the case of a similar pair of doors in the Museum of Islamic Art in Cairo found in excavations at the mausoleum of Qalāwūn (Inventory No. 554).

#### Fortifications

The mud-brick *labin* fortifications of Jawhar had disappeared by al-Maqrīzī's time, the result not of the instability of the material but of the population pressure on the compound of al-Qāhira, in spite of all attempts to exclude the public from its precincts. (There is an unrecorded mud-brick *muṣallā* or *maṣjīd* in the al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā' near the Sādāt al-Wafā'iyya which is almost certainly Fatimid in date.) The present Fatimid fortifications of al-Qāhira, therefore, date from the time of the caliph al-Mustaṣir and even before their extensive repair by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in various sectors were much more characteristic of North Syrian than of Cairene architecture, being of squared stone and strengthened with transversely placed columns. The chief remaining elements of the north wall, in which the wall and the north porch of the mosque of al-Ḥākim are embedded, are the Bāb al-Futūḥ and the Bāb Naṣr [6, 7], 480/1087\*; on the east is the Bāb al-Barqīyya of the same date\* (not marked on the monuments map) and on the south the Bāb Zuwayla, 484/1091 (al-Maqrīzī, i, 381).

#### Mosques

The earliest of the mosques of al-Qāhira was that of al-Azhar [97], situated to the south of the palace, dated 359–61/970–2 (al-Maqrīzī, ii, 273) and built very much on the lines of the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn

with a *ṣaḥn* and *riwāqs* surrounding it which are multiplied in the *qibla* side. Very little of the building is original (for a reconstruction see plan in Creswell, *MAE*, i, 58–60, Fig. 20). It was not originally founded as a teaching institution though little more than a year after its foundation it had become the centre of the propagation of the Fatimid *da'wa*. It was this change of function, as much as the population increase within the enceinte of al-Qāhira, which doubtless explains the foundation soon afterwards of the mosque of al-Ḥākim [15], founded by al-ʿAzīz in 380–1/990–1 and completed by al-Ḥākim no later than 403/1012, outside the walls of Jawhar, to the north. Creswell has deduced that those parts of the stucco facing of the *qibla riwāqs* of al-Azhar which are not 19th-century inventions may go back to the original date of foundation; but the courtyard façades and the domed pavilion at the entrance to the raised crossing on the axis of the *miḥrāb* cannot be earlier than the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh, 526/1131 to 534/1149. For the Ayyubid period there is only the testimony of ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak (*al-Khiṭaṭ al-jadīda*, iv, 16) that any upkeep of the mosque at all was attempted, al-Malik al-Kāmil being said to have erected a *qibla ṣaghīra min khashab bi-qurb riwāq al-Sharqāwiyya* in 627/1230. With the exception of this dubious period, however, al-Azhar was reorganised, restored and added to by almost every important ruler of al-Qāhira from al-Ḥāfiẓ to Qā'it Bāy, who added a *miḥrāb* and a minaret (both undated) as well as a monumental porch (*bawwāba*), and al-Ghawrī, who added its second minaret, also undated. The adjacent *madrasas* of Tāybars and Āqbughā (709/1309–10 and 734/1333–4 to 740/1339\*) were enclosed within the complex when the *bawwāba* (the Bāb al-Muzayyinīn) was added by Qā'it Bāy (873/1469\*), though the present entrance is Ottoman, 1167/1753–4\*, probably the work of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā, who considerably enlarged the mosque at this time.

The mosque of al-Ḥākim was even more traditional in that it boasted a *ziyāda* or *temenos* on at least one side (identified by Creswell, *MAE*, i, 115–7 and dated by him 411/1021 to 427/1036), though it added two minarets based on great salients at the north-west and south-west corners and adopted the plan of three monumental entrances, the northern one being subsequently embedded in the wall of Badr

al-Jamālī. The mosque suffered badly in the earthquake of 702/1303 but was restored immediately by Baybars al-Jāshenkīr (Chāshnegīr)\*, who added pyramid-like casings to the two stone minarets and a *mabkhara* or pepperpot-like top to each. In spite of a further restoration attributed by al-Maqrīzī (ii, 277) to Sultan Ḥasan the mosque is now in a ruinous condition and the decoration judged so important by S. Flury (*Die Ornamente der Ḥakīm- und Ashar Moschee*, Heidelberg 1912, 9–26, 43–50) can scarcely now be made out.

The other two extant Fatimid mosques of Cairo, both modifications of the *ṣaḥn* plan, merit attention. Al-Aqmar [33], 519/1125\* (see Figs. 1, 1a), the work of the vizier Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī, has the earliest decorated façade in Cairo, with a rich complement of foliate and epigraphic ornament, but is equally significant because although the mosque is *qibla*-oriented (at least approximately) the façade follows the street, which is not parallel to the *qibla* wall: this is the first case of what was to become a standard Cairene practice. The mosque of the vizier Šālīḥ Ṭalā'i' [116], 555/1160\*, the last dated Fatimid building of Cairo (misleadingly restored in the present century), also combines architectural interest – a colonnaded narthex or loggia as façade and a basement of shops (*dakākīn*) – with rich interior stucco decoration, partly restored by the amīr Bektimūr al-Chūkāndār in 699/1300\* or 702/1302\*. This mosque, situated injudiciously outside the walls of Badr al-Jamālī immediately opposite the Bāb Zuwayla, had been intended as a shrine for the head of al-Ḥusayn. This was placed in a mosque-shrine inside al-Qāhira on a site now occupied by the mosque of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn, the work of an unidentified 19th-century architect under the influence of the railway station architecture of the Gothic revival in Europe.

#### *Tombs, Mashhads*

The tombs of the Fatimid caliphs were inside the palace in the actual region of the Khān al-Khalīlī [53–4, 56] and were thus destroyed on the fall of the dynasty. (A fragment of the only remaining inscription has been published in *RCEA* 2104; see G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre* 34–5, no. 51.) Many other funerary inscriptions have been published (see Bibl.), most from the typical Cairene *ḥawsh*, an unroofed burial enclosure, which may be provided

with one or more *miḥrābs* in the *qibla* wall, which contains graves covered by cenotaphs, or sometimes one or more domed mausolea, usually *qibla*-oriented but following no clear chronological sequence. Some domed mausolea of private persons survive, among which may be the Sab'a Banāt, four mausolea, not all with *miḥrābs*, to the south of the ruins of al-Fuṣṭāṭ and identified by Creswell on the basis of al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 459, with the mausolea of those members of the family of the vizier Abu 'l-Qāsim Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Maghribī put to death by al-Ḥakīm in 400/1010. More characteristically Cairene are the *mashhads* of the late 11th–12th centuries built over suppositious 'Alid graves in the southern cemetery in various groups. Among the best conserved are the Ikhwān (Ikhwat) Yūsuf [301], *c.* 500/1100, Sayyida 'Ātiqa [333], *c.* 520/1125, Sayyida Ruqayya [273], 527/1133\*, the only precisely dated member of the group, Yaḥyā al-Shabīḥī [285], *ca.* 545/1150 and Umm Kulthūm nearby (not marked on the monuments maps), pre-550/1155. Small constructions, sometimes with a central courtyard, the *mashhads* consisted of sanctuary chambers covered by domes on squinches, with richly decorated carved stucco friezes and *miḥrābs*, often in threes, and containing one or more cenotaphs, which were perhaps surrounded by a *maqṣūra*. These were conceived essentially as centres of pilgrimage (*ziyārāt*). Not all Fatimid funerary monuments take these forms, however: the “Qabr Lu'lu' bint al-Muqawqis”, among the mysterious remains of al-Qarāfa al-Kubrā', is a three-storey construction, each storey with a *miḥrāb*; and it has yet to be explained why the Mashhad al-Juyūshī on the Muqāṭṭam [304], 478/1085\*, the mausoleum of Badr al-Jamālī with very rich stucco decoration, should be in the form of a *mashhad* rather than a *qubba*. The cave in the Muqāṭṭam directly below it, the Maghawr or Kahf al-Sūdān, which has been associated by Massignon (see Bibl.) with the cult of the Aṣḥāb al-Kahf or “Men of the Cave” and which appears on the Arabic version of the *Special 1:5000 scale Map* as containing Fatimid remains, has been a military area for so long that it has not been possible to check the suggestion that it also may have been a *mashhad* of a sort.



(v) *The Ayyubid period**Fortifications*

The Citadel and the walls of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn have been authoritatively described and analysed in detail by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 1–40 ff.). The former, the largest Ayyubid fortification ever undertaken, occupies a spur of the Muqāṭṭam hills on its north-west side: the south side is an artificially built up terrace. The Ayyubid remains are confined to the more or less rectangular northern enceinte, which had four gates, the Bāb al-Mudarraj built by the Amīr Qarāqūsh in 579/1183–4\*, two gates at the Burj al-Maṭar and the Burj al-Imām and the Bāb al-Qulla. To this first period may also be assigned a long stretch of curtain wall with fairly uniformly spaced half-round towers which starts at the east of the Burj al-Muqāṭṭam and runs round the south, east and north sides of the enceinte. The ramparts were connected by a *chemin de ronde* and had rounded crenellations. These fortifications which, Creswell judges, must have been virtually complete at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's death, were strengthened by al-Malik al-ʿĀdil in 604/1207–8, when he added three great square towers, the Burj al-Ṣuffa, the Burj Kerkyalān and the Burj al-Ṭurfā, all built athwart the southern sector of the walls, cutting the *chemin de ronde* so as to form individually defensible redoubts in case of need. The Bāb al-Qarāfa at the Burj al-Imām was also reinforced, and, among other works, two towers on the eastern sector, the Burj al-Ḥaddād (Ḥadīd?) and the Burj al-Raml were converted into circular bastions. On the completion of these works al-Malik al-ʿĀdil took residence in the palace there. Al-Maqrīzī states that the Citadel was built with stone from the pyramids at Jīza; most of it is, however, of soft Muqāṭṭam limestone which was quarried on the spot. In Creswell's view the rusticated masonry is easily attributable to al-ʿĀdil since he employed it for fortifications at Buṣrā, Damascus and elsewhere.

The purpose of the Citadel was internal defence, against the possibility of a Fatimid counter-attack or an insurrection of the populace of al-Qāhira. A second Ayyubid fortress with the same purpose, a secure palace complex, the Qalʿat al-Rawḍa, was built on al-Rawḍa by al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb, 638/1240–1. It contained a *qāʿa* (Creswell, *MAE* ii, 84–7) with an enlarged *durqāʿa* to take a free-standing dome, probably wooden. It also had a Gothic

doorway, doubtless carved on the spot by some of the Frankish prisoners taken by al-Ṣāliḥ on his Syrian campaign. Although nothing now survives of this fortress of sixty towers, it remains of interest, for it was here that al-Ṣāliḥ installed the garrison of Mamluks known, from their station on the Nile (Baḥr Nīl), as Baḥrī, which eventually supplanted the Ayyubid dynasty (al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda i, 341).

*Mosques*

There are no surviving Ayyubid mosques in Cairo, and no Ayyubid restoration inscriptions from either the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn or the mosque of ʿAmr, which under their occupation was the only mosque in which the *khutba* was permitted, in an attempt to eradicate the importance of al-Azhar as the centre of Fatimid propaganda. More curiously, the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn by the Fatimid vizier al-Afdāl, who added a *miḥrāb* ca. 487/1094\*, appears to have been respected, since the ʿAlid *shahāda* which appears on it has never been defaced.

*Madrasas*

It would appear probable that the Ayyubids relied more upon the institution of the *madrasa* to combat the Fatimid *daʿwa*. Time has dealt harshly with these foundations, however. One of the first foundations of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's occupation of Egypt was a Shāfiʿī *madrasa* near the grave of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī in the southern cemetery (begun 572/1176–7). Of this nothing remains but the magnificent teak cenotaph of al-Shāfiʿī dated 574/1178–9\* and the work of the *najjār* ʿUbayd b. Maʿālī. The combination of venerated tomb with *madrasa* was an interesting exploitation of the principle of the Fatimid *mashhads* for orthodox Sunnī ends. Elements of the *madrasa* probably survived until the late 12/18th century, but the tomb of the Imām underwent one great transformation, under al-Malik al-Kāmil, who in 608/1211 [281] built an enormous wooden-domed mausoleum, which has been frequently restored since but is still arguably the most impressive mausoleum-shrine of Cairo (see Figs. 10, 11). (For the chronology see G. Wiet, *Les inscriptions du mausolée de Shāfiʿī*, in *BIE*, xv [1933], 167–85.) Remains of a *madrasa* in the Sūq al-Naḥḥāsīn attest a second foundation of al-Kāmil, the Kāmiliyya [428], 622/1225 (al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 375), but the best conserved of all is a double two-*iwān* *madrasa* on the al-Qaṣaba, the main street

of Fatimid Cairo, by al-Šāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb [38], 641/1243–4\*, with a single minaret crowned by a *mabkhara* above the porch in the centre of the façade and a street between which separates the two buildings. Apart from a decorated street façade which depends for its ornament on the tradition of the courtyard façades of al-Azhar, the *madrasas* are almost in ruins, though the crown of the vault of the west *iwān* of the left-hand *madrasa* has inserts of stone vaulting in the brick substructure, which are executed without centring as in Upper Egypt, an architectural practice which has attracted little attention from archaeologists working on Cairo but which is fairly frequent in the 7th/13th to 8th/14th centuries. The most significant feature of the foundation, however, is the mausoleum of al-Šāliḥ [38], 667/1249\* but completed (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 374) 648/1250. One of the last post-mortem funerary constructions of Cairo, it is also the first conspicuous funerary foundation, the *qibla*-oriented mausoleum essentially forming part of the street façade and thus one of the most conspicuous features of the building. This approach was to become so much a standard feature of the architecture of Mamluk Cairo that where a choice between a *qibla* orientation and a street façade arose it was often the latter which prevailed.

#### *Tombs*

A funerary construction of a more traditional type is the “Tomb of the ‘Abbasid Caliphs” [276] near Sayyida Nafisa, possibly as early as 640/1242–3, with very rich decoration of carved and painted plaster, which contains the cenotaphs of many of the caliphs who lived in Egypt as Mamluk puppets after the fall of the caliphate of Baghdad. The domed mausoleum is enclosed in a vast *hawsh* with seven *miḥrābs* in the *qibla* wall and the remains of a monumental entrance. In the post-Ayyubid period such isolated mausolea without appurtenances are very much the exception.

Few public works of the Ayyubid period survive. The Ayyubid elements of the aqueduct which supplied the Citadel with water were incorporated into the works of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad. Two bridges on the Jīza road remain, however, with inscriptions from the time of Šalāḥ al-Dīn in the name of Qarā-qūsh (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 465 ff.) and restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, 716/1316, Qā’it Bāy, 884/1479 and Ḥusayn Pāshā, 1087/1676.

#### (vi) *The Mamluk period*

##### *Fortifications*

There are no considerable Mamluk fortifications extant in Cairo. The Qaṣr al-Rawḍa was restored under Baybars and the restoration inscriptions of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel relate principally to the building of an irregular southern enceinte and to the construction of a new aqueduct connecting the Citadel with the Nile and incorporating into it part of the wall of Šalāḥ al-Dīn which had been intended to connect the *kharāba* of al-Fuṣṭāṭ with al-Qāhira but was never completed. The aqueduct was begun as early as 712/1312 (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 229; Casanova’s translation erroneously has 711/1311, cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 255–9, also for the later history of the aqueduct). The buildings of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel included a large mosque on the *ṣahn* plan [143] with a foundation inscription of 718/1318\*, which was considerably modified in 735/1335 (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 212, 325), when the large wooden dome over the *miḥrāb* supported on ten columns of Aswan granite was doubtless added. The mosque also has two minarets said to have been decorated by craftsmen from Tabriz: if this report is really to be believed, the craftsmen appear to have forgotten their skill on the way to Cairo. The palace of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the Qaṣr al-Ablaq (so called from its use of bi-coloured voussoirs for the arches of the main *qā’a*), also known as the Bayt Yūsuf Šalāḥ al-Dīn, was destroyed in 1824. It has been possible to reconstruct it, however, from descriptions given by Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, and al-Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 209–10, which give the date of construction as 713–14/1313–15). The palace consisted of a great *iwān* (cf. Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 260–4) and a central *qā’a*, which appears to have had flat-roofed *iwāns* and a central dome on wooden pendentives. The palaces of the amīrs which in al-Maqrīzī’s time covered the southern slopes of the Citadel have now entirely disappeared, those which still remained doubtless being destroyed when the palace of al-Jawhara [505] was built by Muḥammad ‘Alī in 1229/1814.

##### *Mosques*

The earliest of the Baḥrī Mamluk mosques is that of Baybars in the Maydān Dāhir [1], 665/1266\* (see Figs. 12, 13, 14), completed two years later, on a polo-ground well to the north-west of the Fatimid

walled city. Built very much on the plan of the mosque of al-Ḥākim, though without the *ziyāda* and without the two minarets, it has three monumental entrances, the decoration of which is a curious blend of North Syrian motifs and the ornament of the Fatimid mosque of al-Aqmar (see above). The building has been largely gutted; the wood and marble brought for it by Baybars from Jaffa has disappeared and only fragments of the rich stucco decoration of the window frames remain. Its most conspicuous feature is the large square *maqṣūra* in front of the *miḥrāb*, doubtless originally covered with a wooden dome and unparalleled in scale in the mosque architecture of Cairo. With the exception of Lājīn's restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn (see *Restorations* below), the principal period of mosque construction in Cairo would appear to be from 715/1315 onwards, partly following on the foundation of the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel and partly taking rather belated advantage of the relaxation of the restriction of the *khuṭba* to a very limited number of mosques inside Cairo. The foundations, often on a large scale, are all of amīrs, not of sultans, and are chiefly on the main arteries to the south and south east of the Faṭimid walls leading towards the Citadel. They include Ālmalik (?) al-Chūkāndār [24], 719/1319\*, Aḥmad al-Mihmāndār [115], 725/1324–5\*, Ālmās [Yilmāz, less probably Ölmez] [130], 730/1329–30\* (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 307), Qūṣūn [202], 730/1329–30\*, which has a monumental porch on the east at some distance from the mosque itself, Beshtāk [205], 735/1335, and Altinbughā al-Māridānī [120], 739–40/1339–40\*, the grandest and most inventive of the lot, with many columns of Aswan granite complete with Ptolemaic capitals, glazed ceramic window-grilles, carved wooden *mashrabiyya* screens separating the *qibla riwāqs* from the *ṣahn*, and a very curiously indented façade on the Darb al-Aḥmar. There are three further mosques of this period, Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī [112], 745–6/1344\*, Aqsunqur [123], 747–8/1346–8\* – better known from its restoration by Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustahfizān in 1062/1652\*, who covered part of the interior with (bad) blue and white tiles and made it known as the Blue Mosque, and Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [147], 750/1349\* (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 312–13, has 756/1355–6). These foundations vary considerably in their dimensions, but their façades always follow the line of the street in which they are built, any divergences from the *qibla* orientation which this might entail being

reconciled by setting the interior plan askew. None are primarily funerary constructions and some are quite definitely not, for example the mosques of Qūsūn, who built a mausoleum and *khānqāh* [290–1] in the southern cemetery 736/1335 (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 425), and of Shaykhū, whose *khānqāh* and mausoleum are directly opposite [152], 756/1355\*.

The Cairene mosques from the time of Sultan Ḥasan onwards, if even grander in scale, are fewer in number and, even in the case of royal foundations, usually form part of a more complex institution. This is reflected in the terminology of the literary sources, which becomes steadily more diverse. The mosque of Sultan Ḥasan [133], 757/1356 to 764/1363\* (see Fig. 15), described in its *waqfiyya* as *hādha ʿl-masjid al-jāmiʿ waʿl-madāris*, is variously described by al-Maqrīzī as *madrasa* and *jāmiʿ*. Its central feature is indeed a vast cruciform *madrasa* for the four *madh-habs* with an open courtyard containing a domed fountain (*fawwāra*). The principal *ūwān*, allotted to the Ḥanafīs for teaching purposes, contains a marble *minbar* and a monumental *miḥrāb*, leaving no doubt that the functions of *madrasa* and *masjid jāmiʿ* were not exclusive. Remarkably, the *qibla ūwān* gives on to a palatial tomb-chamber, originally covered with a wooden dome. The *madrasas* occupy each corner of the main courtyard and consist of many storeys of cells disposed round a small interior courtyard. Annexed to the construction are still to be found a *mīdāt* or ablution courtyard (in Cairene architecture, it is unusual for fountains in the courtyards of mosques or *madrasas* to be used for ablutions before the late Ottoman period), a high water-tower, a *qayṣariyya* with the remains of shops, and a *rabʿ*, which may also have served as a hospital. Complete specification of the appurtenances, many of which have disappeared in the last hundred years, must await publication of the *waqfiyya* of the institution. In the architecture of 8th/14th-century Islam as a whole, not only of al-Qāhira, the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan is outstanding for the vastness of its conception and scale and is particularly remarkable for its height. The interpretation of its architectural history has not significantly advanced since the publication of Max Herz Bey's monograph (see *Bibl.*), except that unconfirmed speculations that the porch might be of Anatolian inspiration have now been confirmed by comparison with the two-minaret porch of the Saljuq Gök Medrese at Sivas 670/1271–2 (J.M. Rogers,

*Seljuk influence on the monuments of Cairo*, in *Kunst des Orients*, vii/1 [1972], 40–68). The building, which remained unfinished at the time of Sultan Ḥasan's death, had an eventful history under the early Burjī Mamluk sultans and its vast scale made it rather unsuitable for general imitation. The façade was, however, imitated by al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh in his mosque, with its other dependencies, including two minarets placed on top of the Bāb Zuwayla [190], 818/1415 to 823/1420 (*Khiṭat*, ii, 328–30), and he paid the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan the further compliment of appropriating the great bronze doors from its entrance and a bronze chandelier from the interior for his own construction.

The mosque of al-Mu'ayyad, the last considerable mosque of Mamluk Cairo, is built on the *ṣaḥn* plan, and the remains of its courtyard façade show it to have been also the last imitation of the blind arcading and rosettes which were taken over by al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh from the mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn for his refectory of the courtyard of al-Azhar. Polychrome marbles on a vast scale were expropriated for the decoration of the *qibla* wall, and the mausoleum even contains fragments of an Ikhshidid cenotaph; decoration of such richness, or rapacity, was not subsequently possible in the architecture of the Mamluk period. The later 9th/15th century mosques of Cairo, even royal foundation like that of Jaqmaq in the Darb Sa'āda, 853/1449\*, are comparatively on a very small scale indeed. Their plans become progressively more similar to those of *madrasas*, chiefly of the two-*ṭwān* type with a reduced *ṣaḥn*, which eventually becomes roofed with a wooden lantern, and the approximation of plan is doubtless due to the fact that the mosque became simply a minor element of complex foundations. Qā'it Bāy, the most considerable builder of the Burjī Mamluks, built no mosques which were not primarily some other institution, and the chief interest of those few buildings of his reign which might be classified as primarily mosques, like that of Qijmās (Qachmāz) al-Ishāqī [114], 885–6/1480–1\*, is not their scale or comprehensiveness but the architectural problems they solve. In the last case, an island site is used, and the ablution courtyard, the *shaykh's* house and a *sabīl-kuttāb* (see below, *Ottomans*), which lie across a street, have to be connected by a bridge. The elements of the foundation are remarkably compressed, and the maximum use is made both of the street façades and

of their symmetrical decoration. However, pressure on space inside the city, and doubtless a sufficiency of mosques in the various quarters of al-Qāhira, made the lavish foundations of the Bahārī Mamluks either impossible or unnecessary.

#### Madrasas

With the probable exception of al-Azhar itself and the *madrasas* associated with it – those of Ṭāybars, 709/1309–10, Aqbughā, 734–40/1333–39\*, Gawhar (Jawhar), 844/1440\* (Wiet *CLA* 118 No. 572), and possibly the Ghannāmiyya [96], 774/1372–3\* – the *madrasas* of Cairo in the Mamluk period had no comparable function to the metropolitan *madrasas* of Ottoman Istanbul, which served as schools for those of the '*ulamā*' destined to hold the highest administrative positions in the empire. They are almost invariably funerary constructions, to which the mausoleum of the founder was attached, well before his death if possible, and in fact provided an excuse for the erection of a conspicuous tomb, prejudice against which still existed among the orthodox '*ulamā*' in the 7th/13th–8th/14th centuries. Moreover, at least with royal foundations, where more land for building might be available, the prime consideration was that the mausoleum should face on to the street in order to be as conspicuous as possible, preferably at the *qibla* side of the foundation, which explains the preponderance of royal mausolea on the west side of the Qaṣaba. The reconciliation of the conflicting demands of *qibla*-orientation, a façade on the street for the mausoleum, symmetrically-disposed windows and doors for the attached foundation and, so far as possible, a symmetrical internal disposition, partly explains the labyrinthine convolutions of the entrance to the *ṣaḥn* of the *madrasa* of Taghrībirdī [209], 844/1440\*, or the bizarre assemblage of passages and closets against the *qibla* wall of that of the Qāḍī Abū Bakr Muẓhir [49], 884/1479–80\*. In principle the *qibla* came first, and in the Burjī period a certain revival or rigorism led to the correction of defectively oriented buildings, for example a 9th/15th-century *miḥrāb* built into the *qibla* wall of the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī; however, in cases of conflict the symmetry of the street façade in funerary foundations generally took first place.

The exceptional character of the independent, non-funerary *madrasa* is shown by the fact that in the Burjī period only two *madrasas*, both founded by

Qā'it Bāy (on the Qal'at al-Kabsh [223], 880/1475\*, and on the Island of al-Rawḍa, described also as a mosque by Ibn Iyās (text, ii, 205, 211, 271, 301) and completed by 896/1491, the only standing monument of any antiquity on the island), can be considered as non-funerary foundations. One funerary *madrasa* did not exclude the possibility of other funerary foundations either. The amīr Qarāsūnqur, who built a *madrasa* [31] in 700/1301 in Cairo, built a tomb at Aleppo when *nā'ib* of that town and is buried in a tomb, the Gunbadh-i Ghaffāriyya, at Marāgha in northwestern Persia, whither he had fled in 712/1312. The amīr Tankizbughā actually built two foundations inside Cairo, one in the southern cemetery [298], *ca.* 760/1359 (Creswell's dating), and one on a spur of the Muqāṭṭam hills to the east of the Citadel [85], 764/1362\*, which contains a canopy mausoleum (*chahār tāq*) completed four years after his death. Even Barqūq, who had founded a funerary *madrasa intra muros* [187], 786–8/1384–6\*, is reported to have asked on his deathbed to be buried in a *qubba* near the graves of various venerated *shaykhs*, which is one of the motives given by al-Maqrīzī (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 464) for the location of the *khānqāh* of Faraj in the desert [149], 803/1400 to 813/1410\*, where Barqūq is indeed buried. This suggests that, whereas institutionally speaking, *madrasa* and *khānqāh* are not exclusive terms, the latter were preferred as places of burial; in any case Barqūq's reported wish is curiously similar to the Timurids' motives for the development of Shahr-i Sabz (Kish, Kishsh) and the Shāh-i Zinda at Samarqand as their family cemeteries.

Regarding the evolution of the plans of Cairene *madrasas*, in particular of the cruciform *madrasa*, an authoritative account has been given by Creswell (*MAE*, ii, 104–34). The institution was imported from Syria by the Ayyubids, but no surviving Ayyubid monument in Egypt or Syria is cruciform in plan, and the lists of the known *madrasas* of Damascus up to 695/1295 and of Cairo up to 639/1242, mostly Shāfi'ī or Ḥanafī, show few *madrasas* for two rites and none at all for four. The Madrasa al-Mustanṣiriyya at Baghdad (631/1233) was intended for four rites, but Creswell has shown (*MAE*, ii, 126–7), that it was not cruciform, whereas the first Cairene cruciform *madrasa* built by Baybars, the Zāhiriyya [37], 660/1262\*, does not appear to have been intended for all four rites. This is also untypical in that it does not appear to have been a funerary construc-

tion, Baybars having built his tomb in the Madrasa al-Zāhiriyya at Damascus. The cruciform plan was not immediately adopted for the *madrasa*, that of Qalāwūn [43], 683–4/1284–5\*, having one *iwān* only and a sanctuary three bays deep. The first cruciform *madrasa* in Cairo for all four rites was that of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [44], 695/1295 to 703/1304\*, and only two others appear to be recorded by al-Maqrīzī, those of Sultan Ḥasan (see above) and Jamāl Dīn al-Ustādār (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 401) [35], 811/1408\*. The cruciform plan was, of course, more widely employed, for mosques as well as for *madrasas*, though always with a tendency for the axial *iwāns* to enlarge at the expense of the side ones. It was, however, most conspicuously employed in the two surviving hospitals (*māristāns*) in Cairo, that of Qalāwūn [43], 683/1284, and that of al-Mu'ayyad [257] (see Fig. 16), 821–3/1418–20 (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 408), the façade of which suggests some direct acquaintance with the Mengüjükd hospital at Divriği in central Anatolia (626/1228 onwards). The hospital of al-Mu'ayyad was, however, turned into a mosque in 825/1421–2.

The great majority of the Mamluk *madrasas* of Cairo are modifications of the two-*iwān* type. Even if we cannot accept Creswell's suggestion that the plan of such *madrasas* was entirely determined by that of the domestic architecture of Cairo, in particular the *qā'a*, we may readily admit that domestic architecture and the *madrasas* of the Mamluk period developed *pari passu*. There are even two *madrasas* which bear inscriptions proving that they were originally houses, al-Ghannāmiyya [96], 774/1372–3\*, and that of Khūshqadam al-Aḥmadī, formerly the palace of Tashtimūr al-Dawādār [153], 768/1366–7 or 778/1376–7. The dates of their conversion to *madrasas* are curiously late: the former must have been a *madrasa* by 827/1423 when al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* was completed, but according to Ibn Iyās the first *khuṭba* was pronounced in the latter only in 891/1486. The conversion was, of course, simple: it required only the hollowing out of a *mihrāb* on the *qibla* side and the construction of a minaret, both essential features of the Cairene *madrasa*.

#### Khānqāhs

Mamluk Cairo is rich in religious foundations of a quasi-monastic type, *zāwiyyas*, *khānqāhs* (pl. usually *khawāniq* or *khānqāhāt*) and *ribāṭs*. The first of these were generally small constructions housing a

*shaykh*, with room for students to group informally round him. They are rarely of architectural importance, and were often not endowed at the express request of the *shaykh*. Of the only two mentioned in Creswell's *Brief chronology*, the Zāwiyat al-ʿAbbār [146] (ca. 684/1285–6, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 420) consists of two domed mausolea and is equally well known as the Khānqāh al-Bunduqdāriyya, and the Zāwiyat Āydumūr (Āydemir) al-Pahlawān [22], the date of which is disputed (see Van Berchem, *CIA*, 125), was almost certainly a *madrasa*. Where the sources speak of other *zāwiyas*, they may say no more than that they consisted of a *rukn* or a *riwāq*: they are, therefore, extremely difficult to identify architecturally.

The earliest *khānqāh* founded in Egypt was Ayyubid (569/1173–4), in the palace of Saʿīd al-Suʿadā, a freed slave of al-Mustashir (*Khiṭaṭ*, ii, 415–17, 422). The site may still be identified, but the building has been so often changed that no idea of its original disposition can be formed. Curiously enough, throughout the period up to the Ottoman conquest, only seven buildings are named, or implied, in their foundation inscriptions as *khānqāhs*: those of Baybars al-Jāshenkīr [Chāshnegīr] [32], 706–9/1306–9\*, Shaykhū al-ʿUmarī [152], 756/1355, Nizām Dīn Ishāq [140], 757/1356\*, Muqbil al-Zimām al-Dāwūdī [177], 797–8/1395\*, and three in the eastern cemetery, Faraj b. Barqūq [149], 803/1400 to 813/1410\*, al-Ashraf Barsbāy [121], 835/1432\*, and al-Ashraf Īnāl [158], 854–60/1450–6\*. The conception of a *khānqāh* as an independent construction, with kitchens, a bath and living quarters either disposed round a central courtyard or in separate blocks, as in that of Faraj b. Barqūq, is well established by al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Taghribirdī, Ibn Iyās and al-Sakhāwī; but the extreme divergence in the numbers of *khānqāhs* they give, from twenty-nine in the first case to a mere four in the last, and the fact that each gives a slightly different list shows that the term, like *madrasa*, is far from having an exclusive sense in the architectural history of Cairo. The general tendency in the Burjī period is for *khānqāhs* to be subsumed in epigraphy under *madrasa* or *jāmiʿ*, though reference may be made to a *mashyakhat taṣawwuf* or *mashyakha ṣūfiyya*, and, as in the case of the foundation of al-Ashraf Barsbāy [121] above, the “*khānqāh*” of the inscription may become “*madrasa*” in the *waqfiyya* (A. Darrag, *L'Égypte sous le règne de Barsbay*, Damascus 1961, 50). Up to the end of the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, which

coincides with the foundation of most of the *khānqāhs* mentioned in the sources, it seems to have been the rule for Sufis to live in *khānqāhs*, in cells either grouped round a courtyard, as in the foundation of Rukn al-Dīn Baybars al-Jāshenkīr [Chāshnegīr] [32] above, and of Salār and Sanjar al-Jāwīlī [221], 703/1303–4\*, on the Jabal Yashkur, or in an annexe, usually of cruciform plan, or, finally, as in the foundations of Īnāl, Qāʾit Bāy and Qurqumās, in a *rabʿ* or block of living-units set within the main enclosure but structurally independent of it. In the latter two types there is no necessary resemblance between the annexe and the main construction.

By the first quarter of the 9th/15th century, living quarters were being suppressed from new foundations within the city, though whether this was for lack of space or of Sufis is unclear. A condition of residence within the *khānqāhs* of the Bahārī period often stipulated in their *waqfiyyas* (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Ibrāhīm ʿAlī, *Dirāsāt taʾrīkhīyya wa āthārīyya fī wathāʾiq min ʿaṣr al-Ghawrī*, unpubl. doctoral thesis, University of Cairo, 168–9, for the *waqfiyya* of Baybars al-Jāshenkīr was that Sufis, as well as taking vows of poverty and piety, were obliged to relinquish salaried appointment within the administration or in any other religious institution. Non-residential *taṣawwuf* was permitted in the Bahārī period under some circumstances, e.g., to married Sufis, but *khānqāhs* founded at this time were seen as essentially places for private *dhikr* to which non-residents were in principle not admitted. From the time of al-Muʾayyad Shaykh onwards (*waqfiyya* quoted by ʿAlī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 128) the emphasis changed to the communal *dhikr*, the previous restrictions on alternative employment for Sufis were less rigorously enforced, and the important element of *taṣawwuf* became daily attendance at the *ḥuḍūr*. The later Burjī *khānqāhs* were dependent parts of complex funerary foundations, and were sometimes no more than *maqʿads*, like that of al-Ghawrī [66–7], 908–10/1503–4\*, a large, oriented hall where the daily *dhikr jamāʿī* or *ḥuḍūr waẓīfat al-taṣawwuf* was celebrated at certain specified hours.

Much more work is required on the development of the *khānqāh* in Mamluk Egypt (for a survey, see S. Mehrez, *The Ghawriyya in the urban context, an analysis of its form and function*, IFAO Cairo). It has been suggested that the change from residential to non-residential Sufi centres was at least partly the result of the decadence of the *ṭarīqas* in 9th/15th

century Egypt; this may be true, but the sources are extraordinarily silent on the precise *ṭarīqa* for which a given *khānqāh* was intended or which eventually took control of it. Divergences in the practices of the *ṭarīqas* led in 8th/14th to 9th/15th century Persia and in Ottoman Turkey to profound modifications in the architecture of the *khānqāh*, and it would not be reasonable to suppose that Cairo was any different in this respect. The only hope of clarifying this question appears to lie either in the publication of the Mamluk *waqfiyyas* of Egypt (e.g. the *waqfiyya* of Barsbāy (Aḥmad Darrāj, *Hujjat waqf al-ashraf Barsbāy* 72, 74) tells us that he founded, to the west of his *khānqāh* in the desert, a *zāwiya* for the benefit of the Sufis (*Riḡāṭīs*) or in a prosopographic analysis of the shaykhs of the various *khānqāhs* during the 8th/14th to 9th/15th centuries.

#### Ribāṭs

*Ribāṭs* (used always in the religious sense and not in the sense of *khān*) are rare foundations in Cairo, and the only foundations named as such in inscriptions are Burjī, that of Yaḥyā Zayn al-Dīn [141], 856/1452\* (*CIA*, 746, No. 270), and two of al-Ashraf Īnāl, one attached to his mausoleum in the desert [158], 854/1450–860/1456\*, and one inside al-Qāhira in the Khurunfish [61], 857/1453–865/1461\*. There is little evidence that the foundations were intentionally associated with the early Islamic *ribāṭs* for the *mujāhidūn* or fighters for the faith, and the occurrence in the *ribāṭ* of Īnāl [158] of a second foundation inscription describing it as a *khānqāh* (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 399 No. 274) suggests that the two terms were by this period virtually synonymous.

#### Tombs

The most splendid of the mausolea of the Mamluk period are, of course, those “attached” to the great funerary foundations – of Qalāwūn, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, Barqūq *intra muros*, and of Faraj b. Barqūq on to Qāʾit Bāy in the eastern cemetery, though, as C. Kessler has observed, it was really the foundation which was attached to the mausoleum, providing its justification, so that, as the prejudice against monumental mausolea gradually waned, the tombs took over a progressively greater part of the foundation or became even more central to its plan. On the other hand there are a number of smaller mausolea from this period, if not exactly

isolated then certainly worthy of remark. That of Küchük\*, for example, incorporated into the mosque of Aqsunqur [123], 747–8/1346–7\*, is exceptional in being neither oriented nor having a *mihrāb*. That of Azbak (Özbek) al-Yūsufi is simply one of the side niches of his two-*ūwān* *madrasa* [211], 900/1494–5\*, with a wooden *mashrabiyya* grille to separate it from the *durqāʿa*. The Qubbat ‘Asfūr [al-‘Asfūr?] in the eastern cemetery [132], post 913/1507, is attached merely to a *sabīl*. So concerned was al-Ghūrī that his mausoleum [67], completed 909/1504\*, should be on the Qaṣaba that the dependencies are almost eliminated and the mausoleum reaches right from the street to the *qibla* wall. The mausoleum of Khayr Beg is attached to his palace, [249], pre-910/505, and the space between filled by a mosque or *muṣallā* with a *mihrāb* which deviates 28° with reference to the *qibla*. There are a few Mamluk canopy tombs (*chahār ṭāqs*), notably those of Tankizbughā [85], 764/1362\*, and a mausoleum within the *khānqāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432\*, though most Mamluk tombs are domed chambers (hence the general use of the term *qubba* for mausoleum). Most interesting of these isolated constructions is al-Qubba al-Fadāwiyya at ‘Abbāsiyya [5], a vast domed edifice datable to 884–6/1479–81\* on a high basement, part of which serves as a *muṣallā*, but which has no ground floor porch and which is reached by a grand staircase on the exterior.

#### General considerations

It is often asserted that the architecture of Cairo shows a progressive decline from the Bahrī to the Burjī periods. There was certainly a change of taste in the later period, with an elaboration of surface ornament on both exterior and interior surfaces, in marble veneer, glass paste or simply carved stone, the exterior surfaces of the domes of the larger royal foundation, from that of Faraj b. Barqūq onwards, being carved with elaborate tracery in high relief. Wood was scarce and an expensive import, no marble appears to have been quarried after the Byzantine period, and despite all expedients, the supply of antique material had almost dried up by the mid-9th/15th century. The devices resorted to to supply this deficiency, for example the use of bitumen or red paste to fill in grooved designs on white marble and thus create the illusion of polychrome marble veneer (*madrasa* of the *qāḍī* Abū Bakr Muzhir

[49], 884/1479–80\*; Kijmās [Qachmāz] al-Ishāqī [114], 885–6/1480–1\*; funerary *madrasa* of Qāʾit Bāy [99] completed 879/1474\* (see Fig. 17); *madrasa* of al-Ghawrī [66] completed 910/1504\*, show technical inventiveness rather than decadence. Pressure on space within the confines of al-Qāhira doubtless explains the smaller size of funerary foundations, in order to accommodate the standard appurtenances, and there is a tendency for the proportion of height to ground area to increase. There also does seem to have been a misguided preconception among Mamluk builders that a plan or elevation could be reduced by a factor of two or four without losing in effectiveness, and this smaller scale naturally makes all-over surface decoration even more conspicuous. However, where space was freely available, as in the eastern cemetery, the Burjī monuments of the whole of the 9th/15th century remain architecturally imposing. This period also saw a tremendous development in the technology of stone work. The few stone domes of the Bahrī period are small and mainly experimental constructions: where a large area was to be covered the dome had necessarily to be wood (as in the mausoleum of the Imām al-Shāfiʿī or of Sultan Ḥasan, both incidentally restored in their original material by Qāʾit Bāy) or of brick, as in the mausoleum within the *madrasa* of Sarghatmish [218], 757/1356\*. In the Burjī period, the enormous span of the domes of the *khānqāh* of Faraj b. Barqūq represents perhaps the apogee of Mamluk stone-work in Egypt, but the technique was maintained right up to the fall of the Mamluks, in the tomb and palace of Khayr Beg [248–9], 906–8/1501–2\*. These are scarcely grounds for speaking of decadence.

#### *Domestic architecture*

In the discussion of the Cairene *madrasa*, the central rôle of the *qāʾa* in the grand domestic architecture of al-Qāhira has already been stressed. In many cases a *salsabīl* in the wall of an *ūwān* emitted a trickle of water which flowed down into a pool in the centre of the *durqāʾa* (*qāʾa* of Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn [50], otherwise known as the *waqf* of ʿUthmān Katkhudā, dated 751/1351\*, not 651/1253 as in Creswell, *Brief chronology*). Ventilation was assured by wind-funnels or towers (*malqaf*, plur. *malāqif*), facing north to catch the evening breeze, and these also occur in some religious buildings (the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾī [116], 555/1160\*, where the shaft inconveniently issues at

the top of the *minbar*, and in the *khānqāh* of Baybars al-Jāshenkīr [32], 706–9/1306–9\*). The main *qāʾa* may not be on the ground floor, and as in the case of the palace of Beshtāk [34], 738 or 740/1337 or 1339, the *piano nobile* is reached by an exterior staircase up the side of a basement which contained the stables as well as a street façade of shops incorporating a *maṣjid* of Fatimid foundation, the Maṣjid al-Fijl. In the storeys above the *qāʾa* were the private apartments, often looking on to it through wooden *mashrabiyya* screens: the result was to make some of the great houses of Cairo extremely high. Of most of these palaces, the chief remains are the monumental porch giving on to the street (Manjak Silāhdār [247], 747–8/1346–7\*; the Amīr Ṭāz [267], 753/1352, on the Shāriʿ al-Suyūfiyya), but one palace, of the *amīr* Yushbak, who to judge from an inscription of 880/1475–6 was the last owner of the building, has been preserved almost in its entirety [266]. Its other current name, the Ḥawsh Bardaq, suggests that it should be identified with the *isṭabl* (both stables and residence) built by Qūṣūn as an enlargement of a palace of Sanjar and pillaged in 742/1341–2. After Yushbak's death in 887/1482 the palace was given by Qāʾit Bāy to yet another *amīr*, Āqbardī, the last recorded occupant, who died in 904/1498–9. The sequence of owners suggests that this palace, and possibly others as well, may have been an official residence, but this is so far undemonstrable and its continued use may simply be due to the lack of suitable housing for *amīrs* holding high positions. It became customary, indeed, to incorporate earlier palace buildings within later structures, or to amalgamate adjoining buildings, so that they came to form rambling complexes of *qāʾas* and *maqʾads*, north-facing loggias generally at mezzanine level on a basement of storerooms or servants' quarters (e.g., that of Mamāy [51], 901/1496\*, now known as the Bayt al-Qāḍī), disposed round irregular courtyards. The Rabʿ Raḍwān Bey [406] near the Bāb Zuwayla and the Bayt al-Kirīṭliyya, adjoining the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn [321], both 11th/17th-century constructions, incorporate earlier elements, and the same would appear to be true of the 9th/15th century, for example, the “palace” of Qāʾit Bāy [228], 890/1485\*, in the Darb al-Aḥmar.

This tradition of appropriation of earlier houses and the resultant constructions rambling round a *qāʾa* probably changed little from the Fatimid



period onwards. It was certainly little affected by the Ottoman occupation, and Turkish influence on the architecture of al-Qāhira was probably at its least in this sphere. The Musāfirkhāna palace [20], 1193/1779–1203/1788, is arguably more of an Istanbul-type construction, and Muḥammad ‘Alī’s palace of al-Jawhara [505], 1229/1814, shows much French influence. But the less elaborate houses of Ottoman Cairo continued the local tradition.

#### *Commercial architecture*

The tenement houses or *rab’s* of Cairo have never been studied architecturally as a group (most appear on the *Index* as “house-*waqfs*”). The Mamluk baths of the city, numerous as they once were, scarcely survive. The entrance to the bath of Beshtāk [244], pre-742/1341\*, and the central hall of a bath which formed part of the endowments of the mosque of al-Mu‘ayyad Shaykh [410] (cf. ‘Alī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 35–6, vi, 71) are the only important remains of the Mamluk period. The *khāns* of the Mamluk period are slightly better preserved, though, given the lavish documentary evidence from the Fatimid period onwards for *khāns* in which foreign merchants lodged and the fact that many of the high Mamluk *amīrs* engaged in trade, it is surprising that there should be only one surviving *khān* of the Bahrī Mamluk period, the earliest in Cairo, that of Qūsūn [11] in the Jamāliyya quarter, pre-742/1341, the date of his death. Two *khāns* founded by Qā’it Bāy are preserved (the inscriptions use the word *khān*, though the literary sources almost invariably use the word *wakāla/wikāla*), one at al-Azhar with a *sabīl-kuttāb* attached [75–6], 882/1477\*, and one [9] at Bāb Naṣr, 885/1481. The best preserved, however, is the Wikālat al-Nakhla [64]\*, which bears the cartouches of al-Ghawrī, 906/1501 to 922/1516. It consists of a courtyard approached through a monumental entrance surrounded by a ground floor of booths (*dakākīn*) or depôts (*makhāzin*) with two upper storeys of rooms for lodging and, possibly, originally another storey as well. The plan differs little from that of contemporary *khāns* in Aleppo and Damascus, though the building is much higher in proportion to its ground area, and the street façade has windows for each storey above the ground floor. These late Mamluk *wikālas*, organised, as in Syria, according to trade as well as to the nationality of the merchants who inhabited them, changed very little after the

Ottoman occupation, most of the surviving *khāns* being 10th/16th–12th/18th century in date.

Al-Ghawrī also built a *qayṣariyya* [53–4, 56] (undated), now known as the Khān al-Khalīlī, which was in fact a *khān* of 8th/14th century date (‘Alī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 90, 301). It has been assumed that al-Ghawrī merely restored the *khān*, but the incomplete foundation inscription in his name (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 596, No. 406) leaves no doubt that it was a new foundation.

#### (vii) *The Ottoman period*

Most assertions of the disruptive effect of the Ottoman conquest upon the architecture of Cairo are based on prejudice or on superficial acquaintance with the monuments. The Mamluk tradition, as it had evolved under the Burjī Mamluks, was extraordinarily persistent, and, in contrast to Damascus, the Ottoman metropolitan tradition of architecture made itself felt only sporadically. Changes of various sorts did take place. The *irsāliyye khazīnesi*, a tax first fixed under Khādim Sulaymān Pasha (931/1524 to 941/1534), left the Ottoman *wālīs* with little money for building, and most of them left Egypt with heavy debts. In the later 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, when the Mamluk beys prevented its remission to Istanbul, larger foundations were undertaken, like the mosque and dependencies of Muṣṭafā Shurbagī [Chorbaji] Mīrzā at Būlāq [343], 1110/1698\*, the extensive restoration of al-Azhar, 1167/1753, and the mosque, *hawḍ* (drinking trough) and *sabīl* of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab [62, 98], 1187/1774\*. The changes, however, were by no means entirely the result of economic pressure. The Ottoman governors, generally in Egypt *en poste* for short periods, preferred to endow large funerary *kulliyyas* [*küllīyyes*], complex foundations, in Istanbul, where large areas of land were still freely available for building in the central districts of the city. They did not intend, if they could help it, to die in Egypt; they did not have the Mamluk tendency to build more than one mausoleum (the last Mamluk to do this in Cairo was Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī with two mausoleums [360, 164] both dated 904/1499\*), and the discovery on their arrival that Cairo was almost entirely built up already and that land was too difficult, or too expensive, to expropriate must have greatly contributed to their lack of enthusiasm for large-scale foundations there. However, two early governors appear to have

been exceptional in building in Egypt and not in Istanbul, Khādim Sulaymān Pasha (*wālī* 931/1524 to 941/1534), who built a mosque of Ottoman plan but Mamluk decoration on the Citadel [142], 935/1528\* (chronogram), with a very curiously planned *tekke* behind it, and Iskandar Pasha (governor 963/1556 to 966/1559) whose mosque, *tekke* and *sabīl* at the Bāb al-Khalq (Kharq) have all disappeared. The former is exceptional in having continued to build in Egypt after relinquishing his official duties: he is credited with a *wikāla* at Būlāq [539], 948/1541, and a *tekke intra muros*, al-Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543–4\* (but described in the foundation inscription as a *madrasa*).

#### Sabīls

The distinction between Ottoman and Mamluk architecture in Cairo is perhaps best shown by considering the history of the *sabīl*, the earliest surviving example of which is that in the name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad [561] at the porch of the foundation of Qalāwūn. The cistern cannot be located, and the later elements of Cairene *sabīls*, a carved stone *salsabīl* or *shādhirwān* down which the water flowed into an interior pool and bronze grilles through which the water could be taken with a dipper, do not survive. The date is disputed: *Khitāt*, ii, 97 (followed by Creswell, *MAE*, ii, 274–5) gives 726/1326, but there are clear signs of a subsequent restoration, when a *kuttāb* (Qurʾān school) may have been added above. One free-standing Bahrī *sabīl*, that of Shaykhū [144], 755/1354\*, appears to be without a *kuttāb*, but by the early Burjī period the joint construction, generally at the corner of a façade so that it might be accessible from two or three sides, becomes a feature of larger foundations, for example that on the façade of the *khānqāh* of Shaykhū [152], later than the foundation of 756/1355\*, and the pair at either end of the façade of the *khānqāh* of Faraj b. Barqūq in the desert [149], 803/1400 to 813/1411\*. However, where a site at an important street junction could be employed, the *sabīl-kuttāb* might become free-standing in the later Burjī period, for example, that of Qāʾit Bāy [324], 884/1480, with a magnificent revetment of marble veneer and a complex of small rooms behind.

In the Ottoman period, the *sabīl-kuttāb* became the most frequent of all commemorative foundations, doubtless for reasons of economy. It was almost invariably an independent foundation, even

when built up against some earlier building. That of Khusraw (Husrev) Pasha [52], 942/1535\*, is both typical of the genre and symptomatic of general Ottoman practice. Governor of Egypt from 940/1534 to 942/1536, he had built mosques at Diyārbakr (925–35/1519–29), Sarajevo (actually a *kullīyya* (*küllīyye*); cf. Mayer, *Architects*, 50) (938/1532) and Van (975/1567), a mosque and double *madrasa*, the Khusrawiyya, at Aleppo (953/1546–7), and a *türbe* in Istanbul, all these three built by Sinān, a canopy tomb at Van (989/1581) and a *khān* on the Van-Bitlis road. His architectural activities are by far the most flagrant example of the Ottoman governors' neglect of Cairo, although his case is paralleled by that of Sinān Pasha, twice governor of Egypt, whose numerous constructions in Syria and at Istanbul are represented in Cairo now only by his mosque at Būlāq [349], 979/1571\*. If (improbably) sheer poverty was Khusraw Pasha's excuse, the habit of founding *sabīl-kuttābs* in Cairo persisted throughout the period of Ottoman domination. The best known is that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā [21], 1157/1744\* (see Fig. 18), an elegant Mamluk pastiche which fully exploits the advantages of its situation at an important street junction. Architecturally, however, it is far from untypical; the *cheshmes* of 11th–12th/17th–18th century Istanbul do not appear to have been copied at all, and the typically bow-fronted wooden-eaved Istanbul *sabīls* (known as *ṣibyān mektepleri*) are not imitated in Cairo until the 19th century (mosque of Sulaymān Āghā Silāḥdār [382], 1255/1839).

#### Fortifications

The Ottoman fortifications of the Citadel cannot ever have served much purpose. The Bāb al-ʿAzab [555], 1168/1754, a premature revival of romantic Crusader architecture, was restored by Muḥammad ʿAlī when he occupied the Citadel and built there the Mint [606], 1227/1812, two palaces, the Jawhara and the Ḥarīm [505, 612], 1229/1814 and 1243/1827, the Archives [605], 1244/1828, and ultimately the mosque of Muḥammad ʿAlī [503], 1265/1848, the plan of which, in spite of frequent assertions to the contrary, is based on that of the Yeṇi Jāmīʿ at Istanbul. The Citadel was no longer a fortress in any strict sense of the word, and an earlier fortress of Muḥammad ʿAlī on the Muqāṭṭam hills [455], 1225/1810, connected to the Citadel by a ramp, is so disposed that it cannot ever have had more than

decorative value. Various gates of quarters (*hārāt*) datable to the Ottoman period remain within the walls of al-Qāhira, for example, that of the Ḥārat al-Mabyaḍa in the Jamāliyya [356], 1084/1673. There is no reason, however, to posit a revival of fortification within the city in the Ottoman period. The existence of such gates is well-documented in the Mamluk period, though none dating from this time has yet been identified.

#### *Mosques*

Although the principal religious foundations of Cairo in the Ottoman period are mosques, not *madrasas*, there is only one royal foundation, that of Malika Ṣafiyya [200], 1019/1610, though it is royal only by error in that its founder, ʿUthmān Āghā, the Dār al-Saʿādet Āghāsi, had not been manumitted, so that the foundation was judged to revert to his owner, Malika Ṣafiyya. Although the masonry and much of the decoration is Cairene, the mosque plan comes closer to the metropolitan mosques of Istanbul than any other Ottoman building in Cairo. It is set in a walled enclosure of which one gateway [330], 1019/1610\*, still stands, on a high basement without shops and consists of a courtyard surrounded by domed arcades leading to a sanctuary with a dome on a hexagonal base which goes back in plan to that of the Üç Şerefeli mosque at Edirne. The next mosque in order of size is that of Sinān Pasha at Būlāq [349], 979/1571,\* which was subsequently imitated by that of Muḥammad Bey Abū Dhahab [98], 1187/1774\*. The use of a dome similar to that of al-Qubba al-Fadāwiyya [5], 884–6/1479–81\*, rather than one of the dome types evolved in Istanbul, as a model for both mosques appears at first sight remarkable, though Ḥasan ʿAbd al-Wahhāb has adduced evidence that by the late 11th/17th century at least this Mamluk mausoleum had become one of the sights for visitors to Cairo. Both mosques, like others of the 10th/16th–11th/17th centuries, introduce certain features which are more characteristic of the Ottoman architecture of Istanbul: a narthex with *mihrābs*, allegedly for late-comers to prayers, and, inside, a balcony above the entrance (it is not always clear whether a royal box or a gynaeceum was intended), and a sunken transverse passage across the sanctuary, a reconciliation, perhaps, of the Istanbul practice of entry into the sanctuary directly from the street rather than via a *ṣahn* or a *miḍāl*, as in Cairo.

The balcony above the entrance first occurs in the architecture of Cairo in the mosque of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad on the Citadel, when it may actually have been a royal box; there appears to have been a gynaeceum right from the start in the mosque of Aṣlam al-Bahāʾī [112], 745–6/1344–5\*, and the sunken passage across the sanctuary occurs in various Burjī monuments, including the mosque within the *khānqāh* of al-Ashraf Barsbāy in the desert [121], 835/1432\*. Such Ottoman modifications, therefore, were mainly ritual rather than architectural.

This general point also applies to other Ottoman mosques of Cairo, for example the Maḥmūdiyya [135], 975/1568, very much a Burjī Mamluk building in construction but based on the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan opposite, even to the tomb-chamber behind the *qibla* wall, though the choice of a steep hill as a site makes the whole idea rather ineffective. The mosque of Dāwūd Pasha [472], 955/1548, combines an irregularly shaped *muṣallā* of late 9th/15th-century type with an entrance more like a *qāʾa* with a staircase incongruously occupying it; and the Ribāṭ al-Āthār [320], 1073/1662 to 1224/1809, a much restored building which is now in part a basilical mosque, has a *qubba* attached which is no mausoleum but a repository for two limestone feet of Pharaonic workmanship, now revered as the *āthār al-nabawiyya* (for earlier restoration, in the name of Faraj b. Barqūq and Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, see Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre*, 79–80, nos. 107, 129). There is a general tendency for basilical mosques, sometimes with a central lantern, like that of Muṣṭafā Shurbagī [Chorbajī] Mīrzā, [343] 110/1698\*, to replace those with an open *ṣahn*, the last of which is the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], 1148/1736\*; but this again is the continuation of a Burjī development. In general, the continuity of Mamluk plans and materials is striking, and while, to judge from the extant remains, tile revetments of low quality were employed in some Ottoman buildings, when a flashy marble mosaic was required it could easily be executed by local craftsmen (mosque of al-Burdaynī [201]\*, 1025/1616 to 1038/1629\*).

#### *Madrasas and tekkes*

The Cairene *madrasas* of the Ottoman period are conspicuous only by their absence. The Takkiya Sulaymāniyya [225], 950/1543–4\*, and the *takkiya* and *sabīl* of “Sulṭān Maḥmūd” [308], 1164/1751\*,

which closely follows it in plan, are both described in their foundation inscriptions as *madrasas*, but there are scarcely any others known, and a complete survey of the Ottoman epigraphy of Cairo is required to determine the question. Both these buildings follow the plan of an Istanbul *madrasa* with a raised courtyard surrounded by arcades with cells and a projecting axial *ūwān* (*darskhāna*): unlike their Istanbul counterparts they are oriented, so that the *darskhāna* also serves as a *maṣjid*. If they were also *tekkes* we have no information regarding the *ṭarīqa* which occupied them. The situation is little better regarding the foundation of *khānqāhs* in the Ottoman period. There is a *tekke* of the Mawlawiyya (Mevlevī) order attached to the tomb and *madrasa* of Ḥasan Ṣadaqa (Sunqur Saʿdī) [263], 715/1315\* to 721/1321\*, with a late 12th/18th-century wooden *semāʾkhāne* on an upper floor, and there is also a *tekke* of the Rifāʿiyya [442], 1188/1774. Yet a third extant *tekke* of the Ottoman period is a Bektāshī convent at the foot of the Muqāṭṭam hills, an early 10th/16th-century foundation of considerable potential interest but which has long been totally inaccessible and has never been surveyed.

#### *Commercial architecture, etc.*

It has already been remarked that the commercial and domestic architecture of Cairo appears to have changed little from the Mamluk to the Ottoman periods almost all the major architectural changes in these spheres have been from the time of Muḥammad ʿAlī onwards. This impression remains to be confirmed, however, and on this, as on the architecture of the 19th-century city, the basic work remains to be done.

#### (viii) *Restorations*

Any account of the architecture of Cairo would be incomplete without some reference to the major restorations which the monuments have undergone. Almost all those still standing have undergone generally accurate major restoration at the hands of the *Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe* over the past ninety years. By no means all earlier restorations are commemorated by inscriptions (for example those of Qāʾit Bāy in Sultan Ḥasan and the Imām al-Shāfiʿī) or thought worthy of record by the literary sources: much of the Islamic architecture of the city owes its relatively well-preserved state to the

fact that, for most of the time, *waqf* revenues must have been adequate for the upkeep of the foundation. Where this was not the case, in the Mamluk period at least, money available for building was usually spent on a new foundation to commemorate the individual donor rather than on the repair of another's monument. Only this can explain the rarity of inscriptions commemorating major restorations in the architecture of Cairo: it was, ultimately, more glorious to demolish a dilapidated building than to restore one.

The major restorations, therefore, are generally explained by special considerations. The Fatimid restorations of the mosques of ʿAmr, Ibn Ṭulūn and al-Azhar had a political motive, the propagation of the *daʿwa*, as well as the necessity of coping with a population increase, and the Mamluk and Ottoman restorations of the Citadel, the aqueduct and the main bridges extant in the Cairo area are readily comprehensible in terms of the necessity of maintaining public, or royal, utilities. The continuous series of inscriptions attesting additions to or restorations of al-Azhar by the Baḥrī and Burjī sultans are an index of its importance in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries as a teaching institution; while the restoration of the mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn [220] by Lājīn, 969/1296–7, the most considerable of the whole period involving two *miḥrābs*, a domed fountain (*fawwāra*) in the centre of the courtyard, a sundial and the virtual rebuilding of the minaret, as well as, doubtless, unspecified structural repairs, was in prompt fulfilment of a vow, as is shown by the dating of the *minbar* he also erected there a fortnight after his accession, 696/1296. The earthquake of 702/1303 was evidently destructive enough to demand widespread repairs, of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Baybars al-Jāshenkīr, of the mosque of al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāʾī [116] by Bektimūr al-Chūkāndār, and the mosque of ʿAmr by the amīr Salār, who probably built the *miḥrāb* on the outer wall by the main entrance.

The other recorded Mamluk restorations appear capricious in the extreme: a further restoration of the mosque of al-Ḥākim by Sultan Ḥasan, 760/1359 (*Khīṭaṭ*, ii, 277), a restoration of the mosque of al-Aqmar [33] by Yilbughā al-Sālimī, 799/1397\*, a *minbar* in the name of Sultan Jaqmaq in the *madrasa* of Barqūq *intra muros* [187], a *minbar* in the name of Qāʾit Bāy in the *khānqāh* of Faraj b. Barqūq in the desert, 888/1483, and a re-endowment inscription

of Barsbāy, 838/1435, in the *ḥawsh* of Dhu 'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī (Wiet, *CIA*, 70, No. 565). Why they should be so few or so various is beyond the state of our knowledge.

In the light of this general lack of concern for older buildings without special importance, however, the scarcity of Ottoman restoration inscriptions becomes much less scandalous. Some restorations certainly appear capricious: for example that of the mosque of Āsunqur by Ibrāhīm Āghā Mustahfīzān, 1062/1651–2\*, or that of Sultan Ḥasan by Ḥasan Āghā, 1082/1671–2\*, the latter of which may in any case refer only to the rebuilding of the fountain in the courtyard. Other Ottoman restoration inscriptions indicate a curious revival of interest in Fatimid *mashhads*: the Mashhad al-Juyūshī to which are attached the remains of an undated Ottoman *tekke*, Sayyida Nafisa, which was apparently burned down at the Ottoman conquest, by 'Alī Pāshā Ḥekīmoghlu, twice pasha of Egypt (1170/1757); the Imām Layth (1201/1786–7); the mausoleum of Sīdī 'Uqba, by Muḥammad Pasha Silāḥdār (first rebuilt 1066/1655–6\* and now known as al-Sādā al-Wafā'iyya [463]); and the shrine of Zayn al-'Ābidīn [599], which bears a somewhat defective Ottoman copy of a foundation inscription dated 549/1154, restored by 'Uthmān Āghā Mustahfīzān (1225/1810, cf. 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak, v, 4). Two earlier Fatimid buildings were completely rebuilt: a mosque founded by the amīr Abū Maṣnūr Qusṭah, 535/1141 (Sīdī Sāriya), in the Citadel, which re-appears as the mosque of Khādīm Sulaymān Pasha [142], 935/1528\*, and the mosque al-Zāfir ibn Naṣr Allāh, 543/1148, rebuilt by Aḥmad Katkhudā Mustahfīzān Kharpūtlū, 1148/1735, as the mosque of al-Fakahānī [109], into which the wooden doors of the Fatimid mosque were incorporated.

The Ottoman inscriptions of al-Azhar (given in Mehren, ii, 59, see Bibl.) chiefly coincide with the substantial enlargements of the mosque undertaken by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. The only other inscriptions which demonstrate a concern for public utilities are those of the Great Aqueduct, restored by 'Abdī Pasha, 1139/1727, with a chronogram also giving the date 1140/1728 (Van Berchem, *CIA*, 591).

This brief account of restoration work in Cairo over a period of seven hundred years or so is based mainly on the published inscriptions: if suggestive in certain respects, it is clearly lacunary. It is more than possible that not a few inscriptions, which claim

to refer to the founding of a building, are really recording pretentious restorations. However, if the record of restoration under Ottoman dominion is poor, it is scarcely worse than in the earlier history of Cairo. Concern for the monuments of others, one may conclude, was not a pronounced Cairene characteristic.

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The bibliography of the monuments of Cairo is so scattered that no complete survey of the source material can be attempted. Much work remains to be done before even a corpus of the Islamic architecture of Cairo can be assembled, and the present brief account demonstrates the extent to which generally received opinions are based upon *a priori* generalisations rather than detailed publication. The most recent and complete bibliographical work is K.A.C. Creswell's *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st January, 1960* (American University in Cairo Press 1961), and its *Supplement, to 1st January 1970*. The monuments of Cairo up to 726/1326 have full chronological bibliographies in idem, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, abbr. as (*MAE*), i, Oxford 1952, ii, Oxford 1959, those for monuments founded before 358/969 being found in *Early Muslim architecture (EMA)*, ii, Oxford 1940, which gives details of repairs and additions to them subsequent to the foundation of Cairo. The latest general bibliography of Cairo by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *A bibliography of the literature of Cairo*, Cairo 1964, is to be consulted for recent articles in Arabic, though in general it supersedes none of Creswell's works cited above.

The material available falls into six classes: (1) maps; (2) primary sources and accounts based directly upon them, rather than upon the monuments; (3) detailed publication of the monuments themselves; (4) epigraphy; (5) general studies, including less pretentious works which aim to be partly guide books; and (6) guide books proper. Work in hand will be indicated at the end of the account.

(1) Maps. For the whole period 358/969–1272/1856 the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo*, 2 sheets (Survey of Egypt 1951), published in English and Arabic versions with numerical, chronological and alphabetical *Indexes* of the Muslim monuments in each language, are a necessary source and supersede the earlier monuments map of Cairo by Max Herz Bey (Egyptian Department of Antiquities 1914). They do not indicate monuments declassified before 1950, and buildings destroyed since 1856 are not shown. For this reason, certain quarters of Cairo which have become built up during the present century, for example the island of Rōḍa (al-Rawḍa), appear as misleadingly unimportant, and for a more accurate impression of their constitution in the post-mediaeval period, the maps in M. Jomard, *Description de l'Égypte. État moderne*, Paris 1809–22, ii, 579–788, should be consulted. There are many differences of detail between the 1951 maps and those attached to *MAE*, i–ii: in cases of divergence the latter are generally the more reliable. The *Indexes* do not correspond exactly in

their Arabic and English versions, showing discrepancies of orthography or even classification and, particularly for the Ottoman period, some monuments numbered on the maps do not appear in the *Indexes*. The basic work of their collation and revision is at present being undertaken by a seminar of the American University in Cairo under the direction of C. Kessler.

(2) Primary sources. For the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, D.P. Little, *An introduction to Mamlūk historiography*, Wiesbaden 1970, is a useful guide to the material available. It is regrettable that no similar survey has yet been attempted for any other period of the history of Cairo. Of all the primary sources, al-Maqrīzī, *Mawā'iz (Khīṭaṭ)*, for the period up to the reign of al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh, is by far the most useful and is often a first-hand source (ed. Būlāq 1270/1853, ed. G. Wiet, in *MIFAO*, xxx, xxxiii, xlvī, xlix, liii (Cairo 1927–), covering i, 1–322 of the Būlāq edition, tr. U. Bouriant, in *MMAF*, xvii, fascicules 1–2 (Paris 1895–1900), covering Būlāq ed. i, 1–250; tr. P. Casanova, in *MIFAO*, iii (Cairo 1906), covering Būlāq ed., i, 251–347). This should be supplemented by al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, ed. M. Ziyāda, i–iii, Cairo 1934–70; tr. E. Quatremère as *Histoire des Sultans mamlouks*, i–ii, Paris 1837–44, continued by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhāwī, *al-Tibr al-masbūk fī dhayl al-Sulūk*, ed. A. Zeki Bey, in *Revue d'Égypte*, ii–iii, Būlāq 1896–7, E. Gaillardot (Cairo 1897); see also al-Sakhāwī, *Tuhfat al-albāb*, i, Cairo 1937. Among other sources of primary importance are Ibn Duqmaq, *Kitāb al-Intisār li-wāṣilat 'iqd al-amṣār*, Būlāq 1309/1891–2; Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Cairo; Ibn al-Zayyāt's guide to the Qarāfa, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fī 'l-Qarāfatayn al-kubrā wa 'l-sughrā*, Cairo 1325/1907; and Ibn Iyās, *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr*, Būlāq 1311–14/1893–7, tr. G. Wiet as *Histoire des Mamlouks circassiens*, IFAO, Cairo 1945, covering the period 1467–1500, and as *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, i, Paris 1955–6, covering the period 1500–16, ii, Paris 1960, covering the period 1516–22.

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Among topographical works which draw mainly upon the literary sources should be mentioned first, C.H. Becker, art. *Cairo*, in *ET*, and A. Breccia and E. Kühnel, *Cairo*, in *Enciclopedia italiana*, viii, 281–7. More detailed works of

this type are A.R. Guest and E.T. Richmond, *Miṣr in the fifteenth century*, in *JRAS* (1903), 791–816; G. Salmon, *Etude sur la topographie du Caire, le Kal'at al-Kabsh et la Birkat al-Fil* in *MIFAO*, vii, Cairo 1902; P. Ravaisse, *Essai sur l'histoire et la topographie du Caire d'après Maqrizi*, in *MMAF*, i/3, iii/4, Paris 1887–90; P. Casanova, *Histoire et description de la Citadelle du Caire*, in *MMAF*, vi, Paris 1891–2; W. Lyster, *The citadel of Cairo, a history and guide*, Zamalek, Cairo 1990. W. Popper's *Systematic notes to Ibn Taghribirdī's Chronicles*, i, *The Cairo Nilometer*, Berkeley 1951, and ii, *Egypt and Syria under the Circassian Mamlūks*, Los Angeles 1957, contain much valuable topographical material. Mention should also be made of L. Massignon's *La cité des morts au Caire (Qarāfa Darb al-Aḥmar)*, in *BIFAO*, lvii (1938), 25–79. Much hitherto unpublished material, not all, obviously, of equal relevance to the city of Cairo, is to be made available in a series of translations (general editor S. Sauneron) by the IFAO (Cairo) of the accounts of foreign travellers to Egypt, which it is hoped to turn into a corpus, *Collection des voyageurs occidentaux en Égypte*. The following are to appear: Pierre Belon (1547), Jean Palèche (1581), Jean Coppin (1638), two anonymous Florentine and Villanovan accounts (1589–90) and Lichtenstein, Kiechel, Fernberger, Von Teufel, Lubenau and Miloite (1587–8).

(3) Detailed publication of monuments. For its detailed publication of the monuments up to 726/1326, K.A.C. Creswell's *EMA*, ii, and *MAE*, i–ii, the latter two volumes incorporating the author's earlier publications of isolated monuments or types of architecture in Cairo and presenting his most recent views on the problems he had earlier considered, are basic works. For plans and descriptions of monuments no longer extant, M. Jomard, *Description de l'Égypte. Etat moderne* (cited in (1) above) is sometimes useful. For the period 726/1326 to 923/1517, K.A.C. Creswell, *A brief chronology of the Muhammadan monuments of Egypt to 1517*, in *BIFAO*, xvi (1919), 39–164, has still, for the majority of the monuments it catalogues, not been superseded. Monographs, some of them no more than preliminary studies, devoted to monuments not treated in *MAE*, i–ii, include: Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Masjid Aṣṣalam Silāḥdār*, in *al-Handasa*, xvi (1937), 469–80; idem, *Madrasat Abī Bakr Muzhir*, in *al-Handasa*, xv (1935), 17–23; M. Herz Bey, *La mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire*, Cairo 1899; idem, *La mosquée de l'emir Ganem al-Bahlaouan au Caire*, Cairo 1908; Franz Pasha, *Die Grabmoschee des Sultans Kait-Bai bei Kairo* (= *Die Baukunst*, i/3), Berlin-Stuttgart 1897; R.L. Devonshire, *Abu Bakr Muzhir et sa mosquée au Caire*, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii (*MMAF*, lxxviii), Cairo 1940, 25–31; and Saleh Lamel Mostafa, *Kloster und Mausoleum des Farağ ibn Barqūq in Kairo* (= *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, ii, Glückstadt 1968), cf. review by K. Brisch in *Kunst des Orients*, vi/2 (1970), 182–3, the only detailed contribution up to the present to the study of the growth of the Eastern cemetery in Cairo. To these should be added M. Meinecke, *Das Mausoleum des Qalā'ūn in Kairo. Untersuchungen zur Genese der mamlukischen Architekturdécoration*, in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Abteilung Kairo*, xxvii/1 (1971), 47–80, the first serious attempt to broach the problem of the origins of Mamluk architectural decoration. Also N. Rabbat, *Al-Azhar Mosque, an architectural chronicle of Cairo's history*, in *Muqarnas*, xiii (1996), 45–67.

With the exception of an unpublished doctoral thesis by Kamāl Dīn Sāmīḥ (good plans, poor text) on the work of the 18th-century patron and builder, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā (Faculty of Engineering, Fouad I University, Cairo 1947) and A. Raymond, *Les constructions de 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā au Caire*, in *Mélanges Islamologiques de l'IFAO*, x, (1973), the period after 923/1517 remains largely untreated, except in general accounts of the architecture of Cairo (see (5) below). For this period, and for other periods as well, the *Comptes rendus du Comité des monuments de l'art arabe* (Cairo 1882 onwards: most recent volume, covering the years 1954–61, Cairo 1963 [since 1956 reports have been in Arabic]). *Index* up to 1914 edited by M. Herz Bey, Cairo 1915, list of contents by volume, 1882–1940, in K.A.C. Creswell *Bibliography* (cited above), cols. 89–96) remains an important source. For the 19th century onwards, with the exception of E. Pauty, *L'architecture du Caire depuis la conquête ottomane* (see (5) below), there appear to be only two useful studies, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mabānī al-Qilā' fi 'aṣr Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā*, in *al-Imāra*, iii/3–4 (1941), 89–98, and J. Fleming, *Cairo Baroque*, in *Architectural Review*, xcvi (1945), 75–82.

Archaeological investigation of the mediaeval domestic architecture of Cairo has in recent years been on a minor scale and has remained largely unpublished. Of primary importance, however, are G.T. Scanlon's preliminary reports of five seasons of work at al-Fustāt, *JARCE* (1964 onwards), for the considerable revisions they entail of the conclusions advanced by A. Bahgat and A. Gabriel, *Fouilles d'al-Foustat*, Paris 1921, and A. Gabriel, *Les fouilles d'al-Foustat et les origines de la maison arabe en Egypte*, Paris 1921. Owing to the unfortunate fact that the rebuilding operations within mediaeval Cairo have rarely been accompanied even by salvage excavations, the curious apparent incongruity between the Tulunid-Fatimid-Ayyubid domestic architecture of al-Fustāt and the Mamluk architecture of Cairo *intra muros* has remained so far unexplained, though it is to be hoped that the forthcoming publication by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, under the general title, *Etude scientifique des palais et maisons du Caire et de Rosette (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, will throw light on this problem. E. Pauty's, *Les palais et les maisons d'époque musulmane au Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxii (Cairo 1932), and *Les hammams du Caire*, *MIFAO*, lxiv (Cairo 1933), are poorly documented general studies with few plans and give little idea of the history of the domestic architecture of Cairo.

For the Coptic architecture of Cairo in the Islamic period, A.J. Butler, *Ancient Coptic churches of Egypt*, i–ii, Oxford 1884, repr. with Butler's corrections, Oxford 1970, is to be supplemented with discretion by M. Simaika Pasha, *A brief guide to the Coptic Museum and to the principal ancient Coptic churches of Cairo*, Cairo 1938. On the architecture of the other non-Muslim minorities, all of which is apparently 18th century or later, there appears to be nothing published at all.

(4) Epigraphy. The epigraphy of the monuments of Cairo, the most valuable source for their history, should be approached with the caution that, especially in the Burjī Mamluk period, a foundation inscription may specify only one of the buildings of the complex to which it applies. This custom partly accounts for the misdescriptions or inconsistencies in the Arabic and English *Indexes* to the *Special*

*1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* (see (1) above). The still incomplete *RCEA*, a secondary compilation, has not superseded M. Van Berchem's *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum (CIA)*. *Première partie, Egypte*, i, Paris 1903, ii (continued by G. Wiet), *MMAF*, lii, Cairo 1929–30. The two volumes contain only a selection of the inscriptions from the Ottoman period. *CIA*, i–ii, supersedes Van Berchem's *Notes d'archéologie arabe*, in *JA*, 8e série, xvii (1891), 411–95, xviii (1891), 46–86, xix (1892), 377–407. The *CIA* should now be completed with G. Wiet, *Inscriptions historiques sur pierre (Catalogue général du Musée de l'Art Islamique du Caire)*, Cairo 1971. Some volumes of the *Catalogue général du Musée Arabe du Caire* are also relevant, particularly because of the striking rôle which wood plays in the architectural decoration of all periods in Cairo: J. David-Weill, *Bois à épigraphes*, i, *Jusqu'à l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1931, ii, *Depuis l'époque mamlouke*, Cairo 1936; E. Pauty, *Bois sculptés d'églises coptes (époque fatimide)*, Cairo 1930; and idem, *Les bois sculptés jusqu'à l'époque ayyoubide*, Cairo 1931. The volumes of the *Catalogue général* dealing with the tombstones in the Islamic Museum in Cairo, *Stèles funéraires*, i–ix, Cairo 1932 onwards, to which Hasan al-Hawwārī, Ḥusayn Rāshid and G. Wiet have all contributed, are of less value, partly because in most cases the tombstones have only the vaguest provenance and partly because of the common Cairene practice of building earlier stelae into a mausoleum of later date. C. Prost, *Les revêtements céramiques dans les monuments musulmans de l'Egypte*, i (all published), in *MIFAO*, xl (Cairo 1916), is a preliminary study of the curious problems, epigraphic and technological, raised by the scanty use of ceramic revetment in Mamluk and Ottoman architecture. Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Tawqī'āt al-ṣunnā' 'alā āthār Miṣr*, in *BIE*, xxxvi (1955), 533–58, gives craftsmen's signatures, generally of workers in the minor arts and not of architects proper, on the monuments of Cairo, with comment upon their exceptional rarity for Islamic architecture. It is on this work that Mayer, *Architects*, largely depends. Mayer, *Saracenic heraldry*, Oxford 1933, includes occurrences of Mamluk blasons on the architecture of Cairo; the list is no longer complete but it is still a basic adjunct to the epigraphic material relating to al-Qāhira.

On the difficult problems raised by Mamluk names there is a preliminary study by J. Sauvaget, *Noms et surnoms des Mamelouks*, in *JA*, ccxxxviii (1953), 31–58. On the Turkish side this may be supplemented by P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, and by L. Rásonyi, *Sur quelques catégories de noms de personnes en turc*, in *Acta linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, iii (Budapest 1953), 323–51, though many Mamluk names of Turkish origin remain problematic. Further enlightenment may be obtained from G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i–iv, Wiesbaden 1963–75, which is all the more important since the studies of the Mongol and Circassian Mamluk names, by L. Hambis and G. Dumézil respectively, announced by Sauvaget (*art. cit.*), do not appear to have been published.

(5) General works. Apart from C.H. Becker's still useful short account in his art. *Cairo*, in *ET*, there is no adequate, comprehensive work on the architecture of Cairo. Of those so far attempted that of Ḥasan 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Ta'rikh al-masājid al-āthāriyya allatī ṣallā fihā farīdāt*

*al-jum'ā ḥadrat ṣāhib al-jalāla al-Malik al-Sāliḥ Fārūq al-awwal*, i–ii, Cairo 1946, which, as its title indicates, is selective, is the most useful compilation of historical, epigraphic and architectural information. L. Hautecoeur and G. Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire*, Paris 1932, volume of text with album of plates, is a premature attempt to order the monuments, hastily compiled and with some prejudices which have evoked little sympathy (cf. review by K.A.C. Creswell in *JRAS* [1934], 199–203). Nevertheless, while many of their generalisations have turned out to be unjustified, some chapters on technology, particularly the Mamluk taste for marble revetment, contain much valuable, if not precisely documented, information. The lavishly illustrated production of the Ministry of Waqfs, *The mosques of Egypt from 641 to 1946*, i–ii, Giza 1949, has a text which is too brief to be informative. Aḥmad Fikrī, *Masājid al-Qāhira wa-madārisuhā*, i–ii, Cairo 1965–9, in fact covers only the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods. D. Brandenburg, *Islamische Baukunst in Ägypten*, Berlin 1966, despite its title chiefly devoted to the monuments of Cairo, is somewhat arbitrary in its selection of monuments and relies heavily upon *MAE*, i–ii, thus giving insufficient weight to the period after 726/1326, and upon a not always critical reading of Hautecoeur and Wiet. The most recent general work on Cairo, 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawṣū'at madīnat al-Qāhira fī al-f'ām*, Cairo 1969, gives much information, particularly relating to the architecture of Cairo in the 18th–19th centuries, which is not otherwise available, but the work is too short for completeness and the treatment of the earlier monuments is highly selective. It is, indeed, a significant comment on the paucity of recent published work on the monuments of Cairo that for the period after 726/1326 two of the best general works should still be A.F. Mehren, *Cāhīrah og Kerāfat*: i, *Grazmonumenter paa Kerāfat eller de Dodes Stad udenfor Cāhīrah* ii, *Religieuse Monumenter i Cāhīrah*, Copenhagen 1869–70, which record many otherwise unpublished monuments, and M.S. Briggs, *Muḥammedan architecture in Egypt and Palestine*, Oxford 1924.

Recent collections of essays dealing in general with the history or archaeology of Islamic Egypt contain some material directly related to the architecture of Cairo, in particular, *Mélanges Maspéro*, iii, = *MMAF*, lxxvii (Cairo 1940), and *Studies in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell*, Cairo 1965. However, it is noteworthy that in the most recent collections of essays on Cairo to appear, *Annales Islamologiques*, viii, *Volume commémoratif du Millénaire du Caire 969–1969*, IFAO Cairo 1969, and *Colloque international sur l'histoire du Caire*, Ministry of Culture of the ARE, Berlin 1973, the emphasis of recent research following the lead established by M. Clerget, *Le Caire. Étude de géographie urbaine et d'histoire géographique*, i–ii, Cairo 1934, a work which can still be consulted with profit, has been upon the problems of urbanism in Cairo and the extent to which the architecture of the mediaeval city was successful in resolving them. The most recent work of this kind, best for the late 18th–20th centuries, is Janet Abu Lughod, *Cairo. One thousand and one years of the City Victorious*, Princeton 1972. In the light of the unbalanced publication of the monuments, such a shift of emphasis may appear premature, but it is to be hoped that it will lead to a revival of interest in the basic archaeological problems.

Among what may be best described as informative guide books to the monuments of Cairo, Dorothy Russell, *Mediaeval Cairo*, London 1962, is the most detailed and to a considerable extent succeeds in overcoming its defects of organisation (into tourist itineraries rather than historical periods or coherent quarters), occasional inaccuracies, lack of plans and a perhaps excessive prejudice in favour of the monuments of the Fatimid period. Other useful works of the same type, though they aim to cover more limited areas of Cairo, are Maḥmūd Akkūsh, *Ta'rikh wa-waṣf al-jāmi' al-Ṭūlūnī*, Cairo 1346/1927; R.L. Devonshire, *Rambles in Cairo*<sup>2</sup>, Cairo 1931; E. Pauty, *La mosquée d'Ibn Touloun et ses alentours*, Cairo 1936; Maḥmūd Aḥmad, *Concise guide to the principal Arabic monuments in Cairo*, Būlāq 1939; and Ḥasan 'Abd al-Waḥḥāb, *Jāmi' al-Sultān Ḥasan wa-mā ḥawlahu*, Cairo 1962.

For much of the Ottoman architecture of Cairo these general works remain the only source, though they may with discretion be supplemented by Pauty, *L'architecture au Caire depuis la conquête ottomane. Vue d'ensemble*, in *BIFAO*, xxxvi (1936), 1–69, a general work in spite of its apparently promising title. The author's lack of acquaintance with Metropolitan Ottoman architecture, and the small number of Cairene monuments that he considers in detail, have contributed to the generally held, though highly misleading, impression of the Ottoman period in Cairene architecture as one of decadence and inactivity. It remains for subsequent research to correct this. See A. Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII<sup>me</sup> siècle*, 2 vols., Damascus 1973, and G. Wiet, *Cairo, city of art and commerce*, Norman, Okla. 1964.

(6) Guide books. The text of the *Guide Bleu*, which has not substantially changed for the mediaeval monuments of Cairo since its first edition (compiled by M. Baud, Paris 1950), is of little use for all but the most obvious of the Islamic monuments. *Murray's Handbook for travellers in Egypt* (many editions: I cite the 10th edition edited M. Brodrick, London 1900) depends largely upon the work of S. Lane-Poole and other late 19th-century authors and, despite its literary bias, is both more complete and less misleading, containing much information on no longer extant buildings of the 18th–19th centuries. K. Baedeker, *Handbuch für Reisende, Ägypten und der Sudan*, 8th edition 1928, with preface on the monuments by K.A.C. Creswell, is particularly useful for its description of monuments on the outskirts of Cairo, which do not always appear on the *Special 1:5,000 scale maps of Cairo* and for its directions for reaching them.

Work in progress. Apart from works mentioned above, in particular G.T. Scanlon's *Final report* on his excavations at Fustāṭ and the publication of Cairene houses and palaces by R. Mantran and the late A. Lézine, work in hand includes a major publication of the funerary architecture of Cairo, Fatimid to Mamluk periods, by C. Kessler, to appear as a volume of the *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Islamische Reihe*, with contributions by Layla 'Alī Ibrāhīm on the Mamluk foundations of the 14th century. The work of these authors, to which should be added that of M. Meinecke, Shahīra Mehrez (Muḥriz), J. Raghib and M. Keane, may be expected in the course of the next few years to advance substantially the present state of knowledge on the monuments of Cairo and their history.



## 2. *The modern city*

### (i) *General outline*

Modern Cairo took shape under Muḥammad ‘Alī (1805–49), from whose reign date the first beginnings, modest as yet, of new institutions. Once begun, the movement could no longer be stopped. So far as town-planning, the press, and the birth of Egyptian nationalism are concerned, the reign of Khedive Ismā‘īl (1863–79) was a watershed. During this period, Cairo began to take on the appearance of a modern city. Owing to a fall in the production of cotton in the United States following the American Civil War (1861–5), Egypt easily found markets for her crop and money poured in. Besides this, the opening of the Suez Canal in November 1869 drew the eyes of the world to Egypt; control of this area appeared even more of a decisive element in the struggle for worldwide power. For this reason, the debts of the Khedive were made the pretext for the first stages of foreign intervention, and in due course this was also the reason for the British occupation (1882).

Throughout all these events the city developed, and public services such as gas, water and tramlines were laid on. Foreigners as well as migrants from other Ottoman territories settled there. The First World War marked the definitive separation of Egypt from the Ottoman Empire. With the Cairo demonstrations which followed immediately after the armistice in 1918, Egyptian nationalism became a genuinely popular movement, given concrete expression in the Wafd Party. Political pressure was still held to be the best means of achieving liberation, and the importance of economic factors on the road to freedom was given but scant recognition through the establishment of the Bank of Egypt in 1920, and that within the framework of a national capitalism. A measure of independence was proclaimed under the aegis of King Fu‘ād (1922). The opening of the first state university in Cairo in 1925 was a significant moment, and indeed, in his novels Najīb Maḥfūz presents this event as the dawning of a new era in the history of the Egyptian middle classes.

One after another the institutions characteristic of a large modern city were set up. The Free Officers’ Revolution (23 July 1952) brought in its train the abolition of the monarchy and the eviction of the old ruling classes. The new political orientation was demonstrated in the city even at the level of urban

development through the opening up of thoroughfares, the establishment of schools, workers’ housing, institutions and factories and by the development of radio, the building of new mosques, etc. The Anglo-French military intervention of October to December 1956 led to wholesale nationalisation of French and British enterprises. With the ending of the three-year long union with Syria in 1961, the country clearly took the path of Arab socialism, with the stress on the essential economic struggle facing the Third World. Finally, the Palestine war of 1967, on both the political and the military fronts, continued to impose a burden on Cairo which remained very heavy.

Today Cairo is undoubtedly one of the liveliest capitals in the world. The city has a dual aspect, truly Egyptian and yet at the same time cosmopolitan, the latter arising from her geographical situation. The genuinely Egyptian aspect is revealed in the drama of a people rudely forced into changing their way of life by demographic pressures. Thanks to modern medicine, both pressure and change have led to the disappearance of many ancient customs and the proletarianisation of a section of the population. The efforts of the present-day authorities to create a new Egypt are a response to this demographic challenge. As for the cosmopolitan aspect of the city, this is partly related, as in former days, to the presence of students and teachers who come from all over the world. It also arose because of the succession of foreign rulers (Mamluk, Turkish and British). Now that Cairo is governed by Egyptians, the foreign element is confined to tourism, technical aid and “co-operation”.

### (ii) *Town planning*

The map drawn up by Bonaparte’s expedition depicts the city as bounded in the west by the Ezbekiyya, with fields lying between it and Būlāq. “The great builder and earth-mover”, Muḥammad ‘Alī, embellished and cleared façades and drained the Ezbekiyya, but built very little apart from a palace and mosque in the Citadel (between 1830 and 1848) and a large palace at Shubrā (1808, rebuilt in 1823); he had a road built across the fields so that there was a direct route to the latter (now Shāri‘ Shubrā). A few institutions were set up in the city, such as the School of Medicine, founded in 1827 at Abū Za‘bal and transferred in 1837 to Shāri‘ Qasr al-‘Aynī. The *sikka jadīda* “new street” was constructed in 1845 to clear

congestion in the al-Azhar quarter. Workshops were opened in Būlāq. “Despite this progress”, writes M. Clerget, “the boundaries, area and general appearance of Cairo around 1850 were the same as in the 18th century”. P. Marthelot also observes that “a second city was born in the second half of the 19th century”.

The eccentric ‘Abbās, grandson of Muḥammad ‘Alī, pasha, then viceroy, from 1849 to 1854, gave his name to the al-‘Abbāsiyya district, originally a small township composed of quarters for military personnel.

Under the Viceroy Sa‘īd (1854–63), the *Bāb al-Ḥadīd* railway was constructed (1856), linking the city with Alexandria; in 1858 it was continued to Suez. From 1857 British troop reinforcements sent to suppress the Indian Mutiny crossed Egypt from Alexandria to Suez, completing the last part of the route on foot. The barracks and viceregal palace of Qaṣr Nīl were built on the river in 1863 (destroyed in 1947 after the British withdrawal).

The reign of the Viceroy (later Khedive) Ismā‘īl (1863–79) saw the construction of the palace ‘Ābādīn, begun in 1863; from 1874 the ruler took up residence there, finally quitting the citadel, which was formerly the seat of the Turkish pashas. A canal, al-Tira‘ Ismā‘īliyya, was dug between the Nile and the Khaliḡ, passing between Būlāq and the Ezbekiyya, then to Bāb al-Ḥadīd and finally to Ghamra (it was filled up shortly after 1897). The Qubba palace dates from 1863. In 1867 Khedive Ismā‘īl saw Haussman’s Paris. He too had new quarters laid out: the streets of the Ismā‘īliyya district, south of the road from the Ezbekiyya to Būlāq, have the same layout today (cf. the 1873 plan of Cairo). For the celebrations which marked the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), the Opera House (destroyed by fire in 1972) was built near the Ezbekiyya; a building was added to the Khedive’s palace on the island of Gezīrah (al-Jazīra) which later became the ‘Umar Khayyām Hotel. The road from Gīza (al-Jīza) to the Pyramids was transformed into a splendid boulevard. In 1871–2 a modern bridge spanned the Nile (the Qaṣr Nīl, now the Kūbrī al-Taḥrīr, which was rebuilt in 1931), with another over the other arm of the river (rebuilt in 1914). In 1872 two large arcaded thoroughfares were laid out: Clot Bey street from the station to the Ezbekiyya and Muḥammad ‘Alī street from al-‘Ataba al-khaḍrā’ to the Citadel.

The establishment of modern means of transport played an essential part in the development of both suburban and peripheral areas. Relatively central districts like Tawfīqiyya (named after Khedive Tawfīq, 1879–92) or Faggala (Fajjāla), which began around 1880, or residential areas like Garden City (which dates from 1905) could be populated without the need for trains and tramlines. But Zaytūn and Maṭariyya in the suburbs could only come into being after the construction of the railway from Pont Lemoun (Kūbrī Limūn) to Maṭariyya and al-Marj (1889–90). The same was true of the tramlines which were laid in 1896 and linked al-‘Ataba al-khaḍrā’ with ‘Abbāsiyya (1896), via Faggala, or with Shubrā in 1903 (the first large-scale development in Shubrā took place in 1898). The Khaliḡ seems to have been filled in on the 1897 plan of Cairo; the process was completed in 1899 and the tramline from Ḍaḥer (al-Zāhir) to Sayyida Zaynab made use of it in 1900.

The Zamalek district (al-Zamālik, from a word for the huts where the soldiers on guard duty camped near the palace) began to be inhabited around 1905–10. A plan made in 1910 shows the layout of all the present-day streets. The Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ bridge linking the island with Būlāq dates from 1912. In the desert to the north-east of the city, Heliopolis (Miṣr al-jadīda) arose in 1906 following the granting of a concession to a Belgian company in 1905 (see Fig. 19). An express tramline, called the “metro”, connected Heliopolis to Cairo (cf. the commemorative album published by the company, nationalised since 1960, *Ḍāḥiyat Miṣr al-jadīda, māḍīhā wa mustaqbaluhā*, 1969). On the southern suburban line to Helwan (Ḥulwān), which is 27 km/17 miles long, the area of present-day Maadi (al-Ma‘ādī), 11 km/7 miles from the city, began to be developed by a company in 1907. Only Helwan was undeveloped, and so it remained until the 1952 revolution when it became an industrial centre with iron and steel works, armaments factories, etc.

Apart from those already mentioned, notable bridges are the Embabeh (Imbāba) railway bridge (1890–1, rebuilt in 1925); the Giza bridge (formerly ‘Abbās: 1907, rebuilt in 1966–7); and the bridge from Zamalek to west bank (1912). The University Bridge, constructed in 1958, should be added to this group.

All these developments in Cairo were brought about by companies, especially foreign ones, who

were given contracts for the work. Public services were also carried out by non-Egyptians: the post office in 1843, water in 1865, gas and then electricity, run by the Le Bon company from 1873 to 1948, telephones in 1881, trams in 1896, etc. Much later the Egyptian government recovered these concessions, some when they expired and others through buying them back or through nationalisation. The part played by foreign architects can be seen in a number of façades in the Italian style. Telegraphic communications began with the railways, and Cairo was connected by submarine cables with Bombay, Aden, Malta, Gibraltar and Great Britain as early as 1870.

Health services, types of housing and a study of the population have been described by Clerget. The various groups of citizens moved to different districts: thus the Greek minority could be found in the south and south-west of al-Azhar, the Jews south of Khoronfish and later at Sakākīnī, the Europeans around the Rossetti Garden and Muski, where the different Catholic churches also sprang up, and later in Garden City or Zamalek, and the Copts around the patriarchate at Clot Bey and later in Shubrā. The Syro-Lebanese Christians were particularly attracted to the new district of Faggala, where churches and schools were to be found (the Jesuit school opened there in 1885); later many moved to Heliopolis and Zamalek and the Copts settled there. In the heart of the city, the Muslim bourgeoisie still lived in the palaces and traditional dwelling houses, the exodus to Ḥilmiyya or to cooler districts not yet having become general. The Gamaliyya quarter is the subject of a special study by J. Berque.

After the 1914–18 War, the expansion of the town continued. Gardens and villas made way for large modern blocks. Around 1926–8 two large thoroughfares were built connecting al-‘Ataba with al-Azhar (Shārī‘ al-Azhar) and al-‘Ataba with al-‘Abbāsiyya. The widening of Khalīj street, decided upon in 1937, was not effected until after the Revolution, in 1956. On the west bank of the Nile, Giza was developed between the World Wars although the bank opposite Zamalek was still fields in 1945. But in 25 years (1945–70) a veritable town grew up on these open spaces, notable for its districts developed entirely for various classes of officials, so that there is a teachers’ estate, an engineers’ estate, etc.

On the east bank of the Nile the withdrawal of the British (1946) and the destruction of Qaṣr Nīl barracks made possible the construction of a large and beautiful square, which from 1952 has been called Mīdān al-Taḥrīr and which encompasses the old Ismā‘īliyya square. Here an enormous government and administrative block has been erected, the Mogamma‘ (al-Mujamma‘, *ca.* 1950), and the meeting place of the League of Arab States (1961). The revolution realised the old dream of a corniche on the Nile; for the first time the city has a façade on the river-side.

Blocks of apartment buildings at reasonable rents of a type new to the country sprang up here and there after the Revolution: at the foot of the Muqaṭṭam hills, at Shubrā and elsewhere, but especially on the waste ground of Tilul Zeinhom to the south of the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter, where there is nowadays a veritable town.

Developments in civil aviation, evident especially from 1930 on, made Cairo a staging point for the big international airlines. After being in use for many years, Almāza airport, which was too close to Heliopolis, was superseded by an international airport situated in the desert further to the north-east. It was equipped with a new air terminal in 1963.

To relieve the pressure on the over-crowded city, the Revolution established new housing estates, such as Naṣr, which lies between Heliopolis and ‘Abbāsiyya, on military land turned over to civilian use and to which it is hoped to move the greater proportion of governmental departments. A stadium holding 100,000 people has been built here. A large trunk road joins the airport and the citadel via Naṣr then links up with the Nile corniche at al-Fuṣṭāṭ. An attempt to set up a semi-touristic estate was made in 1954–6 at Muqaṭṭam on the flat area to the south of the tomb of al-Juyūshī, but the date was inopportune and the enterprise stagnated.

In which directions will the present-day city develop? Committees are discussing this problem at this very moment. But in the meantime, the lack of suitable legislation has caused historic sites to be swamped by ugly housing and the splendid buildings of the past are vanishing, gutted or abandoned. Some determined Egyptians are fighting to ensure that the necessary expansion respects some of the legacies of the past. The public services face problems which

grow daily more complex in the realms of transport, sewage and the road network posed by the ever-increasing number of inhabitants.

(iii) *Population and occupations*

Clerget (i, 241) estimates that Cairo had 245,000 inhabitants at the end of the 18th century. The census figure he gives for 1882 is 396,683 and for 1907, 678,433. His remarkable study has been completed by P. Marthelot (*Le Caire, nouvelle métropole*, in *Annales Islamologiques*, Cairo, IFAO, viii [1969], 189–221). From his work we learn that there were 1,070,857 inhabitants in 1927 and 3,348,799 in 1960, the latter figure covering the whole metropolitan area of Cairo, including Helwan and Maṭariyya. In 1947 Cairo had two million inhabitants, discounting the population of the outlying suburbs but including the people of Doqqi and ‘Agūza in the *qism* of ‘Ābidīn (cf. Janet Abu-Lughod and Ezz el-Din Attiya, *Cairo Fact Book*, Cairo, The American University in Cairo Social Research Center, 1963). Taking into consideration the whole of Greater Cairo, the correct figure for 1965 would be around four million. By 1970 it had passed five million, a rapid increase due to the strong tendency towards immigration from the countryside.

To the craftsmen and workshops described by M. Clerget must be added the newly-founded factories noted by P. Marthelot. One of the aims of the 1952 revolution was industrialisation to achieve eventual economic independence. Noteworthy in this respect is the role played by the Cairo banks and their nationalisation in 1956–61. As well as the already existing textile factories in the northern suburbs, the cement works at Ṭūrā, electrical industries in the centre and various assembly-works, new enterprises were founded, especially in the southern suburbs around Helwan: a car assembly plant, an armaments factory, blast-furnaces and steelworks, an airplane works, a factory producing fertilisers, a porcelain works, etc.

Tourism was also envisaged as a source of revenue. The hotel infrastructure had been in private hands for many years; now numerous hotels have been nationalised. According to the 1965 statistics (as noted by P. Marthelot), 66.8% of the active population of Cairo was employed in some undefinable activity; 23.5% held regular jobs in the administration; and only 7.5% was employed in industry. From such

figures we can only guess at the number of under-employed, a considerable proportion, though only a minority are totally unemployed.

The question of housing has always been difficult. With the initiation of Arab socialism in 1961 and the creation of the Ministry of Housing and Utilities in 1965, the state became a builder on a large scale. But private activity also continued in this sphere, facing, with considerable difficulty, the influx into the capital. “The same is true of Cairo as of many cities in the so-called Third World”, writes P. Marthelot (p. 197), “which stand out against a rural background subject to demographic tension or marked by structural flaws: the city is the receptacle in which are concentrated all those whose lives tend to be disturbed because of this, whether or not it is able to answer to the demands made on it. But this is at the price of the stagnation at a very low standard of living of a very important section of the population”.

In both Clerget and Marthelot there are numerous data about town planning – the density of the inhabitants varying a great deal according to district (cf. *al-Ṭalī’a*, February 1970, 70, pointing out that in Būlāq over 60% of families live in one room) – the expansion of the city, transport, etc. They are based on statistics compiled by the governmental department concerned. As far as health is concerned, Cairo has one doctor per 910 inhabitants, as opposed to one per 3,420 in Lower Egypt and one per 2,990 in Upper Egypt. Similarly, the city has one hospital bed for every 233 people, as against one in 584 and one in 636 in Lower and Upper Egypt. There is one telephone for every 27 inhabitants, while in Lower and Upper Egypt the figures are one in 362 and one in 301 respectively (cf. *al-Ṭalī’a*, *ibid.*, 74–5). The government is making a determined effort to remedy this state of affairs and to this end has enacted new socialist laws.

Culturally speaking, Cairo has two aspects, on the one hand the development of national institutions – schools, universities, specialised institutes – and on the other, the holding of international meetings and congresses. A large number of schools have been opened. Around 1950 only 40% of children in Egypt received a primary education; by 1970 the number had risen to over 75% for the country as a whole and was said to exceed 90% in Cairo (cf. *Cairo fact book*; education in 1947 listed by *shiyākha*, a subdivision of the *qism*). Examples from higher education are the

Dār al-ʿUlūm, the Free University of Cairo (1908; converted in 1925 into Fuʿād al-Awwal University and now the University of Cairo), and ʿAyn Shams (1950), the former a religious educational establishment attached to al-Azhar. At the Azhar, considerable changes have been wrought by a law of 1961, with a remodelling of curricula and the creation of new faculties of secular studies – medicine, polytechnic, etc. – in addition to the three formerly in existence. There are a number of advanced institutes in Cairo (see ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, *Mawṣūʿa*, s.v. *maʿhad*) which are devoted to the sciences, art, theatre, cinema, etc. The majority are Egyptian, but a few are foreign (one example of these is the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, founded in 1880). The Arabic Language Academy (*Majmaʿ al-lughā al-ʿarabiyya*), established in 1932, maintains surveillance over the language.

There are over 20 museums in Cairo (cf. the list of the major ones in ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Zakī, s.v. *mathaf*). The famous Museum of Egyptology founded at Būlāq by Mariette has occupied its present home in Mīdān al-Taḥrīr since 1902. Other important collections are the Coptic Museum (founded as a private collection in 1910, it has been a national museum since 1931), the Museum of Islamic Art (which has been in its present building at Mīdān Bāb al-Khalq since 1903), the Museum of Agriculture, the Military Museum, etc.

Especially since 1952, new mosques have been built in Cairo itself. Outstanding among many are the mosque of ʿUmar Makram in the Mīdān al-Taḥrīr, where most official funeral prayers are usually held, and the mosque of Kūbrī ʿl-Qubba, which contains the mausoleum of Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nāṣir (Nasser, died September 28, 1970).

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**CORDOVA**, modern Spanish Córdoba, for over five centuries the flourishing mediaeval Islamic city of Qurṭuba in al-Andalus, for the first three of these centuries the capital of the Spanish Umayyad amirate and then caliphate. Cordova is situated in lat. 37° 53' N., long. 4° 46' W., at 110 m/360 feet above sea level, on the right bank of the middle course of the Guadalquivir (Ar. *al-Wādī al-kabīr* “the great river”). The modern Spanish city had a population in 2005 of 320,000 and is the administrative centre of the Andalusian province of Córdoba.

The southern and smaller half of the province, practically the famous La Campiña (in mediaeval Arabic, *Qanbāniya*), rising in the south-east to a height of over 366 m/1,200 feet, is more level, hot and fertile, being especially devoted to viniculture, while the northern, larger half which begins in the Sierra de Córdoba immediately to the north of the town, rises to heights over 884 m/2,900 feet high in the central Sierra Morena (Mariani Montes) with the plateau of los Pedroches which inclines in a northerly direction to the Zújar valley in the west and the Guadalmez valley in the east; this plateau is called *Iqlīm al-Balāliṭa* by al-Idrīsī and by others *Fahs al-Ballūṭ* “Field of Oaks”, and in it lies the little town of Pedroche, known to the Arabs as Bīṭrawj or Bītrūsh. The north has a more temperate climate and includes great stretches of hill country, suited for sheep and horse breeding (*caballos cordobeses*) and rich deposits of coal and minerals. The name Córdoba has frequently been explained as from the Phoenician-Punic *qrt twbh*, “good town” since Conde first suggested this etymology in his *Descripción de España de Xerif Aledris*, Madrid 1799, 161 (for even rasher etymologies, see Madoz, vi, 646 and al-Maqqarī, i, 355). The name

is certainly not Semitic but Old Iberian (cf. Salduba, the Old Iberian name for Caesar-Augusta, whence Saragossa, Zaragoza; there is a Salduba = Marbella in the south between Málaga and Gibraltar). After the Second Punic war it became known as an important and wealthy commercial city (*aes Cordubense*) under the name Κορδύβη or Κορδυβία or Corduba. It was finally taken for Rome by C. Marcellus in 152 B.C., colonised with Roman citizens and as Colonia Patricia raised to be the capital of the Provincia of Hispania Ulterior. As Cordova had taken the side of Pompey, it was severely punished by Caesar after the battle of Munda in 49 B.C., but in Imperial times it remained the capital of the province (it was the home of the two Senecas and Lucan) alternately with Hispalis (Seville) and Italica (later the Arabic Tāliqa).

Towards the second decade of the 5th century A.D., Cordova was devastated when the Vandals conquered Baetica en route for North Africa. In 554 it passed to the Byzantines, who had come into the Iberian peninsula to help King Athanagild of the Visigoths, and the Greeks spread all through southern Spain. They probably took upon themselves the rebuilding of the old protective wall of the Roman *urbs quadrata* and the enlargement of this enceinte in a southwards direction, as far as the northern bank of the river. In 571, King Leovigild, Athanagild's successor, recovered it from the Byzantines; but although it was an episcopal see, it remained a place of no importance under the Visigothic domination.

At the time of the Muslim conquest of Spain, Cordova was leading a precarious existence; its protective enceinte was partially ruinous on the west side, and a heavy surge in the river's height had destroyed its bridge. The freedman Mughīth al-Rūmī, lieutenant of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, occupied the town without resistance in Shawwāl 92/July–August 711, and three months later, in Muḥarram 93/October–November 711, the fortified church of San Acislo to the south-west of Cordova, where 400 knights of the Cordovan nobility had held out against the invaders, surrendered to al-Mughīth; he treated the Cordovan citizens with clemency and entrusted the guarding of the town to the Jews. The governor al-Ḥurr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thaqafī transferred the capital of al-Andalus from Seville to Cordova (97–100/716–19). His successor, the governor al-Samḥ b. Mālīk Khawlānī (100–2/719–21) restored the old Roman bridge and

the ruinous part of the protective enceinte, and he founded the first Muslim cemetery of the town, sc. the Maqbarat al-Rabaḍ or "Cemetery of the Suburb" on the northern bank of the river. In ca. 133/750, the governor Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fihri expropriated the church of San Vicente, where he established the first cathedral mosque (*al-Jāmi'*) in Cordova. This governor (129–38/747–56) was overthrown by the Umayyad prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān I b. Mu'āwiya al-Dākhil, the only Umayyad who had escaped from the massacre of his house in Syria; the great period of prosperity of the city now began, and lasted throughout the Umayyad dynasty of Cordova, which was independent of the 'Abbasids in Baghdād (138 to 403 or 422/756 to 1013 or 1031).

This incomparable period of splendour of the western rival of Baghdad, the city of the caliphs, is uniquely perpetuated in the great mosque lying just in front of the lofty ancient Moorish bridgehead, the Christian fortress-tower of La Calahorra (arabised from the Iberian Calagurris), the Ka'ba of the west; although, at the reconquest in 1236, it became a Christian cathedral and was disfigured by alterations, it has on the whole faithfully retained its Arabic character with its forest of pillars, its outer court (Patio de los Naranjos), the wall which encircles it as if it were a fortress or monastery, and the bell-tower, which is a work of the 16th century constructed from the remains of the 4th/10th century Arab minaret. Also, the name of La Mezquita or "The Mosque" has remained the popular one for this building. However, all the other splendid buildings and monuments of this world-famed period of splendour in the early middle ages have disappeared except for a few wretched fragments. When the shrewd 'Abd Raḥmān I had laid the foundations for the supremacy of his dynasty in circumstances of exceptional difficulty, by attaining some success in putting a stop to the rivalries and quarrels of not only the Arabs of North and South but also between them and the Berbers of North Africa, the Spanish renegades and the Mozarabs who remained a constant weakness to Arab rule in Spain and brought about its ultimate fall, he began the building of the great mosque in the last two years of his life 171–2/787–8. His son and successor Hishām I (172–80/788–96) completed it, and built the minaret (often called in Spain *ṣawma'a* and *manār* = *manāra*), but 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (206–38/822–52), son and successor of the Amīr

al-Hakam I (180–206/796–822), found himself forced to enlarge the building; by extending the eleven naves southwards he added seven transepts with ten rows of pillars and built the second *miḥrāb* into the south wall, where was later constructed the chapel of Nuestra Señora de Villaviciosa (833–48), while his son and successor Muḥammad I (238–73/852–86) had in 852–6 thoroughly to overhaul the older building, which had been too hurriedly put up; he devoted particular attention to the decoration of the doors and walls, railed off the *maqṣūra* reserved for the Amīr and the court in front of the *miḥrāb* by a wooden screen and built a covered passage (*sābāt*) from Alcázar, the palace to the west of the mosque, to provide a direct and private entrance to the *maqṣūra* at the daily prayers. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, al-Nāṣir (300–50/912–61) whose reign marks the zenith of the Arab epoch in Spain, rebuilt the minaret, which had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 880, in splendid fashion. He enlarged the *ṣaḥn* or courtyard in a northerly direction, demolished the ancient *ṣawma’a* and built another one, the forerunner of the great Hispano-Moorish minarets of the 6th/12th century, which support an actual bell hidden behind a stone revetment. It was this same prince who was the builder of the celebrated country estate Madīnat al-Zahrā’ (now called Córdoba la Vieja) for his beloved al-Zahrā’, one-and-a-half hours’ journey north-west of Cordova at the foot of the Sierra. In 1853, Pedro de Madrazo identified the remains of this town, and in 1923 the whole of its enceinte was declared a national monument; since then, excavations have restored some of the splendours of the great caliph al-Nāṣir’s creation, and especially, the great hall called the “Salon Rico”, which is at present to a considerable extent restored. The most beautiful extension of the mosque proper (almost doubling it) was carried out by the learned and scholarly caliph al-Hakam II al-Mustanṣir billāh (350–66/961–76), son and successor of the great ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III, who ordered his chief minister or Grand Vizier (called *ḥājib* in Spain), Ja‘far al-Ṣaqlabi, to extend the colonnades in the mosque to the south by the addition of 14 transepts, and built a splendid new *maqṣūra*, a new *sābāt* and the third noble *miḥrāb*, which alone has survived in its entirety. The last great extension was made by Hishām II al-Mu‘ayyad’s (366–99/976–1009) powerful vizier, the regent al-Manṣūr (Almanzor, d. 392/1002), who added seven colonnades to the whole

length of the building in the east and thereby raised the total number of naves (previously 11) to 19, but threw the *miḥrāb* out of its proper place at the end of the central axis of the sanctuary (on account of the precipitous slope down to the Guadalquivir it was found impossible to extend the building further to the south). Like al-Zahrā’ in the north-west, al-Madīna al-Zāhira (“the flourishing city”), founded to the east of Cordova by al-Manṣūr to be the seat of the government and its offices, was destroyed in the period of revolution in the beginning of the 5th/11th century and has now quite disappeared.

After the complete extinction of the Umayyads with Hishām III al-Mu‘tadd (418–22/1027–31), Cordova became a republic under the presidency of three Jahwarids: Abu ‘l-Ḥazm Jahwar b. Muḥammad b. Jahwar (1031–43), Abu ‘l-Walīd Muḥammad (1043–64) and ‘Abd al-Malik (1064–70). In the latter year it passed to the ‘Abbāids of Seville; in 1091 to the Almoravids, who in 517/1123 built the protective enceinte of the eastern part of the town; and in 1148 to the Almohads. With its conquest by Ferdinand III of Castile in 1236, it was doomed to inevitable decline.

Of the countless Arab scholars who belonged to Cordova, there can only be mentioned here Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Averroës (Ibn Rushd) (d. 595/1198) and Maimonides (d. 601/1204).

After the Reconquista, Cordova remained important as a base for frontier warfare with the Muslim amirate of Granada and its Nasrid rulers, but after the fall of Granada in 1492 it became a quiet provincial city until its revival in modern times.

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## D

**DACCA**, in Bengali, *Ġhākā* (literally, “the concealed,” of obscure application here), a city of East Bengal, now the capital of Bangladesh.

Dacca is situated in lat. 23° 43' N., long. 90° 25' E., at the head of waterways and about 160 km/100 miles upstream from the Bay of Bengal, in a region of flooded plains and rivers brought about by the junction nearby of such mighty rivers as the Brahmaputra, the Ganges and the Meghna. The city's position, in a region of rich alluvial soil and plentiful water supplies, with a consequent dense population, have all through history given it a prominent position within Bengal. The Hindu capital was at Vikramapura, then favourably situated on the Dhaleswarī river, where the line of old fortification can still be seen, but more important are the tomb and mosque (built 888/1483) of Bābā Ādam Shahīd, a pioneer Muslim saint. Sonārgāon on the Meghnā river was the early Muslim capital, which was famous for the seminary of Shaykh Sharf al-Dīn Abū Tawwāma, a Ḥanafī jurist and traditionist of great renown in the 7th/13th century, for the lively court maintained by the romantic Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn A'zam Shāh in the late 8th/14th century, and for the fine muslin industry through the period. The place is full of ruined tombs, mosques and inscriptions, the most famous being the tomb of A'zam Shāh and the remains of the Khānqāh of Shaykh Muḥammad Yūsuf, who emigrated from Persia in the 8th/15th century. Later the local rebel chief 'Īsā Khān made Sonārgāon and its neighbourhood his headquarters, but the town was destroyed in 1017/1608 by the

Mughal soldiery under Shaykh Islām Khān Chishtī. The temporary Mughal camp, which was located in the old Thānā of Ġhākābāzū, came to be developed as the new Mughal capital of the *shūba* of Bengal under the name of Jahāngīrnagar, after the reigning Mughal emperor Jahāngīr.

The capital city stood on the northern bank of the Burigangā, the river Dulāy of the Muslim historians, about 14 km/8 miles above its confluence with the Dhaleswarī and far away from the recurring floods. It was well protected against the raids of the Arakanese Maghs and the Portuguese pirates in the 11th/17th century by a system of river fortresses, which still survive at Munshīganj, Narāyanganj and Sonakanda. The Mughal city spread out beyond the Hindu localities, well-laid with gardens, palaces, markets, mosques and minarets, which are all associated with the names of the Mughal officers. Of the princely governors Shāh Shujā', the ill-fated brother of the Mughal emperor Awrangzīb, and Muḥammad A'zam, the latter's son, had a great reputation in Eastern India. From their time have been inherited the Barā Katrā (the great market quadrangle), the 'Īdgāh and the fort of Awrangābād, commonly called Lāl Bāgh, the last still showing its terraced walls, bastions, gateways, a mosque and a beautiful mausoleum (partly in marble) of Bibī Parī, one of the wives of Muḥammad A'zam. Of the other governors, Mīr Jumlā is better known for his conquest of Assam, and Shāyista Khān for his twenty-five years' service in Bengal, his final conquest of Chatgāon in 1076/1666, his lavishly kept harem, and above

all the numerous mosques and mausolea built by him in the provincial Mughal style, wrongly called by the people the Shāyistā Khānī style of architecture. Though the Mughal seat of government was transferred to Murshidābād in 1118/1706, Dacca never lost its importance. It remained the centre of the flourishing muslin industry and many other luxury arts of the East, which attracted the foreign merchants, and as early as the middle of the 17th century we find here factories being established by the Dutch, French and British.

When Bengal came under British rule in the second half of the 18th century, Dacca declined in importance whilst Calcutta rose, as the capital of British India until 1912. However, in 1905 the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, divided up the vast and unwieldy province of Bengal, and Dacca became the capital of the new province of East Bengal and Assam. This was a sensible administrative measure, but since it seemed to favour the Muslim population, in fact a majority in East Bengal, it aroused violent opposition from Hindu nationalists, and a subsequent Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, in 1911 yielded to this pressure and a re-united province of East and West Bengal was set up with Calcutta once again its capital. It was at Dacca in 1906 that the All-India Muslim League was founded with the object of protecting the rights of Muslims in the subcontinent. Many of the red-faced buildings of the newly-developed Ramna in Dacca were built at this time. In 1921 the University of Dacca was founded, mainly to meet the demands of local Muslims, becoming both an educational centre and a training-ground for Muslim Bengali politicians.

At Partition in 1948, Dacca became the second city of the newly-created Pakistan, within East Pakistan, and after the cession of East Bengal from Pakistan at the end of 1971, it became the capital of the new state of Bangladesh. Together with its river port Naraynganj, 16 km/10 miles to its south, Dacca has the main industrial concentration of Bangladesh, producing textiles and foodstuffs like rice and processing jute. The University of Dacca now has fifteen affiliated colleges, and there is a Technology and Engineering University. The old Mughal city still survives, with its numerous mosques and mausolea, but its lanes and by-lanes are being widened to meet the new pressures of urban existence. The population was estimated in 2000 at 13,250,000.

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**DAMASCUS**, in Arabic, Dimashq or, often in pre-modern usage, Dimashq al-Shām or simply al-Shām (= Syria), an ancient city of Syria, now the capital of the Syrian Republic. It is situated in lat. 33° 30' N., long. 36° 18' E., at an altitude of some 700 m/2,290 feet. The very fertile agricultural region surrounding it was known in mediaeval Islamic times as the Ghūṭa “fertile lowland,” with the Syrian Desert steppes extending eastwards from the city as far as the Euphrates and southwards to northern Arabia, and with the Jabal Qāsiyūn, an outlier of the Anti-Lebanon range, lying to its northwest.

Situated some 100 km/605 miles eastwards from the Mediterranean coast, the double barrier of the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon mountains, which rise to 3,000 m/9,840 feet, deprive Damascus of sea winds and clouds, giving it a desert climate, with rainfall only in the months December to February. But its situation at the point where the only perennial stream of the region, the Baradā, emerges on to the plain, meant the possibility of an irrigation system and a consequent agricultural richness, able to support a considerable population, so that Muslim tradition came to regard Damascus and the Ghūṭa, with Samarqand and al-Ubulla in Lower Iraq, as one of the earthly paradises. There were, however, difficulties of communication with the Levant coast, forcing the city to turn eastwards towards the interior and the Syrian desert, so that the city also served as a market for the nomads and a halt for caravans passing between Mesopotamia and the Nile valley.

## I. EARLY HISTORY

We do not know the epoch when the city was founded, but excavations at Tell al-Šālihiyya to the southeast of Damascus have revealed an urban settlement from the 4th century B.C. Damascus is mentioned in the Tell al-Amarna tablets as one of the towns conquered by the Egyptian Pharaoh Tutmoses III in the 15th century B.C., when he occupied Syria for a time. In the 11th century it was the capital of the land of Aram mentioned in connection with the story of Abraham (Gen. x. 22, xiv. 13–15). The Arameans established the grid-like pattern of its streets and developed its canal system; we know from the story of Naaman the Leper (II Kings v, cf. verse 12) that the Abāna was already flowing alongside the Baradā in the 10th century B.C. Damascus was conquered by King David (II Samuel x. 6–18), but the Assyrians put an end to the kingdom of Damascus in 732 B.C.

Alexander the Great's conquest of the city in 333 B.C. was an important date, for this now brought to Damascus a westwards orientation, and a Greek city grew up there alongside the Aramean one. In 64 B.C. Pompey proclaimed Syria a Roman province, though its capital was at Antioch not Damascus. In the 1st century A.D. there was clearly an important Jewish community in the city, as the story of the visit of Saul, the later St. Paul, shows. The city now prospered exceedingly from commerce. A rectangular wall system was constructed as protection against marauding nomads. There was a *castrum*, seven gates and an aqueduct to provide drinking water, still functioning today. Mediaeval Arabic nomenclature preserved the memory of certain Roman districts, such as al-Dīmās, corresponding to the ancient *demon-sion*; al-Fūrnaq, which recalls the furnaces or pottery kilns; and al-Fusqār, which seems to show that at this end of the Street called Straight, there once stood the *foscariion* where *fusca* was made and sold. Many of the ancient remains must have disappeared beneath the earth, whose level has risen since Roman times by as much as 4 m/13 feet in some places.

The Romans were succeeded by the Byzantines, and Syria became part of the Eastern Roman Empire after the death of Theodosius in 395. The Christian Church now appears as a new element in Damascus. The Temple of Jupiter was rebuilt and transformed into the cathedral of St. John the Baptist. Syria's

economy was badly affected by the Byzantine-Persian wars of the 6th century. In 612 the Persian troops of Khusraw II Aparvīz occupied Damascus, most of whose population was by then Monophysites of the Jacobite Church, hence hostile to the Melkite Byzantines. The Persians were well received, and did not devastate the city as they were to do later at Jerusalem (614). On the death of the Persian ruler in 627, the Persians evacuated Damascus and Heraclius returned to Syria.

## II. THE MUSLIM CONQUEST

After first the dissolution of the Ghassānid Phylarchate and then the devastations of the Persians, the Arabs of the Ḥijāz must have had no difficulty in conquering Syria. Each year Arab expeditions crossed the Byzantine frontier; in Jumāda I 13/July 634 Khālīd b. al-Walīd's men crossed Palestine and then went up towards the north along the route of the Jawlān. The Byzantines offered some resistance to the north of al-Šanamayn in the Marj al-Šuffār before turning back to Damascus in Muḥarram 14/March 635. A few days later, the Muslims were at the gates of the city. Khālīd b. al-Walīd established his general headquarters to the north-east of the town; an ancient tradition puts his camp near the existing tomb of Shaykh Raslān outside Bāb Tūmā. A blockade aimed at hindering a reunion of the Byzantine troops flung back into Damascus with any army which might come to their aid from the north. The dislike of the population of Damascus for Byzantine rule brought a group of notables, among them the bishop and the controller-general, Maṣnūr b. Sarjūn, father of St. John of Damascus, to engage in negotiations to avoid useless suffering for the people of the city. In Rajab 14/September 635 the Eastern Gate was opened to the Muslims and the Byzantine troops retired to the north. There are several traditions concerning the capture of the city. The most widely spread is that of Ibn 'Asākir (*Ta'riḫh*, i, 23–4) according to which Khālīd b. al-Walīd forced his way through the Bāb Sharqī, sword in hand, while Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ entered by the Bāb al-Jābiya after having given them the *amān*, and the two generals met in the middle of the *Kanīsa*. Another version, that of al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 120–30), says that Khālīd received the surrender of the city at Bāb Sharqī and that Abū 'Ubayda entered by force of arms at Bāb al-Jābiya;

the meeting of the two commanders is said to have been at al-Barīṣ, towards the middle of the Street called Straight near the church of al-Maqsallāt (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, i, 130). By demonstrating that Abū 'Ubayda was not in Syria in the year 14, Caetani destroyed the validity of these traditions. Lammens tried to save them by proposing to substitute the name of Yazīd b. Sufyān for that of Abū 'Ubayda. In any case, Lammens has shown the unlikelihood of a division of the town, a legend which seems to have come into being only at the time of the Crusades. The Muslims guaranteed the Christians possession of their land, houses and churches, but forced them to pay a heavy tribute and poll tax.

In the spring of 15/636, an army commanded by Theodorus, brother of Heraclius, made its way towards Damascus. Khālīd b. al-Walīd evacuated the place and reformed his troops at al-Jābiya before entrenching himself near the Yarmūk to the east of Tiberias. It was there that on 12 Rajab 15/20 August 636 the Byzantine army was put to flight by Khālīd who, after this success, returned to Medina. This time the conquest of Syria and Damascus was to be the work of Abū 'Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ. The town capitulated for the second time in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 15/December 636, and was finally integrated into the dominion of Islam.

The fall of Damascus was an event of incalculable importance. The conquest put an end to almost a thousand years of western supremacy; from that time on the city came again into the Semitic orbit and turned anew towards the desert and the east. Semitic by language and culture, Monophysite and hostile to the Greek-speaking Orthodox Church, the people of Damascus received the conquerors with unreserved pleasure, for they felt nearer to them by race, language and religion than to the Byzantines, and, regarding Islam as no more than another dissident Christian sect, they hoped to find themselves more free under them. At Damascus more than elsewhere circumstances seemed as if they ought to have favoured Arab assimilation to Greek culture, but in fact Hellenisation had not touched more than a minute fraction of the population, who for the most part spoke Aramaic. While the administration continued to maintain Byzantine standards, religious controversies arose and contributed towards the formation of Muslim theology. Assimilation took place in the opposite direction so that the positive

result of the conquest was the introduction of Islam, which within half a century succeeded in imposing Arabic, the language of the new religion, as the official tongue.

The caliph 'Umar nominated Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān as governor of the city. The more important of the conquerors installed themselves in houses abandoned by the Byzantines (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh*, xiii, 133–44). The town had made a deep impression on the nomads who referred to it as the "beauty spot of the world", but the lack of space, and above all of pasturage, led the Bedouins to camp at al-Jābiya. Damascus very soon took on the character of a holy city, for traditions recognised here places made famous by the prophets, and pilgrimages began to increase. People went chiefly to the Jabal Qāsiyūn to visit Adam's cave, the Cave of the Blood where the murder of Abel was thought to have taken place, or the Cavern of Gabriel. At Berzé, Abraham's birthplace was honoured; the tomb of Moses (Mūsā b. 'Imrān) was regarded as being situated in what is now the district of Qadam. Jesus ('Īsā b. Maryam) was cited among the prophets who had honoured the town; he had stayed at Rabwa on the "Quiet Hill" (Qur'ān, XXIII, 50) and would descend at the end of time on to the white minaret sometimes identified as that of Bāb Sharqī, sometimes as the eastern minaret (*ma'dhanat 'Īsā*) of the Great Mosque, in order to fight the Antichrist. For a plan of the city in Islamic times see Fig. 30.

### III. THE Umayyads

In 18/639 Yazīd b. Abī Sufyān died of the plague; his brother, Mu'āwiya, succeeded him in command of the *jund* of Damascus. In 36/656, after the death of 'Alī, Mu'āwiya was elected caliph and, leaving al-Jābiya, he fixed his residence in Damascus. The Umayyads were to carry the fortunes of the new capital to their highest point; for a century it was the urban centre of the metropolitan province of the caliphate and the heart of one of the greatest empires that the world has ever known.

The domination of the conquerors did not at first bring any changes in the life of the city, since the Muslim element was no more than an infinitesimal minority; arabisation was slow, and Christians predominated at the court up to the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. At this time, the growth in the number of Muslim subjects provoked a reaction which caused

Arabic to replace Greek as the official language of the administration. At the beginning of the dynasty, discipline, prosperity and tolerance were the order of the day, but later on civil strife culminated in anarchy and in the end of Umayyad rule. Troubles broke out in the city, fires increased in number, even the walls had been demolished by the time that Marwān II installed himself in his new capital, Ḥarrān, in 127/744.

The change of régime was reflected in the urban plan only by the erection of two buildings closely connected with each other, the caliph's palace and the mosque, which did not alter the general aspect of the city. Mu'āwiya was content to remodel the residence of the Byzantine governors to the south-east of the ancient *peribolus* on the site of the present-day gold- and silversmith's bazaar; it was called *al-Khaḍrā'*, "the Green [Palace]". This name must in fact have been given to a group of administrative buildings, as was also the case in Constantinople and later at Baghdad. At the side of the palace, which under the 'Abbasids appears to have been transformed into a prison, was situated the *Dār al-Khayl* or Hostel of the Envoys. The caliph Yazīd I improved the water supply by reconstructing a Nabataean canal on the slopes of the Jabal Qāsiyūn above Nahr Tawrā which was given the name of Nahr Yazīd, which it still bears to-day. Al-Ḥajjāj, the son of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, built a palace outside the walls to the west of Bāb al-Jābiya whose memory is preserved in the name of the district of Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj.

It is to the caliph al-Walid I that we owe the first and one of the most impressive masterpieces of Muslim architecture, the Great Mosque of the Umayyads. The Church of St. John continued to exist under the Sufyānids, and Mu'āwiya did not insist on including it in the *mayjīd*. The Gallic bishop, Arculf, passing through Damascus about 670, noted two separate sanctuaries for each of the communities. Conversions grew in number and the primitive mosque, which was no more than a *muṣallā* situated against the eastern part of the south wall of the *peribolus*, became too small. 'Abd al-Malik laid claim to the church and proposed its purchase, but the negotiations failed. "By the time that Caliph al-Walid decided to proceed with the enlargement of the mosque, the problem had become difficult to solve. There was no free place left in the city, the *temenos* had been invaded by houses and there remained only the *agora* where

the Sunday markets were held. In spite of previous agreements, he confiscated the Church of St. John the Baptist from the Christians, giving them in exchange, however, several other places of worship which had fallen into disuse". A legend which tells of the division of the Church of St. John between Christians and Muslims springs from an error in translation. Neither al-Ṭabarī nor al-Balādhurī, nor al-Masū'dī mentions the division of the church. The text of Ibn al-Mu'allā which Ibn 'Asākir and Ibn Jubayr have helped to spread, speaks of a division of the *kanīsa* where the Christian sanctuary adjoined the *muṣallā* of the Muslims. We must take the word *kanīsa* in a broad sense as meaning place of prayer, that is to say the open-air *ḥaram* of the ancient sanctuary which can also be called *mayjīd*. Fascinated by the plan of the mosque in which they hoped to discover an ancient Byzantine basilica, certain authors, of whom Dussaud is one, have stated that the Christian hall of prayer was divided between the two communities. Lammens admits, however, that the construction of the cupola must be attributed to al-Walid. All those who have studied it on the spot, such as Thiersch, Strykowski, Sauvaget and Creswell, agree with only some slight differences of opinion in regarding the Great Mosque as a Muslim achievement. In 86/705, al-Walid had everything within the *peribolus* of the ancient temple demolished, both the Church of St. John and the little chapel which stood over the three cubits-square crypt, in which there was a casket containing the head of St. John the Baptist (Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā). Only the surrounding walls made of large stones and the square corner towers were allowed to remain. In this framework, approximately 120 by 80 m in size, the architects placed to the north a court-yard surrounded by a vast covered portico with double arcades. "Along the whole length of the south wall of the *peribolus*, extended in the same direction as that in which the faithful formed their ranks for prayer, an immense hall made a place of assembly for the Muslim community". In the middle was an aisle surmounted by a vast cupola. In the east the "*miḥrāb* of the Companions" served as a reminder of the primitive *mayjīd*. In the west a new door, Bāb al-Ziyāda, was opened in the wall to replace the central portico which had been blocked up. "Finally, in the centre of the north wall a high square minaret showed from afar the latest transformation which had come to the old sanctuary of Damascus". The

walls of the building were hidden in some places under marble inlays, in others under mosaics of glass-paste. The Great Mosque was built in six years and "by the vastness of its proportions, the majesty of its arrangement, the splendour of its decorations and the richness of its materials" it has succeeded in impressing the human imagination down the centuries. A Muslim work in its conception and purpose, it was to be "the symbol of the political supremacy and moral prestige of Islam".

Two new Muslim cemeteries were made in addition to that of Bāb al-Farādīs: the first was situated at Bāb Tūmā but the one in which most of the Companions of the Prophet were to lie was to the south of the city outside Bāb al-Ṣaghīr.

#### IV. THE 'ABBASID PERIOD

ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAlī, uncle of the new caliph Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ, having put an end to the Umayyad dynasty, took Damascus in Ramaḍān 132/April, 750 and became its first ʿAbbasid governor, Umayyad buildings were sacked, the defences dismantled, tombs profaned. A sombre era began for the city which dwindled to the level of a provincial town, while the caliphate installed its capital in Iraq. A latent state of insurrection reigned in the Syrian capital. Under al-Mahdī (156–68/775–85), a conflict between Qaysīs and Yamanīs flared up into a vain revolt led by an Umayyad pretender called al-Sufyānī, with the support of the Qaysīs. Under the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd, the movement against Baghdad became more broadly based; in 180/796, the ʿAbbasid ruler sent a punitive expedition under the command of Jaʿfar al-Barmakī. Order was only temporarily re-established and the authority of the ʿAbbasid governors was continually being put to scorn. In an endeavour to restore calm, the caliph al-Maʾmūn made a first visit there in 215/830, but the troubles continued. He made a second visit in 218/833, the year of his death. In 240/854 a violent revolt ended in the execution of the ʿAbbasid governor of Damascus, but troops of the caliph succeeded in restoring order. Four years later, the caliph al-Mutawakkil tried to transfer his capital to the Syrian metropolis, but only stayed there 38 days before returning to Sāmarrā.

In 254/868 a Turk from Bukhara, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, was appointed governor of Egypt by the

caliph of whom he was no more than a nominal vassal. He seized the opportunity of the caliphate's being much weakened by the successive revolts of the Zanj to occupy Damascus in 264/878. His son, Khumārawayh, succeeded him in 270/884 and continued to pay an annual tribute to the caliph in order to remain master of Egypt and Syria. He was assassinated at Damascus in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 282/February 896. In the course of the last years of Tulunid power, the Carmathians appeared in Syria and helped to increase the centres of political and social agitation. The decline of the Tulunids and the growing activity of the Carmathians who got as far as besieging Damascus forced the caliph to dispatch troops who reduced the Carmathians to order in 289/902 and lifted the siege of Damascus whose governor, Ṭughj b. Juff, a Turk from Transoxania, re-allied himself with the ʿAbbasid general, Muḥammad b. Süleymān, without difficulty, and as a reward was appointed governor of Egypt by the caliph. In this country his son, Muḥammad, founded the dynasty of the Ikhshidids in 326/938. Recognising the nominal suzerainty of the ʿAbbasids, the new dynasty went to the defence of Damascus against the Ḥamdānids. In 333/945 an agreement was reached, the Ikhshidids holding the town in return for paying a tribute to the masters of Aleppo. When Muḥammad died at Damascus in 334/946, chaos again ensued both there and in Cairo.

The Fatimids replaced the Ikhshidids in Cairo in 357/968. With their coming, first in Egypt and then in Syria, a Shiʿite caliphate was installed which was the enemy of Baghdad. At the beginning of the 11th century, Damascus was in a difficult situation; the Ḥamdānids were putting on pressure from the north, the Fatimids from the south, not to mention Byzantine movements, Carmathian activities and Turkoman invasions. At one time, the city was occupied by the Carmathians but in 359/970 the Fatimids expelled them, not without causing a certain amount of fire and destruction in the town. The Fatimid domination only aggravated the situation for the city, where the Maghribī soldiers in the pay of Cairo exasperated the population. It was a century of political anarchy and decadence. The riots sometimes turned into catastrophe, for the majority of the houses were built of unfired brick with frameworks and trusses of popular trees, and any fire could have grave consequences; such was the case in 461/1069

when one which broke out owing to a brawl between Damascenes and Berber soldiers caused serious damage to the Great Mosque and the city.

#### V. THE TURKISH DOMINATION

A Turkoman chief, Atsüz b. Uvak, who had served the Fatimids, abandoned their cause and occupied Damascus on his own account in 468/1076, thus putting an end to Egyptian rule. Threatened by his former masters, Atsüz hastened to strengthen the citadel and endeavoured to form an alliance with Malik Shāh whom he asked to help him. In reply, the Saljuq sultan gave the town in appanage to his brother, Tutush. He arrived in Damascus in 471/1079, re-established order and got rid of Atsüz by having him assassinated. The era of violence continued. In 476/1083, Muslim b. Quraysh besieged the city; the Fatimids aid which he expected failed to arrive, and Tutush succeeded in setting the city free. He died fighting his nephew, Berkyaruq, in 488/1095. His sons divided his domain. Riḍwān installed himself at Aleppo and Duqāq at Damascus. The latter put the direction of his affairs into the hands of his *atabeg*, the Turk Ḍahīr al-Dīn Tughtakīn, who from that time on seems to have been the real ruler of Damascus. His political position was a delicate one, for he had against him the Fatimids, the Saljuqs of Baghdad and, after 490/1097, the Franks as well.

On the death of Duqāq (Ramaḍān 497/June 1104), Tughtakīn exercised his power in the name of the young Tutush II who died soon afterwards. From then on, the *atabeg* was the only master of Damascus and his dynasty, the Būrids, remained there until the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in 549/1154. During the quarter of a century of Tughtakīn's reign, there was a remarkable improvement in the state of the city, both morally and economically. On his death in Ṣafar 522/February 1128, he was succeeded by his son, Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī. The Bāṭiniyya or Ismā'īlīs, who had already made themselves felt in Damascus by killing the Amir Mawḍūd in 507/1113, redoubled their activities, supported by the Damascene vizier, Abū 'Alī Ṭāhir al-Mazdaqānī. In 523/1129 Būrī had this vizier killed. This was the signal for a terrible massacre, the population, out of control, exterminating some hundreds of Bāṭiniyya. The survivors did not long delay their revenge; Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī was the victim of an attempt on his life in 525/1131 and

died as a result of his wounds a year later in Rajab 526/May-June 1132. The two succeeding princes were also assassinated, the one, Ismā'īl, by his mother in 529/1135, the other, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd, by his enemies in 533/1139.

In 534/1140 the military leaders brought to power the young Abū Sa'īd Abaq Mujīr al-Dīn, who left the direction of his affairs to his *atabeg*, Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur. On the *atabeg's* death ten years later Abaq took over the power himself but was obliged to accept the guardianship of Nūr al-Dīn who finally chased him out of Damascus. The situation of the Būrids was not easy. Invested with their power by the caliph, they defended an advance position on the road to Fatimids Egypt, while the replenishment of their grain supplies was dependent on two regions, the Ḥawrān and the Biqā', which were threatened by the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was necessary at certain times to negotiate with the Franks, while at the same time they had to account for this conduct to Baghdad.

A new threat hung over Damascus from the beginning of 524/1130, that of the Zangids, who at that time became masters of Aleppo. In order to cope with them, the Būrids on more than one occasion obtained the help of the Franks, but as these last themselves attacked Damascus in 543/1148, new agreements with them became no longer possible. The city was obliged to seek other alliances in order to safeguard its recently re-established economy.

Before Tughtakīn succeeded in restoring order, Damascus had known three centuries of anarchy. Delivered up to the arbitrary power of ephemeral governors and their agents, the population lived under a reign of terror and misery. Hence the quest for security which haunted them determined the lay-out of its streets. They had to live among people whom they knew and who knew each other and be near to those who lived a similar kind of life. It was from this starting-point that they were able to make a new beginning in their corporate life. The plan of the city, which had changed very little since Roman times, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century on became broken up into numerous water-tight compartments. Each quarter (*ḥāra*) barricaded itself behind its walls and gates and was obliged to form itself into a miniature city provided with all the essential urban constituents such as a mosque, baths, water supply (*tālī'*), public bakery, and little market (*suwayqa*) with its cook-shop keepers; each had its

own chief (*shaykh*) and group of militia (*aḥdāth*). This breaking-up of the ancient town was accompanied by a complete religious segregation, since each community had its own sector of the city, the Muslims in the west near the citadel and the Great Mosque, the Christians in the north-east and the Jews in the south-east. The whole appearance of the city changed, houses no longer opening directly on to the streets. From this time on, there sprang up, along the ancient roads of the city, streets (*darb*), each of which served as the main thoroughfare of its own quarter and was closed at both ends by heavy gates. These branched out into little lanes (*zuqāq*) and blind alleys.

Nevertheless there still existed in the city some elements of unity. These were the fortified outer walls which protected the town, the Great Mosque of the Umayyads, its religious and political centre where official decrees were proclaimed and displayed, and finally the *sūqs* which, under the supervision of the *muḥtasib* or market inspector, furnished provisions and manufactured goods. Commercial activities went on in the same places as in the Roman epoch. One sector was on the great thoroughfare with the side arcades, and another on the street with the columns which, to the east of the Great Mosque, led from the temple to the agora. These highways had been completely changed. The arcades had been occupied by shops, the roadway itself invaded by booths, and in each of the commercial sectors there had developed a maze of *sūqs*. One of the centres of the ancient Decumanus was the Dār al-Biṭṭikh which, as in Baghdad, was the actual fruit market, while not far from the ancient agora the *Qayṣariyyas* were much frequented. In these covered and enclosed markets, like civil basilicas based on Byzantine models, trade in valuable articles such as jewels, embroideries carpets and furs, was carried on.

When tranquillity returned under Tughtakīn, new quarters were built, al-ʿUqayba to the north, Shaghūr to the south, and Qaṣr al-Ḥajjāj to the south-west. At the gates of the city, tanneries produced raw materials for the leather workers, two paper-mills functioned from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, and there were many water-mills. Of the period preceding the Būrids, the only monument which still exists is the cupola of the Treasury (*bayt al-māl*) built in the Great Mosque in 161/778 by a governor of the caliph al-Mahdī. During the reign of Duqāq, the city's oldest hospital was built to the west of the Great Mosque,

and there also in 491/1098 the first *madrasa*, the Ṣādiriyya, was constructed for the Ḥanafis. The first *khānaqāh* of Damascus, the Ṭāwūsiyya, once contained the tombs of Duqāq and his mother, Ṣafwat al-Mulk, but the last traces of it disappeared in 1938. Intellectual activity and Sunnī propaganda developed in the city under the Būrids. The Shāfiʿis had their first *madrasa*, the Amīniyya, by 514/1120, whereas the first Ḥanbalī one, the Sharafiyya, was not built until 536/1142. On the eve of Nūr al-Dīn's capture of Damascus, seven *madrasas* existed there but there was still none for the *madhhab* of the Imām Mālik.

## VI. DAMASCUS UNDER NŪR AL-DĪN

A new era began for the city with the arrival of Nūr al-Dīn in 549/1154. In establishing his residence at Damascus, this prince, already master of Aleppo, set a seal on the unity of Syria, from the foothills of Cilicia to the mountains of Galilee. For the first time since the Umayyads, Damascus was to become once again the capital of a vast Muslim state, unified and independent. Nūr al-Dīn's politics imprinted his character on the city, which assumed the rôle of a rampart of Muslim orthodoxy as opposed to the Fatimid heretics and the infidel Franks. A recrudescence of fanaticism showed itself at this time; its one and only aim was the triumph of Sunni Islam and all efforts were concentrated on the *jihād* or holy war. As a great centre of the Sunnis, its fame was heightened by a large number of new religious buildings, mosques and *madrasas*. Damascus retrieved at this time both its military importance and its religious prestige.

Works of military defence were carefully planned and carried out. The surrounding city walls were strengthened, and new towers built, of which one can still be seen to the west of Bāb al-Ṣaghīr. Some gates such as Bāb Sharqī and Bāb al-Jābiya were merely reinforced, others provided with barbicans (Bāb al-Ṣaghīr and Bāb al-Salām). A sector of the northern part of the city wall was carried forward as far as the right bank of the Baradā, and a new gate, Bāb al-Faraj, was opened to the east of the citadel, while Bāb Kaysān to the south was blocked up. Nūr al-Dīn carried out works at the citadel itself, strengthening Bāb al-Ḥadīd and building a large mosque. Finally, in keeping with the military life of the city, two great plots of ground were reserved for the training of cavalry and for parades, the Maydān



al-Akhḍar to the west of the town and the Maydān al-Khaṣā to the south.

Religious and intellectual life was highly developed and here two families played leading rôles, the Shāfiʿī Banū ʿAsākir, and the Ḥanbalī Banū Qudāma who came originally from the now district of Ṣālihiyya, outside the walls on the slopes of the Qāsiyūn, in 556/1161. Places of prayer multiplied; Nūr al-Dīn himself had a certain number of mosques restored or constructed. An especially energetic effort was made to spread Sunni doctrine and traditions, and Nūr al-Dīn founded the first school for the teaching of traditions, the Dār al-Ḥadīth. There remain only ruins of this little *madrasa*, whose first teacher was the Shāfiʿī historian Ibn ʿAsākir. Other new *madrasas* were built, for the most part Shāfiʿī or Ḥanafī. It was at this time that the first Mālikī *madrasa*, al-Ṣalāhiyya, was begun, to be finished by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (see Figs. 20, 22). It was to the initiative of Nūr al-Dīn that we owe the construction of the great *madrasa*, al-ʿĀdiliyya, now the home of the Arab Academy. Begun about 567/1171, it was only finished in 619/1222 (see Figs. 21, 23). Another new institution owed to Nūr al-Dīn was the Dār al-ʿAdl, which later on became the Dār al-Saʿāda. A high court of justice occupied the building to the south of the citadel; there, in the interests of equity, the prince grouped representatives of the four *madhhabs* around the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī ʿl-quḍāt*.

New forms showing an Iraqi influence appeared in Damascene architecture, notably the dome with honey-comb construction outside, to be found on the funerary *madrasa* of Nūr al-Dīn which was built in 567/1171, and in the cupola over the entrance to the *Māristān* whose portal is ornamented with stalactites (see Figs. 24–29). This hospital, one of the most important monuments in the history of Muslim architecture, was founded by Nūr al-Dīn to serve also as a school of medicine (see Figs. 27–29). An accurate inventory of the 12th-century monuments of Damascus is to be found in the topographical introduction drawn up by Ibn ʿAsākir for his *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*. By the end of Nūr al-Dīn's reign, the number of places of worship had risen to 242 *intra muros* and 178 *extra muros*.

## VII. THE AYYUBID PERIOD

In 569/1174, on the death of Nūr al-Dīn, his son, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl, whose *atabeg* was the Amīr

Shams al-Dawla Ibn al-Muqaddam, inherited his father's throne. In Damascus, where a powerful pro-Ayyubid party had been in existence since the time when Ayyūb, father of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, had been governor, plots were hatched among the amīrs. The young prince was taken to Aleppo while Ibn al-Muqaddam remained master of the city. To ensure its stability, the amīr negotiated a truce with the Franks, an agreement which upset one section of public opinion. The agents of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn presented him as the champion of Islam and won over the population of Damascus to their side. The former Kurdish vassal of Nūr al-Dīn took over the waging of the Holy War, and entered Damascus in 571/1176. During the years which followed, fighting hardly ever ceased; it was the time of the Third Crusade and the Muslims were dominated by a desire to throw the Franks back into the sea. At last, in 583/1187, the victory of Ḥaṭṭīn allowed Islam to return to Jerusalem. Some months after having made peace with the Crusaders, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, founder of the Ayyubid dynasty, died on 27 Ṣafar 589/4 March 1193 at Damascus. Buried first at the citadel, his body was to receive its final sepulchre in the al-ʿAzīziyya *madrasa* to the north of the Great Mosque. After the sovereign's death, fierce fighting broke out between his two sons and his brother. Al-Afḍal, who in 582/1186 had received Damascus in fief from his father, tried to retain his property, but in 592/1196 he was chased out by his uncle, al-ʿĀdil, who recognised the suzerainty of his nephew, al-ʿAzīz, successor of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Cairo. Al-ʿAzīz died three years later and after lengthy disputes, al-ʿĀdil was recognised as head of the Ayyubid family in 597/1200. Under the rule of this spiritual heir of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, there began a period of good organisation and political relaxation. Cairo from that time on became the capital of the empire, but Damascus remained an important political, military and economic centre. Al-Malik al-ʿĀdil died near Damascus in 615/1218 and was buried in the al-ʿĀdiliyya *madrasa*. Al-Malik al-Muʿazzam ʿĪsā, who had been his father's lieutenant in Syria since 597/1200, and who had received the province in fief in 604/1207, endeavoured to remain independent in Damascus, but the twists and turns of political life brought him at the beginning of 623/1226 to mention in the *khuṭba* the Khwārazm Shāh, Jalāl al-Dīn, who thus became nominal suzerain of the city. When al-Muʿazzam died in 624/1227, his son,

al-Malik al-Nāṣir Dāwūd, succeeded him under the tutelage of his *atabeg*, 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak. Very soon afterwards, the Amīr al-Ashraf arrived from Diyār Muḍar, eliminated his nephew, Dāwūd, and installed himself in Damascus in 625/1228.

On the death of al-Malik al-Kāmil, who had succeeded al-ʿĀdil in Cairo in 635/1138, there had begun a period of decline. Fratricidal disputes started again. In order to hold on to Damascus, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismāʿīl allied himself with the Franks against his nephew, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb, master of Egypt. With the help of the Khwārazmians, Ayyūb was victorious over him in 643/1245 and once again Damascus came under the authority of Cairo. Ayyūb died in 646/1248, his son, Tūrānshāh, disappeared, presumably assassinated, a few months later, and in 648/1250, the prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf, seized Damascus, of which he was the last Ayyubid ruler. The Mongol threat was, indeed, now becoming more imminent; Baghdad fell in 656/1258 and less than two years later, the Syrian capital was taken in its turn.

The arrival of Nūr al-Dīn had undoubtedly brought about a renaissance in Damascus, but the circumstances of the reign of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn had put a stop to the evolution of the city. Progress began again under the Ayyubids, when Damascus became the seat of a princely court. The growth in population and new resources which such a promotion implied had repercussions on its economic life, all the more appreciable since the calm reigns of al-ʿĀdil and his successor brought a peaceful atmosphere. This improvement in economic activity went side-by-side with the development of commercial relations. From that time on, Italian merchants began to come regularly to Damascus. Industry took an upward trend; its silk brocades remained as famous as ever, while copper utensils inlaid or not, gilded glassware and tanned lambskins were also much in demand. The markets (*sūqs*) stayed very active and at the side of the *Qayṣariyyas*, warehouses (*finduq*) multiplied in the town, while the *Dār al-Wakāla*, a depôt of merchant companies, gained in importance.

To strengthen their resistance against both family cupidity and the threats of the Franks, as well as to bring the system of defence up-to-date with the progress of the military arts, the Ayyubids made changes and improvements in the outer walls and the citadel of Damascus. The work on the walls was

confined to the gates; Bāb Sharqī and Bāb al-Ṣaghīr were strengthened in 604/1207 by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsā; al-Nāṣir Dāwūd rebuilt Bāb Tūmā in 624/1227; Bāb al-Faraj was reconstructed in 636/1239; lastly, al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb remodelled Bāb al-Salām in 641/1243, adding a square tower which may still be seen at the north-east corner of the walls. Complete reconstruction of the citadel, a piece of work which took ten years, was begun in 604/1207. A new palace with a throne-room was built in the interior to serve as a residence for the sultan, while the military offices and financial services were installed in new locations there. The present-day arrangements, indeed, go back to this period and although the citadel was burnt down and dismantled by the Mongols, two of these 7th/13th century towers still remain almost intact.

The general prosperity allowed the Ayyubids to practise an exceptionally generous patronage of writers and scholars. Damascus at this time was not only a great centre of Muslim cultural life but also an important religious stronghold. The Sunni politics of the dynasty showed themselves in the encouragement which its leaders gave, following the custom of the Saljuqs and the Zangids, to the propagation of the Islamic faith and of orthodoxy. Civil architecture flourished at this time also. Princes and princesses, high dignitaries and senior officers rivalled each other in making religious foundations, and Damascus was soon to become the city of *madrasas*; the number of these – twenty are mentioned by Ibn Jubayr in 1184/1770 – was to quadruple in a single century (on the Ayyubid *madrasas*, see Herzfeld, in *Ars Islamica*, xi–xii, 1–71). From then on, the *madrasa* with its lecture-rooms and its lodgings for masters and students, began, like the mosques, to be combined more and more often with the tomb of its founder (see, for example, the ʿĀdiliyya and the Muʿazzamiyya). Linked with the funerary *madrasa*, there appeared also at this time the *turba* of a type peculiar to Damascus. The mausoleum consisted of a square chamber whose walls were decorated with painted stucco, above which four semi-circular niches and four flat niches symmetrically placed formed an octagonal zone surmounted by a drum composed of sixteen niches of equal size upon which rested a sixteen-sided cupola. This was the typical way of erecting a cupola over a square building. The first example whose date we know is the mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn, built in 567/1172. Among the monuments of this kind

which can still be seen to-day are the following of the 6th/12th century: the Turbat al-Badrī, the al-Najmiyya *madrasa*, the al-ʿAzīziyya *madrasa*, where the tomb of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn is situated, and the mausoleum of Ibn Salāma, built in 613/1216. Most characteristic of Ayyubid architecture is its sense of proportion; the buildings have façades of ashlar of harmonious size, and the alternation of basalt with limestone forms a decorative motif whose finest example, perhaps, is the Qilījiyya *madrasa*, completed in 651/1253. The dimensions of the cupolas are such that they seem to sink naturally into their urban background.

The 7th/13th century was one of Damascus's most brilliant epochs. It had once more become "a political, commercial, industrial, strategic, intellectual and religious centre" and most of the monuments which still adorn the city date from this period.

#### VIII. THE MAMLUK PERIOD (658–922 / 1260–1516)

A new phase began in the city's history when in Rabīʿ I 658/March 1260 the troops of Hülegü entered the city. The governor fled, the garrison was forced to retreat towards the south, the prince al-Malik al-Nāṣir and his children were made prisoners. The Ayyubid dynasty had come to an end. The invasion stopped at ʿAyn Jālūt where the Mamluks, under the command of the Amīrs Qutuz and Baybars, put the Mongols to flight. These then evacuated Damascus, which was given by the powerful Kurdish family of the Qaymarī into the hands of the Sultan of Egypt's troops. The Christians of the city suffered reprisals for their attitude with regard to the Mongols, and the Church of St. Mary was destroyed at this time. From then on Cairo, where since 656/1258 a shadow caliphate had been maintained, supplanted Damascus which became a political dependency of Egypt.

It was still, nevertheless, to be the most important city of the Syrian province, the *mamlaka* or *niyāba* of Damascus. (For its administrative organisation, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 135–201). The first great Mamluk sultan, al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars, interested himself especially in Damascus, which he visited frequently during his reign (658–76/1260–77). He reconditioned the citadel which served as a residence for the sultan when he visited the city; in it also were to be found the mint, the arsenal, a storehouse of military

equipment, food reserves, a mill and some shops. This veritable "city" served also as a political prison (see J. Sauvaget, *La Citadelle de Damas*, in *Syria*, xi [1930], 50–90, 216–41). On the Maydān al-Akhḍar to the west of the town, Baybars built a palace with black and ochre courses of masonry, the famous Qaṣr al-Ablaq, of which Sultan Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn was later to build a replica in Cairo. In the 10th/16th century, the Ottoman sultan Süleymān erected the *takkiyya* on the site of this building. Baybars died in this *qaṣr* in 676/1277, and on the orders of his son, al-Malik Saʿīd, was buried in the al-Zāhiriyya *madrasa* where the National Library is now situated. During his long reign of seventeen years, Damascus had only four governors, but after Baybars' death it was to undergo a long period of political anarchy punctuated by frequent rebellions.

Damascus was the second city of the empire and the post of governor was given to eminent Mamluks, usually coming from the *niyāba* of Aleppo. The possibility of rivalry between the governor of Damascus and the sultan was diminished by the presence of the governor of the citadel. There were, in fact, two governors, the *nāʾib* of the city, who received his diploma of investiture from the sultan and who resided to the south of the citadel at the Dār al-Saʿāda where he gave his audiences, and the *nāʾib* of the citadel, who had a special status and represented the person of the sultan. The constant rivalry between these two dignitaries and the amīrs of their circles was sufficient pledge of the maintenance of the sultan's authority. A change of sultan in Cairo usually provoked a rebellion on the part of the governor of Damascus. Thus when Saʿīd, Baybars' son, was dismissed from the throne and succeeded by the Sultan al-Malik al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn, the governor, Sunqur al-Ashqar, refused to recognise his authority. Supported by the amīrs and strengthened by a *fatwā* given him by the *qāḍī* 'l-quḍāt, the celebrated historian, Ibn Khallikān, Sunqur seized the citadel, whose governor, Lājīm, he imprisoned, and proclaimed himself sultan in Jumādā II 677/October–November 1278. He had the *khuṭba* said in his name until Ṣafar 679/June 1280, when the troops of Qalāwūn were victorious over him, following the defection of certain Damascene contingents. Sunqur fled to al-Raḥba on the Euphrates. Lājīm, now freed, was proclaimed governor of the city. A new sultan often decided to change the governor; thus ʿIzz al-Dīn Aybak was relieved of his office

in 695/1296 on the succession of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Kitbughā, who nominated Shujāʿ al-Dīn Ajirlu. After the deposing of Kitbughā, who was imprisoned in the citadel of Damascus, Lājīn, who became sultan, nominated Sayf al-Dīn Qipchaq governor in 696/1297. The latter put himself at the disposition of the Il-Khan Ghazan and accompanied him at the time of his incursion into Syria. In 699/1300 the Mongol army entered Damascus; it seized the Great Mosque, but did not succeed in taking the citadel, where the Mamluks had entrenched themselves. The whole sector of the town between these two strongpoints underwent serious damage and the Dār al-Ḥadīth of Nūr al-Dīn suffered. When the Mongols evacuated the city, Qipchaq betook himself to Egypt and rejoined the new sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn. In 702/1303 a new Mongol threat hung over the city, but the advance was repulsed. From the beginning of 712/1312, in the course of the third reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn, Damascus had, in the person of Tankiz, a governor of true quality whose authority was recognised by the Syrian amīrs. Viceroy of Syria in fact as well as name, he inspired respect in the sultan, whose nominal representative he was, for almost a quarter of a century. The prosperity which this period brought allowed intellectual life to flourish. This was the epoch of the Muslim reformer Ibn Taymiyya, and of the historian al-Ṣafadī. In 717/1317 Tankiz built the mosque where his tomb was to be placed *extra muros*. Some years later, he had work done on the Great Mosque; finally, in 739/1339, he founded a *Dār al-Ḥadīth*. On the succession of the new sultan, al-Malik Abū Bakr, he fell suddenly into disgrace, was arrested in Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 740/June 1340 and imprisoned at Alexandria where he died of poison.

From 730/1340 until 784/1382, the time when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was visiting the Muslim East, twelve Baḥrī sultans succeeded each other in Cairo, while a dozen governors occupied the position of *nāʾib* of the city. Some of them had charge of its destiny on more than one occasion. It was a continual struggle stirred up by the ambitions of one or another, aggravated by the audacity of the *zuʿar*, or urban desperadoes, whose militias, intended for self-defence, neglected their proper duties and, often with impunity, terrorised the population.

The succession of Barqūq in 734/1382 brought a new line of Circassian Sultans to power, the Burjīs.

In 791/1389 Damascus fell for some weeks into the power of Yīlbugha al-Nāṣirī, a governor of Aleppo who had rebelled against the sultan. Master of Syria, he penetrated the walls of Damascus, overthrew an army sent by Barqūq and made his way towards Egypt. He was defeated in his turn, but in Shaʿbān 792/July-August 1390 we find him once again governor of Damascus.

Although warned of the progress of Tīmūr, Barqūq did not have time to reinforce the defences of his territory for he died in 801/1399. In Damascus, Sayf al-Dīn Tanibak, who had governed the city since 795/1393, rebelled against Faraj, the new sultan, and marched on Egypt. He was defeated near Ghazza, made prisoner and executed at Damascus. Syria, torn apart by the rivalries of the amīrs, fell an easy prey to Tīmūr. The Mongol leader advanced as far as Damascus, and it was in his camp near the town that he received the memorable visit of Ibn Khaldūn. The sultan Faraj, coming to the aid of the Amīr Sudun, Barqūq's nephew, was forced to turn back, following a series of defections. After its surrender the city was given over to pillage but the citadel held out for a month. Many were the victims of fires which caused serious damage. The Great Mosque itself was not spared, nor the Dār al-Saʿāda. In 803/1401, Tīmūr left Damascus, taking with him to Samarqand what remained of its qualified artisans and workmen. This mass deportation was one of the greatest catastrophes in the history of the city. After the Mongols' departure, the Amīr Taghrībīrdī al-Zāhirī became the governor of a devastated city, despoiled and depopulated. The exhausted country had to face a thousand difficulties. Two long reigns gave Damascus the opportunity of rising from its ruins: that of Sultan Barsbāy (825–41/1422–38) and, more important, that of Qāʾitbāy, whose rule from 872/1468 until 901/1495 brought a long period of tranquillity. Moreover, between 16 Shaʿbān and 10 Ramaḍān 882/23 November and 16 December 1477, this sultan paid a visit to Damascus where the post of governor was held by the Amīr Qijmas, whose rapacity remains legendary. The civil strife had swallowed up large sums of money and the amīrs did not hesitate about increasing the number of taxes and charges. The sultans themselves would often use violent means of procuring a sum of money with which the taxes could not provide them, nor did they scruple about reducing their governors to destitution by confiscating

their fortunes. Under the last Mamluks, corruption even won over the *qādis* who, in return for a reward, were willing to justify certain measures against the law. After Qā'itbāy, there began once again a régime of violence and extortions which ended only with the reign of Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī (905–22/1500–16). This last Mamluk ruler had to defend himself against the Ottomans who had invaded Syria. He died in battle in Ramaḍān 922/mid-October 1516, and the troops of Selīm I made their entry into Damascus.

Paradoxically enough, a large number of buildings were constructed in the city during this tragic period. The Mamluks, who lived uncertain of what the next day would bring, tried at least to secure themselves a sepulchre, so that mausoleums and funerary mosques multiplied, although they built few *madrasas*. There were no innovations in the art of this period, for any lack of precedent frightened these parvenus. At the beginning of Mamluk times, they built according to Ayyubid formulas. The al-Zāhiriyya *madrasa*, now the National Library, where Baybars' tomb is situated, was originally the house of al-'Aqīqī, where Ayyūb, father of Ṣalāh al-Dīn, had lived, and the modifications made in 676/1277 were limited to the addition of a cupola and an alveolabed gate. The only new type of building was the double mausoleum, of which that of the old sultan Kitbughā, built in 695/1296, was the first example in Damascus. In 747/1346 Yīlbugha, then governor of the city, erected a building on the site of a former mosque whose plan was inspired by that of the Great Mosque. It was in this sanctuary, situated near the modern Marja Square, that the new governor put on his robe of honour before making a solemn entry into the city.

The artistic decadence, which became more pronounced in the course of the 8th/14th century, came into the open at the beginning of the 9th/15th century after the ravages of Tīmūr. At this time everything was sacrificed to outward appearance, and the monument was no more than a support for showy ornamentation. This taste for the picturesque manifested itself in the minarets with polygonal shafts, loaded with balconies and corbelling whose silhouettes were to change the whole skyline of the city. The first example was the minaret of the Jāmi' Hishām, built in 830/1427. Polychromatic façades grew in popularity and even inlays were added. The Ṣabūniyya mosque, finished in 868/1464, and the funerary *madrasa* of Sibay called the Jāmi'

al-Kharṛāfīn, built in the very early years of the 9th/16th century, are two striking examples of the decadence of architecture under the last Mamluks.

It is interesting to notice that most of these Mamluk monuments were built *extra muros*. There was no longer room within the city walls, and the city "burst out" because, paradoxically, "there was an immense development of economic activity during this sad period". "All the trades whose development down the course of the centuries had been assisted by the presence of a princely court, had now to satisfy the demand for comfort and the ostentatious tastes" of military upstarts who thought only of getting what enjoyment they could out of life and of impressing the popular imagination with their display. Damascus, while remaining the great market for the grain of the Ḥawrān, became also a great industrial town, specialising in luxury articles and army equipment. This activity was reflected by a new extension of the *sūqs* which was accompanied by "a sharp differentiation between the various trading areas according to their type of customer". A new district, Taḥt al-Qal'a, developed to the north-west of the town below the citadel. In the Sūq al-Khayl, whose open space remained the centre of military life, groups of craftsmen installed themselves, their clients being essentially the army, and who left the shops inside the city walls to other groups of artisans. Wholesale trade in fruit and vegetables also went outside the town; a new Dār al-Biṭṭikh was set up at al-'Uqayba where the amīrs and the members of their *jund* lived.

Towards the middle of the 9th/15th century there appeared the first symptoms of an economic crisis. The state, whose coffers were empty, lived on its wits, but commerce still remained active, as is demonstrated by the accounts of such travellers as Ludovico de Varthema (*Itinerario*, v–vii) who visited Damascus in 907/1502. The city profited from the very strong trading activity between western Europe and the Muslim East, but the hostility of the people of Damascus and the despotic nature of its governors prevented European merchants from founding any lasting establishments likely to acquire importance. Merchants arrived bringing above all cloth from Flanders, stocked themselves up with silk brocades, inlaid copper-work and enamelled glassware, and then departed. The effects of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope route did not immediately make themselves felt; it was excessive taxation rather which

was beginning to slow down trade on the eve of the coming of the Ottomans.

#### IX. THE OTTOMAN PERIOD (922–1246 / 1516–1831)

On 25 Rajab 922/24 August 1516 the Ottoman troops, thanks to their well-trained infantry and the superior firing power of their artillery, put the Mamluk cavalry to flight at Marj Dābiq near Aleppo. This success gave Sultan Selīm I a conquest of Syria all the more swift since the majority of the *nāʾibs* rallied to the Ottoman cause. There was practically no resistance at Damascus where the Mamluk garrison retreated and the sultan made his entrance into the town on 1 Ramaḍān 922/28 September 1516. The Mamluk detachments protecting Egypt were defeated three months later near Ghazza. The commander of the Syrian contingents, Janbirdī Ghazālī, joined forces with Selīm and was allowed to return to the post of governor of Damascus, to which he had been nominated by Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, the last Mamluk sultan.

The arrival of the Ottomans seemed no more to the Damascene population than a local incident and not as a remarkable event which was to open a new era. To them it was merely a change of masters; the Mamluks of Cairo were succeeded by another group of privileged foreigners, the Janissaries who had come from Turkey. Fairly quickly, however, there was a reaction on the part of the *amīrs*, and Janbirdī surrounded himself with all the anti-Ottoman elements. On the death of Selīm I in 927/1521, the governor of Damascus refused to recognise the authority of Süleymān, proclaimed himself independent and seized the citadel. The rebel quickly became master of Tripoli, Homs and Ḥamā, and marched against Aleppo, which he besieged without success, then returning to Damascus. Süleymān sent troops which crossed Syria and in a battle at Qābūn, to the north of Damascus, on 17 Şafar 927/27 January 1521, the rebellious governor was killed. The violence and pillaging of the Turkish soldiery then sowed panic in Damascus and its surroundings. A third of the city was destroyed by the Janissaries.

Under the rule of Süleymān, the political régime changed and the administration showed some signs of settled organisation. In 932/1525–6 the Ottomans made their first survey of the lands, populations, and

revenues of Damascus (see B. Lewis, *The Ottoman Archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS* [1951], 153–4, where the registers for Damascus are listed). Damascus was no more than a modest *pashaliq* in the immense empire over which the shadow of the Ottoman Sultanate extended. Most certainly, the city no longer had the outstanding position in the game of political intrigue which it had enjoyed in the century of the Circassians. Pashas, accompanied by a Hanafī *qāḍī* and a director of finance but with no authority over the garrison, succeeded each other at a headlong rate; between 923/1517 and 1103/1679 Damascus was to have 133 governors. A list of them and an account of these years is to be found in H. Laoust, *Les gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamelouks et les premiers Ottomans*, Damascus 1952.

Early in the 12th/late in the 17th century there was a change of feeling in the empire; the sultans lost their authority and remained in the Seraglio, and the Ottoman frontiers receded, but they still remained extended enough to shelter Damascus from enemy attempts. Furthermore, the population had internal troubles at that time. The offices of state were farmed out during this period; the holders, and especially the governors, wanting to recover the cost of their position as quickly as possible, put pressure on the people; corruption became the rule and lack of discipline habitual. Nevertheless, Damascus was not without a certain prosperity, thanks to the two factors of trade and the Pilgrimage to Mecca.

As early as 942/1535, France concluded with the Porte a Treaty of Capitulations which opened Turkish ports to its traders and enabled them to do business throughout the eastern Mediterranean. European merchants, three-fifths of whom at the end of the 18th century were French, imported manufactured goods and exported raw materials and spices. Despite the very high custom duties, the tyrannical behaviour of officials and even, to some extent, the insecurity, external trade remained very lucrative and political events never succeeded in halting the broad movements of commerce. At Damascus, as in other parts of Syria, the native Christians served as intermediaries between the Europeans and both the Turkish administration and the population, which spoke an Arabic that in the course of four centuries had acquired many Turkish loan-words. The intensity of the commercial traffic justified the construction of numerous *khāns* which served as hostels, as well

as exchanges and warehouses, for the foreign traders. In the oldest *khāns*, such as the Khān al-Ḥarīr, built in 980/1572 by Darwīsh Pasha and still in existence to-day, we find the usual Syrian arrangements: a court-yard, generally square, surrounded by an arcaded gallery on to which open the shops and stables, while the floor above is reserved for lodgings. Certainly, the Venetian *funduq* which came into being in Damascus after 1533 would have had the same arrangements. Early in the 18th century, this plan was modified; the central space became smaller and was covered with cupolas, the merchandise thus being protected in bad weather. This was a new type of building and specifically Damascene. Still to be seen to-day is the Khān of Süleymān Pasha, built in 1144/1732, whose central court is covered by two great cupolas, and most important of all, the Khān of As'ad Pasha, constructed in 1165/1752, which is still functioning. This masterpiece of architecture is a vast whole, square in plan, covered by eight small cupolas dominated by a larger one in the middle which is supported by four marble columns. Trade with Europe was carried on via the ports of the *wilāyet* of Damascus, the most important of which was Şaydā or Sidon.

The Ottoman Sultan, having become protector of the Holy Cities, showed a special interest in the Pilgrimage to Mecca. This became one of Damascus's main sources of income. Being the last stop of the *darb al-ḥajj* in settled territory, the city was the annual meeting-place of tens of thousands of pilgrims from the north of the empire. This periodical influx brought about intense commercial activity. The pilgrims seized the opportunity of their stay in order to prepare for crossing the desert. They saw to acquiring mounts and camping materials and bought provisions to last three months. At the given moment, the Pasha of Damascus, who bore the coveted title of *amīr al-ḥajj*, took the head of the official caravan accompanying the *maḥmal* and made his way to the Holy Cities under the protection of the army. On the way back, Damascus was the first important urban centre, and the pilgrims sold there what they had bought in Arabia, such as coffee or black slaves from Africa.

Once past the Bāb Allāh which marked the extreme southern limits of the town, the caravans passed for 3 km/2 miles through the district of the Maydān, where cereal warehouses and Mamluk

mausoleums alternated. This traffic to the south helped to develop a new district near the ramparts outside Bāb Jābiya; this was to be the quarter of the caravaneers. These found equipment and supplies in the *ṣūqs* where, side-by-side with the saddlers and blacksmiths, the curio dealers installed themselves as well. This district owed its name of al-Sināniyya to the large mosque which the Grand Vizier, Sinān Pasha, *wālī* of Damascus, had built between 994/1586 and 999/1591; its minaret, covered with green glazed tiles, could be seen from a very long way off. Some years earlier, in 981/1574, the governor Derwīsh Pasha had had a large mosque, whose remarkable faïence tiles compel admiration, built in the north of this quarter. This mode of decoration arrived with the Ottomans, when the art of Istanbul was suddenly implanted in Damascus. A new architectural type also appeared in the urban landscape, that of the Turkish mosque, schematically made up of a square hall crowned by a hemispherical cupola on pendentives, with a covered portico in front and one or more minarets with circular shafts crowned by candle-snuffer tops at the corners. The first example of this type in Damascus was the large mosque built on the site of the Qaṣr al-Ablaq by Sultan Süleymān Qānūnī in 962/1555 according to the plans of the architect, Sinān. This mosque, indeed, formed part of a great ensemble which is still called to-day the Takkiyya Süleymāniyya. The covered portico of the hall of prayer opens from the south sides of a vast courtyard; on the east and west sides there are rows of cells with a columned portico in front of them; on the north stands a group of buildings which used to shelter the kitchens and canteen, but which since 1957 has housed the collections of the Army Museum. Active centres of religious life were to spring up both around the 'Umariyya *madrassa* at Şāliḥiyya, and around the mausoleum of Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-'Arabī, where in 959/1552 the Selīm I had an *'imāret* constructed to make free distributions of food to the poor visiting the tomb of the illustrious Sufi, or again at the Takkiyya Mawlawiyya, built in 993/1585 for the Whirling Dervishes to the west of the mosque of Tankiz. The fact that all these great religious monuments of the Ottoman period were built *extra muros* shows that the Great Mosque of the Umayyads was no longer a unique centre of assembly for the Muslim community and definitely confirms the spread of the city beyond the old town.

With the improvement of artillery, the ancient fortifications of Damascus became outdated, but on the other hand the peace which reigned over the empire diminished the value of the surrounding walls which at this time began to be invaded by dwelling-houses, while the moats which had become a general night-soil dump were filled with refuse. Within the ramparts the streets were paved, cleaned and lit at the expense of those living along them, as under the last Mamluks. If the piety of the population showed itself in the construction of public fountains (*sabīl*), the *madrasas* and *zāwiyas*, in contrast, were deserted by many in favour of the coffee-houses, which multiplied and added to the number of meeting-places for the people. The only monument worth notice *intra muros* apart from the *khāns* is the palace which the governor As'ad Pasha al-'Aẓm had built to the south-east of the Great Mosque in 1162/1749. The whole body of buildings is grouped according to the traditional arrangements of a Syrian dwelling of the 18th century, with a *salāmlīq* and a *ḥarāmlīq* decorated with woodwork in the Turkish style. This palace is at present occupied by the National Museum of Ethnography and Popular Art.

#### X. THE MODERN PERIOD (1831–1920)

Between 1832 and 1840, Egyptian domination was to bring to Damascus, which had for centuries remained outside the main current of political events, a relative prosperity. In 1832 Ibrāhīm Pasha, the son of Muḥammad 'Alī, after crossing Palestine came to seize Damascus, where revolts against the Ottomans had preceded his arrival. The population, aided the Egyptian troops who put the Ottomans to flight near Ḥimṣ, then at the end of July inflicted a new defeat on them near Aleppo and forced them back across the Taurus.

The Egyptian régime lasted a decade and allowed the return of Europeans, who up to that time had not been able to enter the town in western clothes and had been forced to submit to all kinds of irritating formalities. In spring 1833 the sultan ceded the viceroyalty of Syria to Muḥammad 'Alī, and Ibrāhīm Pasha governed it in his father's name. From that time on, foreign representatives came and settled in Damascus. Very liberal and tolerant on the religious side, Ibrāhīm Pasha founded a college in Damascus where some six hundred uniformed

pupils received both general and military instruction. Many administrative buildings were put up, even to the sacrifice of some ancient monuments such as the Tankiziyya, which was turned into a military school and remained so until after 1932. A new residence, the Sarāy, was built for the governor. This, which was erected outside the walls to the west of the city facing Bāb al-Ḥadīd, was soon to bring about the creation of a new district, al-Qanawāt, along the Roman aqueduct. The buildings of Dar al-Sa'āda and the Iṣṭabl, where in 932/1526 there had existed a small zoological garden dating from the Mamluks, were transformed into a military headquarters which only ceased to exist in 1917, while in this same sector of the city the best-patronised shops were grouped together in the Sūq al-Arwām. In J.L. Porter's *Five years in Damascus*, 2 vols., London 1855, an interesting picture of the city in the middle of the 19th century is to be found. In 1840, after having re-established order and peace, Ibrāhīm Pasha made a first attempt at reform and proposed an independent and centralised government. Europe, and above all, Lord Palmerston in Britain, was opposed to the ambitions of Muḥammad 'Alī; they profited therefore by the discontent provoked by the introduction of conscription to rouse the population against Ibrāhīm Pasha who was forced to evacuate Damascus. His attempt at reform was not followed up, and the Damascenes fell back under Ottoman domination. A violent outburst of fanaticism was to break the apparent calm of life there. Bloodthirsty quarrels having arisen between the Druzes and the Maronites of the south of Lebanon, public opinion was stirred up in Damascus, and on 12 July 1860 the Muslims invaded the Christian quarters and committed terrible massacres, in the course of which the Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir, exiled from Algeria, was able by his intervention to save some hundreds of human lives. This explosion was severely punished by the sultan and, at the end of August 1860, provoked the landing of troops sent by Napoleon III.

From the beginning of this period, European influence made itself felt in the cultural and economic spheres. Foreign schools of various religious denominations were able to develop, thanks to subventions from their governments. The Lazarist Fathers had had a very active college since 1775, and a Protestant Mission had been functioning since 1853. New establishments were opened after 1860, such as the British Syrian Mission and the College



of Jesuits (1872). Education of girls was carried on by the Sisters of Charity. Miḍḥat Pasha made an attempt to develop state education, but it was no more than an attempt and was not followed up. Cairo was the true intellectual centre at this time, and it was Cairo's newspapers, *al-Muqtaṭaf* and *al-Muqattam*, which were read in Damascus. *Al-Shām*, the first Arabic language newspaper edited and printed in Damascus, was not to appear until 1897. Little by little, however, the Syrian capital was to become one of the centres of Arab nationalism. As in the other towns of Syria, secret revolutionary cells showed themselves very active in the last quarter of the 19th century and periodically exhorted the population to rebel. It was even said that Miḍḥat Pasha, author of the liberal constitution of 1876, protected the movement after he had become governor of Damascus in 1878. The great reformer had a population of about 150,000 to administer and accomplished lasting good in the city, chiefly in matters concerned with public hygiene and improvement of the traffic system, which, since carriages had come on the scene, had grown very inadequate in the old town. The governor replaced a number of alleyways in the *sūqs* with broader streets. The western part of the Street called Straight was widened and given a vaulted roof of corrugated iron; this is the present day Sūq Miḍḥat Pasha. To the south of the citadel, the moat was filled in and its place occupied by new *sūqs*, while the whole road joining Bāb al-Ḥadīd with the Great Mosque was made wide enough for two-way carriage traffic and was given the name Sūq Ḥamīdiyya. New buildings were put up at this time on vacant lots to the west of the town around the Marja, the "Meadow". These were a new "sarāy", seat of the civil administration, a headquarters for the military staff, the town hall, the law-courts, a post-office and a barracks. The Ḥamīdiyya barracks, which were newly-fitted out and arranged after 1945, were to be the core of the present-day university. The Christian quarter of Bāb Tūmā saw the rise of fine houses where European consuls, missionaries, merchants and so on, settled themselves, while the old town began to empty; there were no longer any gaps between the suburbs of Suwayqāt and al-Qanawāt to the west, or those of Sarūja and al-Uqayba to the north-west. A new colony of Kurds and of Muslims who had emigrated from Crete settled at Šālīhiyya, which gave the quarter the name of al-Muhājirīn. The situation of this suburb on the slopes of the

Jabal Qāsiyūn attracted the Turkish élite, who built beautiful houses surrounded by gardens there. At this time also relations with the outer world became easier, and to the two *locandas* existing before 1860 were added new hotels for the foreigners who, after 1863, were able to travel from Beirut to Damascus by stage-coach over a road newly constructed by French contractors. Further progress was made in 1894 when a French company opened a railway between Beirut, Damascus and the Ḥawrān. Later on, a branch from Rayyāq to the north went to Homs and Aleppo. Then 'Izzat Pasha al-'Abīd, a Syrian second secretary to the sultan, conceived the idea of a Damascus-Medina line to make the Pilgrimage easier. From this time on, the sultan was to be on friendly terms with Kaiser Wilhelm II, who had visited Damascus in the winter of 1898, and so the construction of this line was placed in German hands. The narrow-gauge Ḥijāz railway was inaugurated in 1908; it allowed pilgrims to reach the Holy City in five days instead of the forty which it had taken by caravan. In this same year, an army officers' movement forced the sultan to restore the Ottoman constitution, which had been suspended for 31 years, and it was not long after this that 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II was overthrown. This news was greeted in Damascus with large-scale popular manifestations and many firework displays, but their happiness was to be of short duration. The spirit of liberalism which had led Kurd 'Alī to bring to the city his review, *al-Muqtabas*, which he had founded in Cairo three years earlier as a daily paper, was deceptive. Indeed, after 1909 the Young Turk Ottoman authorities banned it and the only resource for the Arab nationalists was to band themselves together again in secret societies.

The declaration of war in 1914 was to have grave consequences for Damascus. At the end of that year, Jemāl Pasha was appointed Governor-General of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, and Commander-in-Chief of the 4th Ottoman army with headquarters in Damascus. The city rapidly became the great general headquarters of the combined German and Turkish forces and their operational base against the Suez zone. Jemāl Pasha soon showed himself a mediocre general but a very energetic administrator. He had hoped to win the people of Damascus over to the Turkish cause, but was soon disillusioned. It was in Damascus, in the circle of the al-Bakrī family, that the Amīr Fayṣāl, son of Ḥusayn, the Sharīf

of Mecca, was won over to the idea of Arab revolt in April 1915, at that time he met with members of the secret societies *al-Fatāt* and *al-Ahd*. At the end of May, Fayṣal returned from Istanbul and shared in the elaboration of a plan of action against the Turks with the co-operation of the British. They arrived ultimately at the famous "Protocol of Damascus" asking Britain to recognise Arab independence and the abolition of capitulations. In January 1916, Fayṣal was in Damascus again and was still there on 6 May when Jemāl Pasha had twenty-one partisans of the Arab cause hanged. This event, the "Day of the Martyrs", is still commemorated every year. On 10 June, the revolt broke out in the Ḥijāz, where the Sharīf Ḥusayn proclaimed himself "King of the Arabs". It was not until 30 September 1918 that Turkish troops evacuated Damascus. On 1 October Allied forces, including units of the Amīr Fayṣal, entered the city. In May 1919 elections took place to appoint a National Syrian Congress and in June this congress decided to reject the conclusions at which the Peace Conference of Paris had arrived concerning the mandates. On 10 December a national Syrian government was formed in Damascus. On 7 March 1920 the National Congress proclaimed Syria independent and elected Fayṣal as king. The Treaty of San Remo in April 1920 gave the mandate over Syria to France, in the name of the League of Nations. But this decision roused serious discontent in Damascus and other large Syrian towns. On 10 July the National Congress proclaimed a state of siege and introduced conscription, but on 14 July General Gouraud, High Commissioner of the French Republic, gave an ultimatum to Fayṣal, who accepted its terms. Popular agitation grew in Damascus and on 20 July the Arab army had to disperse a large meeting of the people. French troops were sent to Syria to put into force the agreement which had been concluded. On 24 July fighting broke out at Maysalūn, and on 25 July the French entered Damascus. King Fayṣal was forced to leave the country and power passed into the hands of the High Commissioner. The Mandate had begun.

## XI. THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

The period of the Mandate was marked by expressions of hostility to the mandatory power, which sometimes took the form of strikes, sometimes of

more violent outbreaks. The most serious revolt which broke out in 1925 in the Jabal Durūz, under the leadership of the Amīr Sulṭān al-Aṭraṣh, succeeded in taking Damascus. At the end of August, the rebels, newly-arrived in the suburbs of the city, were repulsed. The population did not openly support them until they came back a second time, when on 15 October 1925 serious rioting occurred in the city, which caused General Sarraill to bombard it on 18 October. In April 1926 a new bombardment put an end to a rising in the Ghūṭa and the city, but tranquillity was not restored until the following autumn.

From 1926 onwards the town began to develop in the western sense of the word very quickly. Undeveloped quarters between Ṣālihiyya and the old city were rapidly built up and from then on, the suburbs of al-Jisr, al-ʿArnūs and al-Shuhadāʾ provided homes for a growing number of Europeans and Syrians without any segregation of ethnic groups. The Christians of Bāb Tūmā left the city walls in greater and greater numbers to set up the new district of Qaṣṣāʾ. To avoid chaotic development, the French town-planner Danger in 1929 created a harmonious and balanced plan for the future town, and its working out was put into the hands of the architect Michel Écochard, in collaboration with the Syrian authorities. New roads, often tree-lined, were made and the ancient Nayrāb became the residential quarter of Abū Rummāna, which continued to extend towards the west. New suburbs were developed to the north of the old city between the Boulevard de Baghdad and the Jabal Qāsiyūn, and to the north-east towards the road to Aleppo. In view of the growth of the population and in the interests of public health the drinking water was brought from the beginning of 1932 by special pipelines from the powerful spring of ʿAyn Fīja in the valley of the Baradā.

Damascus suffered very much less in the Second World War than in the First. In June 1941 British and Free French troops entered Syria. On 16 September 1941 General Catroux proclaimed its independence, but there was no constitutional life in Damascus until August 1943. It was then that Shukrī al-Quwatlī was elected President of the Republic. On 12 April 1945 the admission of Syria to the United Nations Organization put an end to the Mandate, but a new tension was to be felt in Franco-Syrian relations. They reached a culminating point on

29 May 1945, when the town was bombarded by the French army. The British intervened in force to restore order and some months later foreign troops finally evacuated Syria.

From 1949 until 1954 Damascus was shaken by a series of military *coups d'état*. In 1955 Shukrī al-Quwatlī became President of the Republic again, and from 1956 on discussions were broached with a view to a Syro-Egyptian union. On the proclamation of the United Arab Republic in 1958, Damascus became the capital of the northern region; but after the *coup d'état* of the 28th September 1961, it again became the capital of the Syrian Arab Republic.

Ruled by a municipal council, the city in 1955 had a population of 408,800 of whom 90% were Sunni Arabs. Important groups of Kurds, Druzes and Armenians were also to be found there.

Numerous cultural institutions make Damascus an intellectual centre of the first rank. The Arab Academy (*al-Majmā' al-ʿIlmī al-ʿArabī*), founded in June 1919 on the initiative of Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, is situated in the al-ʿĀdiliyya *madrassa*, while opposite this, the al-Ẓāhiriyya *madrassa* houses the National Library, which possesses more than 8,000 manuscripts. The Syrian University, which originated from a School of Medicine (1903) and a School of Law (1912), was founded on 15 June 1923. In 1960 it had about 10,000 students divided into six faculties. The National Museum of Syria, founded in 1921, has been installed since 1938 in premises specially devised for the preservation of its rich collections (Palmyra, Dura Europos, Ras Shamra, and Mari rooms). The *Direction générale des antiquités de Syrie*, created in 1921, is housed in the same buildings. Many bookshops, a dozen or so cinemas, radio and television transmitting stations, help make Damascus give a very modern city. It is an important centre of communications with its railway connections with Amman and beyond that, ʿAqaba, terminus of the Damascus-Homs line and its prolongation, its motor-roads, Beirut-Baghdad and Mosul as well as Jerusalem-Amman-Beirut, and its international airport situated at Mizza. It is also the greatest grain market of the Ḥawrān and a centre of supplies for the nomads and peasants of the Ghūṭa. These not only find many foreign products in its *sūqs* but also goods specially manufactured to fit the needs of the country-dweller. There exists also a class of artisans which specialises in luxury goods such as wood inlays, mother of pearl mosaics, silk brocades

and engraved or inlaid copper work. Wood turners and glass blowers are also very active.

The protectionist measures of 1926 brought a remarkable upward trend to industry, and thus it was that a first cloth factory (1929), a cement works at Dummar (1930) and a cannery (1932) were founded one after the other. Modern spinning mills were installed in 1937, and by 1939 there were already 80 factories representing 1,500 trades. A large glass-works was put up to the south of the city at Qadam in 1945, while to the east many tanneries and dye-works ply their centuries-old activities. Since 1954 an important international exhibition and fair has been held at the end of each summer on the banks of the Baradā. This has helped to establish Damascus as a great commercial and industrial centre of the Arab Near East.

In recent decades, Damascus has had, like virtually every other Middle Eastern city, a great influx of immigrants from rural areas. The greater part of the population, over 90%, is Muslim, mainly Sunnis, with some 8% of Christians. There are still distinct communities of Druze, Kurds, Circassians and Armenians, but virtually all Damascus's Jewish minority has emigrated to Israel and elsewhere. The population of the city was in 2005 (official estimate) 1,600,000.

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**DELHI**, the usual romanised form of earlier Islamic usage being Dihlī; the common spellings in Urdu, Hindi and Panjabi representing Dillī (etymology of the name obscure), an ancient city of North India. There has been a succession of strongholds, towers and other buildings on the site which have left ruins there, the whole covering a triangular site of some 180 km<sup>2</sup>/70 sq. miles on the west bank of the Jumna river, a tributary of the Ganges (the so-called “Delhi triangle.” Old Delhi is situated to the north of New Delhi, which dates from the early 20th century only (see below, I. History). The whole area lies between lats. 28° 30' and 28° 44' N. and longs. 77° 5' and 77° 15' E. Delhi was the capital of the first line of

Muslim rulers of North India, the so-called Delhi Sultans, from 1211 onwards, and remained the capital of northern Indian Islamic dynasties, with occasional interruptions (Dawlatabad, Agra and Lahore) till the deposition of the last Mughal Emperor, Bahādur Shāh, in 1858 after the Sepoy Mutiny. From 1912 it was the capital of the British Indian Empire and from 1947 of independent India.

## I. HISTORY

It has become popular to speak of “the seven cities of Delhi”; but the number of centres of government in the Delhi area has in fact been nearer double that number. These are here described in approximate chronological order; all appear on the accompanying map, on which those which are no longer in existence are marked with an asterisk.

The earliest settlement was Indrapat, Sanskrit *Indraprastha*, a tell on which the present Purānā Qīl'a stands, supposed to have been built in legendary times by the Pāṇḍavas; the site is certainly old, and potsherds of Painted Grey ware and Northern Black Polished ware, types dating back to the 5th century B.C., as well as Kushan fragments of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D., have been discovered there (see *Ancient India*, x–xi, [1955], 140, 144). The region of Delhi seems to have been almost abandoned thereafter, for the next settlement dates from the 9th or 10th century, the Tomār city now known as Sūraj Kund, where a large masonry tank and an earthwork are still in existence. More extensive are the remains of the Chawhān Rājput town, dating probably from the 10th century A.D., which existed immediately prior to the Muslim conquest. On a small hill in the south-west of this region a citadel, Lālkōṭ, was built ca. 1052 A.D. by Ānang Pāl, and around the town an outer wall was thrown, as a defence against the Muslim invaders, by Prithwī Rāj in about 576/1180. Subsequent to the conquest, a mosque known as Masjid Quwwat al-Islām, was built in 588/1192 by Qutb al-Dīn Aybak, who later commenced the building of the adjoining *mīnār* not only as a *ma'dhana* but also as a commemoration of his victory; for these, their extensions by Shams Dīn Iltutmish and 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī, and other buildings in this so-called “Qutb site” see II. Monuments, below. The systematic refortification and extension of these old Hindu walls was effected by the earliest governors and monarchs

to form the first Muslim city of Delhi, known by the name of its former occupant as Qil'a Rāy Pithorā. An indication of the extent of these walls and of their periods is given in the sketch-map, Fig. 31.

Qil'a Rāy Pithorā remained the only regular residence of the Delhi sultans until Mu'izz al-Dīn Kayqubād built his palace at Kilōkhrī, then on the banks of the Jumna, in about 688/1289; this was occupied, completed, and its suburbs extended, by Jalāl al-Dīn Firūz Khaljī in and after 689/1290. It has now fallen completely into desuetude. Even in Jalāl al-Dīn's case the older city seems to have had a higher prestige value, and he moved his court there as soon as it was politically practicable so to do. The sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī effected many improvements and repairs, including the west gate (Ranjīt Darwāza) of Lālkōt (Amīr Khusraw, tr. in Elliott and Dowson, iii, 561); he commenced also the extension of the citadel of Lālkōt, see Beglar, *loc. cit.*, and Fig. 1. As a protection against the invading Mongols he first established a camp on the plain of Sirī to the north, later encompassed it by entrenchments, and finally walled it, in about 703/1303. The location of Sirī has been questioned (e.g. by C.J. Campbell, *Notes on the history and topography of the ancient cities of Delhi*, in *JASB*, xxxv, [1866], 206–14); but the descriptions of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 146, 155, tr. Gibb, iii, 619, 624–5, and Tīmūr, *Malfūzāt-i Tīmūrī*, tr. in Elliott and Dowson, iii, 447, and the ruins and lines of defences on the ground, enabled Campbell's views to be convincingly refuted by Cunningham in *ASI*, i, 207 ff. All that now remains within the walls is the comparatively modern village of Shāhpur. Hardly a "city of Delhi", but an important site in its history, is the group of buildings, the earliest of which date from Khaljī times, surrounding the shrine of the Chishtī saint Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā', which make up what Piggott has described as the "squalid but entertaining complex" now known officially as "Nizamuddin" (for plan, and description of these buildings, see II. Monuments, below).

Some of the most ambitious building projects in the time of the Delhi sultanate were conceived during the rule of the following Tughluq dynasty. Firstly, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq selected a site some 8 km/5 miles to the east of Qil'a Rāy Pithorā, immediately after his defeat of the converted Hindu Nāṣir al-Dīn in 720/1320, for the building of his capital Tughluqābād. The trace of the outer enceinte is

approximately a half-hexagon, within which are a more strongly defended palace area, and an even stronger citadel; there are the ruins of a mosque in the city area, and the layout of the streets and houses of the streets and houses of the city, which shows it to have been well populated, can be seen from the aerial photograph in *Ancient India*, i, Pl. IX. On the south of the city was formerly an artificial lake, in which stands the tomb of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, connected to the citadel by a fortified passage supported on arches, itself fortified. Connected with Tughluqābād by a causeway on the south-east, which formed a *band* to retain the waters of the lake, is the subsidiary fort of 'Adilābād built by his son Muḥammad b. Tughluq *ca.* 725/1325, but abandoned by him, together with Tughluqābād, in 729/1329 on his transfer of the capital to Dawlatābād. For these sites, see Fig. 32, and the article of Hilary Waddington, *'Adilābād: a part of the "fourth" Delhi*, in *Ancient India*, i, 60–76, with photographs and survey plans. A small fort, known as the "Barber's" or "Washerman's" fort, to the east, possibly a *madrasa* or a shrine in origin, was fortified and presumably used as a residence for Ghiyāth al-Dīn while Tughluqābād was in building.

About contemporary with the building of 'Adilābād was Muḥammad b. Tughluq's more grandiose project, the walling-in of the suburbs which had grown up between Qil'a Rāy Pithorā and Sirī (see Map) to form yet another city, called Jahānpanāh, the walls of which, some 12 m/40 feet thick, have almost completely fallen and the exact trace of which cannot easily be located; for the sluice built into this wall near the village of Khirkī, the Sāt Pulāh, see II. Monuments, below.

Muḥammad's successor Firūz Tughluq was responsible for the building of another city, Firūzābād, extending from Indrapat to Kushk-i Shikār some 3 km/2 miles north-west of the later city of Shāhjahanābād (see Fig. 33), and now largely covered by that latter city. Its buildings were dilapidated by later builders, especially Shīr Shāh Sūrī and Shāhjahan, and all that remains is the citadel, known as Firūz Shāh Kōḷā, its walls reduced to below the level of their machicolations, containing a palace complex, the remains of a fine mosque, and an extraordinary pyramidal structure built as a plinth for a column of Ashoka brought from near Ambālā; the isolated Qadam Sharīf and the nearby 'Idgāh show the western extent of the city to have been no further than

the later Shāhjahānābād. The extent of Fīrūz Shāh's building activity around Delhi would indicate that the suburbs in his time were still well populated, as evidenced by the two large mosques in Jahānpanāh, another in Nizamuddin, and smaller ones in the northern suburbs and in Wazīrābād. A further occupied site was around the old reservoir built by 'Alā' al-Dīn, the Ḥawḍ-i 'Alā'ī, later known as Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ, where he established a large *madrasa* and built his own tomb.

The Timurid sack caused the eclipse of Delhi as a capital city for some time, and although the Sayyid governor Khidr Khān established his court at Khidrābād, and Mubārak Shāh his at Mubārakābād, both on the Jumna, and the latter sultan built also his own tomb in the fortified village Mubārakpur (also Mubārikpur, Mubārik [*sic*] Shāh Kōflā), the Sayyids and their successors the Lōḍīs built no further cities at Delhi. The Lōḍīs, indeed, moved their seat of government to Agra, and Delhi became little more than a vast necropolis, the plains between Sirī and Fīrūzābād being covered with tombs and mausolea of this period; especially Khayrpur, 2 km/1 1/4 miles west of Nizamuddin, a region 1 km/1/2 a mile west of Mubārikpur ("Tīn Burj", i.e., "three towers"), and a region on the road to Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ (Kharērā); there was also some building in the region of the reservoir of Iltutmish, Ḥawḍ-i Shamsī, south of the village of Mihrawlī.

After the Mughal invasions in the early 10th/16th century, Humāyūn settled at Delhi and started the building of a citadel, Dīnpanāh, on the mound of the old Indrapat in 940/1533, but was dispossessed by the usurper Shīr Shāh Sūrī. Shīr Shāh took over and completed the building of Dīnpanāh, as the citadel of a new city, to which no particular name is given, little of which remains except the northern gate, near Fīrūz Shāh Kōflā, and the southern gate, opposite the citadel, as most of the stone was removed for the building of Shāhjahānābād. His son and successor Islām Shāh, popularly called Salīm Shāh, built on the Jumna the fortress Salīmgarh as a bulwark against the return of Humāyūn in about 957/1550. Humāyūn's return five years later added nothing to the Delhi buildings, and the next two Mughal rulers preferred to reside at Agra and Lahore; some buildings at Delhi date, however, from their time, especially the complex of monuments around Humāyūn's tomb (see S.A.A. Naqvi, *Humāyūn's tomb and adjacent*

*buildings*, Delhi 1947). Shāhjahān also reigned at Agra for eleven years, but the inconveniences there caused him to remove to Delhi and found there on 12 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1048/16 April 1639 (so the contemporary historians and inscription in the Khwābgāh; 9 Muḥarram 1049/12 May 1639 according to the *Ma'āthir al-umarā'*, iii, 464, and Sayyid Aḥmad Khān) a new fort, the citadel of his new city (Fig. 33) Shāhjahānābād, known as the "Red Fort", Lāl qil'a, which was completed after nine years. The walling of the city proceeded at the same time, and it was enriched with many more buildings in the reign of Shāhjahān and his successors (notably the Jāmī' Masjid, commenced two years after the completion of the fort), who made no further expansions of any of the successive cities. Shāhjahānābād continued to be the capital of the Mughal rulers – except for Awrangzīb, who spent much time in the Deccan and died at Awrangābād – although other sites around continued to be used; e.g., the Humāyūn's tomb complex, Nizamuddin, and the *dargāhs* of Rōshan Chirāgh-i Delhi in Jahānpanāh and of Quṭb al-Dīn Kākī at Mihrawlī were all used as burial places for the later Mughal rulers, and at Mihrawlī is a small summer palace used by the latest Mughals.

With the fall of the Mughal dynasty in 1858, the destruction of many buildings by the British during and after the mutiny, and the transfer of the capital to Calcutta, Delhi became a town of less importance, the head of a local administration and a garrison town. The British expansion was to the north of Shāhjahānābād, where the Civil Lines were established; here the capital was transferred in 1911, and the building of the new city commenced, originally known as Raisena, later New Delhi, *Na'ī Dillī*. Later expansion has been westwards of Shāhjahānābād in the Sabzī Mandī, Karōl Bāgh, and Ṣadr Bāzār quarters; south of Khayrpur and on the road to Mihrawlī; and around the Cantonment, north of the Gurgā'ōn road, and the new airport of Pālam.

The city is now the capital of the Indian Union, since 1956 in the union territory of Delhi, which covers 1,483 km<sup>2</sup>/573 sq. miles, and according to the 2005 census, this territory had a population of 15,333,741, with Delhi city being the third largest city in India, after Bombay and Calcutta. The population swelled considerably with the influx of refugees after the Partition of 1948. In the economy of the modern city, the service sector is the most important, includ-

ing that of the public service, but the manufacturing sector, distributive trades, education and publishing, and financial services such as banking and insurance, are also important.

## II. MONUMENTS

As the buildings of Delhi present the earliest monuments of a settled Islamic power in the sub-continent, and as it was there that the first characteristic Indian Islamic styles developed, the influence of which was to spread far and wide from Delhi itself, the account of the monuments given here is confined to a simple description of the major works, arranged chronologically, and an account of the architectural features of the monumental complexes of buildings of different periods (see map of sites, Fig. 35).

The earliest phase of Muslim building in Delhi is represented, as in the earliest stages in other sites, by the re-utilisation of pillaged Hindu temple material. This applied to the first mosque constructed in India, Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak's Masjid Quwwat al-Islām (see Fig. 34), earliest inscription 587/1191–2, in Qil'a Rāy Pithorā: on a temple plinth 37.8 m by 45.4 m is constructed the central court, 65.2 m by 45.4 m, with colonnades of three bays on the east and two on north and south; the western *līwān* is four bays in depth, originally with five domes covering voids in front of the *mihrāb* recesses, its roof raised at the north end to accommodate a *zanāna* gallery. The *līwān* is separated from the mosque courtyard by a great arched screen, added 595/1199, whose arches do not conform with the spacing of the columns and *mihrābs* behind. The columns of the arcades were taken from some twenty-seven Hindu and Jain temples, arranged haphazard, often set one over another to give the necessary height, ranged to support a roof made from ceiling slabs of similar temples, the sculptured figures mutilated and roughly covered with plaster, sometimes turned face inwards. The screen arches are corbelled, ogee at the top, some 2.5 m thick, the central arch 13.7 m high with a span of 6.7 m. The whole surface of this *maqṣūra* is covered with carving, Hindu floral motifs and arabesques, and vertical lines of *naskh*. In the courtyard stands a pillar of rustless malleable iron from a temple of Vishnu of the Gupta period (4th century A.D.), doubtless placed there by the builders not only as a curious relic but also as a symbol of their triumph over the

idolaters. At the south-east corner of the mosque Quṭb al-Dīn commenced, after the completion of his mosque, the minaret known as the Quṭb *mīnār*, described below.

The reign of Quṭb al-Dīn's successor, Shams Dīn Iltutmish, saw an increase in building, not only at Delhi. To the Delhi mosque he attempted to give greater scale and dignity by extensions of the colonnades and the great *maqṣūra* screen – symmetrically disposed as regards the new *mihrābs*, columnar bays, and the arches of the *maqṣūra*, thus indicating a design of homogeneous conception; the new *ṣaḥn* included the *mīnār*, to which he added also, and its entrances were arranged co-axially with those of the old mosque. The colonnade is composed of relatively plain columns, and the screen decoration, including Kufic character and *tughra* devices, is more obviously the work of a craftsman familiar with his material than is the earlier example. The arches, still corbelled, differ in contour from those of the earlier screen by the absence of the ogee counter-curve at the apex. Immediately west of his northern extension of the mosque is the Tomb of Iltutmish (*ca.* 632/1235? No dating inscriptions), a square chamber, originally bearing a circular dome, supported on corbelled squinches, the whole interior surface intricately banded with arabesques, diaperwork, and *naskh* and Kūfic inscriptions (entirely Qur'ānic); the exterior is of dressed ashlar, with the arched openings on north, east and south in red sandstone; red sandstone is also used for the interior, with marble on the *mihrāb* wall and the cenotaph; the true grave is in a subterranean *tahkhāna*.

The Quṭb *Mīnār* was extended by Iltutmish by the addition of three further storeys, to a total height of 69.7 m, completed *ca.* 626/1229. The angle of slope is about 4.5° from the vertical, and the four storeys are separated by balconies supported by stalactite corbelling. Each storey is fluted – developing probably the polygonal outline of the prototype *mīnār* at Ghaznī – the lowest having alternately rounded and angular flutes, the second all rounded, the third all angular; the upper storeys, the work of Fīrūz Tughluq (see below), are plain. Each of the three lowest storeys is decorated with wide encircling bands of Arabic inscriptions in *naskh* (dating inscriptions, panegyrics of Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām and Shams Dīn Iltutmish, Qur'ānic verses); features of typically Hindu origin are almost entirely absent.

To the reign of Iltutmish belongs the first instance in India of a monumental tomb, the mausoleum of his son Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, at Malikpur, of 629/1231. This stands within a plinth some 3 m high in an octagonal cell, the top of which projects into a court-yard with a plain enclosure wall pierced by corbelled arches, with arcades of Hindu columns on the east and west walls; that on the west forms a small mosque, with central portico and *miḥrāb*. The external gateway bears the dating inscription in Kūfic characters (non-Qur'ānic inscriptions in Kūfic are known only here, at the Maṣjid Quwwat al-Islām, and at Ajmēr); the corner towers appear to be part of Fīrūz Tughluq's restorations. The tomb is locally known as "Sulṭān Ghār", presumably on account of the crypt (*ghār*) in which Nāṣir al-Dīn is buried, but this name is not known before Sayyid Aḥmad Khān. For a detailed study, see S.A.A. Naqvi, *Sulṭān Ghār, Delhi*, in *Ancient India*, iii, [1947], 4–10 and Pls. I–XII.

During the reigns of the succeeding sovereigns, no buildings of note were erected until the reign of the Khaljī ruler 'Alā' al-Dīn, except for the tomb of the sultan Balban, d. 686/1287, in the south-east of Qil'a Rāy Pithorā, larger than the tomb of Iltutmish, with side chambers leading off the main hall, in which appears for the first time the use of the true voussoired arch. This marks not only a technical advance in construction but also a strengthening of Islamic building tradition, as opposed to that of the impressed Hindu craftsmen.

'Alā' al-Dīn Khaljī's extensions to the citadel of Lālkoṭ, and the building of Sirī, have been mentioned above. He started a grandiose plan of extension to the Quwwat al-Islām mosque to the north and east; a few columns remain, and the foundations of the north gateway, to show the extent of this, and of the great arched *maqṣūra* screen which was intended to be twice as long as the two previous screens combined, and of twice the scale; in the northern court-yard stands the incomplete first storey of a gigantic *mīnār*, its diameter at base twice that of the Quṭb Mīnār. The most notable feature of these extensions is the southern gateway, the 'Alā'ī Darwāza, of exceptional architectural merit: a square building of 10.5 m internal dimension, with walls 3.4 m thick, is surmounted by a flat dome, with lofty (10.7 m from ground level to apex) arches on east, south and west, and a smaller trefoil arch on the north leading to the new eastern

extension of the court-yard. The three large arches, and the squinches which support the dome, are of pointed horse-shoe shape, voussoired, with on the intrados a fringe of conventionalised spear-heads. A similar style is seen in the Jamā'at Khāna *dargāh* of Nizām al-Dīn, the first example in India of a mosque built with specially quarried materials, not improvised from Hindu material (see Fig. 36). (For a discussion of this mosque see M. Zafar Hasan, *A guide to Nizām-d-Dīn* [= *Memoir ASI*, x], 1922). Apart from the early building (*madrassa*?) at Hawḍ 'Alā'ī (= Hawḍ-i Khāṣṣ), the only other structure of 'Alā' al-Dīn at Delhi is his tomb and *madrassa* to the south-west of the Maṣjid Quwwat al-Islām, now much ruined; the series of small cells on the west wall show for the first time in India domes supported by a corbelled pendentive. The location of this building and all others in the "Qutb site" is shown on Fig. 34; for an extensive description of all the monuments and archaeological work see J.A. Page, *Historical memoir on the Qutb, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, xxii), 1925; idem, *Guide to the Qutb, Delhi* (abridged from above), Delhi 1938; best illustrations in H.H. Cole, *The architecture of Ancient Delhi*, London 1872.

The achievements of Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty, are confined to the building of the city of Tughluqābād (see above, I. History), and his own two tomb buildings; the first of these al-Multan; the second, commenced after leaving the Panjāb and coming to Delhi as sovereign, forms an outwork on the south side of Tughluqābād (see Fig. 32), an irregular pentagon with bastions at each angle, with the tomb-building placed diagonally at the widest part of the enclosed court-yard. This mausoleum is of red sandstone faced with white marble, its walls with a strong batter (25° from the vertical), with a recessed archway in the north, east and south sides (the west side closed for the *miḥrāb*) with the "spear-head" fringe introduced under the Khaljīs and a slight ogee curve at the apex. Here the old Hindu trabeate system is joined with the newer arcuate by a lintel being imposed across the base of the arch.

Muḥammad b. Tughluq's foundation of 'Ādilābād and Jahānpanāh has been mentioned above; in the walling of the second of these is a sluice or regulator of seven spans, the Sāt Pulāh, with subsidiary arches and end towers, its two storeys of seven arches holding the mechanism for regulating the level of a lake



contained within the walls. Another building of his time, near the village of Begampur, is the Bijay Mandāl, which has been supposed to be the remains of his Qaṣr-i Hazār Sitūn, with the first example of intersecting vaulting in India; close to this is a superb but nameless tomb, and the Bārah Khambā (see below). His act in transporting the entire élite population of Delhi to Dawlatābād resulted in the dispersal of the northern craftsmen, and the introduction of a rubble-and-plaster phase under the enthusiastic patronage of his successor Fīrūz Shāh (752–90/1351–88). A list of the numerous building projects sponsored by this monarch is given by Shams-i Sirāj ‘Aff, *Tā’rikh-i Fīrūz Shāhī*, and by Firishṭa, and in his own *Futūḥāt-i Fīrūz Shāhī* he describes the monuments of his predecessors which he had rebuilt or renovated. These numerous building and restoration projects demanded a strict economy: plans for every undertaking were submitted to the *Dīwān-i wazīrā*, and the more expensive building materials, red sandstone and marble, were no longer used. Of Fīrūz Shāh’s cities, Fīrūzābād has been mentioned above. The Jāmi’ Masjid within the *kōllā* stands on a high plinth and the main gate is on the north; the *ṣaḥn* was surrounded by deep triple aisles, and around the central octagonal *ḥawḍ* was inscribed the record of the public works of Fīrūz. Only the shell of the building remains, much of the stone having been built into the walls of Shāhjahānābād by British engineers. The other building standing within the *kōllā* is a three-storeyed pyramidal structure on which is mounted a pillar of Ashoka (3rd century B.C.) brought from the Meerut district. For these and other ruins in the citadel, see J.A. Page, *A memoir on Kotla Fīroz Shah, Delhi* (= *Memoir ASI*, lii) Delhi 1937. The mosque style of the period is better shown by half a dozen mosques of approximately the decade 766–76/1364–75: all are rubble-and-plaster, presumably originally whitewashed, with pillars and Hindu-style brackets and eaves in local grey granite, with prominent gateways, many-domed roofs, and tapering ornamental pillars flanking the gateways. The simplest is the mosque in the *dargāh* of Shāh ‘Ālam at Wazīrābād (= Tīmūrpur), a simple west *ṭiwān* of five bays, with three domes, within which is the earliest example in Delhi of a *zanāna* gallery in the rear corner of the *ṭiwān*; the large (court-yard 68.0 by 75.3 m) Begampur mosque in the north of Jahānpanāh has the *ṣaḥn* surrounded on all sides by a domed arcade, and the west *ṭiwān* has a tall arched

pylon in the centre of its façade which completely masks the large central dome; the Sanjar mosque (also called Kālī [black] Masjid) at Nizamuddin has the central court-yard divided into four smaller courts each 13.1 by 10.1 m by a cruciform arcade one bay in depth, as well as the domed arcading on all sides (*ASI, Annual Report*, xxvii, Pl. I); the Khīrkī mosque, at Khīrkī village in the south of Jahānpanāh close to the Sāt Pulāh, has a similar arrangement, but the crossing arcades are of three ranks of arches, as are the side *ṭiwāns*: hence only the four courts, each 9.8 m square, are open in the total area of about 52 m square; the Kalān (this also sometimes miscalled Kālī) Masjid, within the walls of the later Shāhjahānābād, is smaller with a single open court and surrounding domed arcades. This, the Khīrkī mosque, and the Jāmi’ Masjid in the *kōllā*, are all built on a high plinth over a *tahkhāna* storey, and the mosques themselves are approached by high flights of steps. The Kalān Masjid was no doubt the main mosque of the new Fīrūzābād suburbs, but the size of the Begampur and Khīrkī mosques implies that the older cities still maintained a considerable population. The northern suburbs were further provided for by the Chawburjī mosque on the Ridge, now so altered through various uses that its original plan is hardly discernible; near the mosque is the remains of Fīrūz Shāh’s hunting lodge, Kushk-i Shikār or Jahān-numā, to which he repaired for consolation after the death of his son, Faṭḥ Khān, in 776/1374. This prince is buried in the Qadam-i Sharīf, a fortified enclosure in which is a domed arcade surrounding the grave, over which is a stone print of the Prophet’s foot set in a small tank of water. Fīrūz’s own tomb is coupled with the *madrasa* he built on the site of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn’s structure at the Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ; the *madrasa* buildings on the east and south of the *ḥawḍ*, double-storeyed on the lake front and single behind, are colonnades, several bays deep, of arches or lintel-and-bracket construction, connecting square domed halls at intervals, extending about 76 m on one shore and 120 m on the other; at the south-east corner is the 13.7 m square tomb, with plastered walls slightly battering, the two outer (south and east) with a slight projection in which is an arched opening in which the entrance is framed by a lintel-and-bracket; there is a single dome on an octagonal drum, supported by interior squinches, and the west wall, in which is a door to the adjoining hall, has a small *mīhrāb*. The building stands on a short

plinth extended southward to form a small terrace, which is surrounded by a stone railing of mortice and tenon construction resembling woodwork. Another tomb, of great architectural significance, is that of Fīrūz's Prime Minister Khān-i Jahān Tilangānī, d. 770/1368–9, within the *kōl* at Nizamuddin; this is the first octagonal tomb at Delhi (although the tomb-chamber at Sulṭān Ghārī is octagonal also), and is surrounded by a verandah, each side of which has three arched openings surmounted by a wide *chajjā* or eaves-stone; there is a central dome, and eight smaller dome-like cupolas, one over each face. The prototype of this tomb has been sought in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem; it formed the model for many royal tombs of the subsequent Sayyid, Lōdī and Sūrī dynasties. One of the latest buildings of the Tughluqs is the tomb of the *shaykh* Kabīr al-Dīn Awliyā' (probably of the time of Naṣīr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, after 796/1394); although an indifferent and half-scale copy of the tomb of Ghiyāth Dīn Tughluq, it is of interest in indicating a revival of sympathy for the earlier polychromatic style, a reaction against the Fīrūzian austerity.

Since the major structures at the shrine of Nizām al-Dīn are of this time, the complex is described here (Fig. 36). The entrance gate bears the date 780/1378–9, within which is a large *bā'olī* or step-well flanked by two tombs and a two-storeyed mosque, all of Fīrūzian appearance; the *bā'olī* is named Chashma-i dil kushā (= 703/1303–4 by *abjad*). A further gate leads to the shrine enclosure; the shaykh's tomb dates from the time of Akbar, replacing an earlier one built by Fīrūz Tughluq, but has been much restored since, the dome being an addition of Akbar Shāh II in 1823; the Jamā'a Khāna mosque, to the west of the tomb, has already been referred to. To the south of the enclosure are numerous graves (Jahānārā, daughter of Shāhjahān; Muḥammad Shāh, d. 1161/1748; Jahāngīr, son of Akbar II; Amīr Khusraw, a contemporary of the *shaykh*, although the tomb is early 11th/17th century; and others); outside the east wall of the court is the square polychromatic tomb of Atga Khān, foster-father of Akbar, d. 969/1562, of a style similar to that of Humāyūn (see below). Some 60 m south-east of this tomb is the Chawnsaṭh Khambe, a grey marble pavilion of excellent proportions forming the family burial place of Atga Khān's son, Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōkaltash, d. 1033/1624. The adjoining *kōl* and Tilangānī tomb have already been described.

For a full account of all these buildings, see M. Zafar Hasan, *A guide to Nizāmu-d-Dīn*.

Another *dargāh* largely dating from Fīrūzian times is that of Naṣīr al-Dīn Chirāgh-i Delhi, d. 757/1356; the east gate is of 775/1373, but the tomb has been much modernised; the walls enclosing the shrine and village were built by Muḥammad Shāh in 1142/1729; beside stands one of the alleged tombs of Bahlōl Lōdī.

The Sayyid and Lōdī dynasties produced no great building projects; their monuments consist entirely of tombs, except for one significant mosque, and the principal ones are concentrated in three sites: Khayrpur, Mubārakpur, and south of Mujāhidpur on the road to Ḥawḍ-i Khāṣṣ. The tombs are of two distinct types, square and octagonal, in both cases with a large central dome, frequently also with open *chhatrīs* above the parapets. The earliest octagonal example is that of Mubārak Shāh, d. 838/1434, in Kōflā Mubārakpur, an improvement on the style of the Tilangānī tomb although the dome is not high enough and the octagonal *chhatrīs* or roof pavilions over each face are too crowded. The tomb of Muḥammad Shāh, ten years later, removes these defects by raising the drum of the dome and the *chhatrīs*, and adding a *guldasta* at each angle of the verandah parapet. The tomb of Sikandar Lōdī, ca. 924/1518, at the north end of Khayrpur, is of similar proportions but without the *chhatrīs*, and the dome has an inner and outer shell; the mausoleum stands in a fortified enclosure, on the west wall of which is an arrangement of arches resembling an *īdgāh*, presumably an outdoor *mihrāb*. The tomb of Mubārak has a detached mosque, but that of Muḥammad has none. All tombs have sloping buttresses at the angles.

The square tombs probably all date from the last quarter of the 9th/15th century, but they lack inscriptions and are known only by very uninformative local names. The finest is the Barē Khān kā Gumbad, "Big Khān's Dome", the largest (height 25 m) of the three known as Tīn Burj, west of Mubārakpur, apparently of three storeys from the exterior, but actually a single hall; this and the adjoining "Little Khān's Dome" have octagonal *chhatrīs* in the angles of the square below the drum, as had the Dādī kā ("Grandmother's") and Potī kā ("Granddaughter's") Gumbad of the Mujāhidpur group. At Khayrpur are the best preserved, the Barā Gumbad ("Big dome"), date 899/1494, which has no graves within and is

locally said to be a gateway to the attached mosque, court-yard and *majlis-khāna* (?). The mosque has massive tapering and sloping pillars at each rear angle, each with a band of fluting, alternately rounded and angled, reminiscent of the lowest storey of the Qutb Minār; the east façade has wide central arches whose spandrels are filled with the best cut-plaster decoration in Delhi. Near is the Shīsh Gumbad, very similar to the Baṛā Gumbad, but with courses of dark blue encaustic tile work.

Apart from the mosque mentioned above, the Lōdīs produced one major example of this class, the isolated Moṭh kī Maṣjid south of Mubārakpur, built by the *wazīr* of Sikandar Lōdī ca. 911/1505; the west wall shows similar tapering pillar-turrets, but at the angles of the projecting *mīhrāb*, and the external angles are provided with two-storeyed open towers; the side walls have trabeate balconies; the façade of the west *ṭiwān* has the contours of the arches emphasised by the recession of planes of the intrados, and the central arch is emphasised further by a pylon-like structure of the same height as the remainder; the *ṭiwān* side domes are supported on stalactite pendentives; white marble, red sandstone, and coloured encaustic tiles are used in the decorative scheme, as well as fine cut-plaster; it is aesthetically one of the liveliest buildings in the whole of Islamic art in India. Other buildings of the Lōdīs are few: a structure (*madrasa*?), incorporating a small mosque, known as the Jahāz Maḥall, on the east side of the Ḥawḍ-i ‘Alā’ī at Mihrawlī, a few small *bārādārīs* and *maḥalls* near Nizamuddin, and the residence (Bārah Khambā), with enclosed court-yard and three-storeyed tower, at Begampur.

In the unsettled days of the early Mughal conquest, the Lōdī mode seems to have continued: the Jamālī mosque, of 943/1536, in the south of Qil’a Rāy Pithōrā, has fine ashlar masonry, five *ṭiwān* arches with recession of planes in the intrados, and the central archway sunk in a larger arch, with a spearhead fringe, in a central propylon rising above the general level of the façade, with a single central dome; to the north is the insignificant-looking oblong building over the tomb of Faḍl Allāh, *takhalluṣ* Jamālī, with the best colour decoration in Delhi on its ceiling. A continuation of the octagonal tomb style is in that of ‘Īsā Khān Niyāzī, of 954/1547–8 and hence in the reign of Islām Shāh Sūrī; the construction is similar to the preceding examples, including the closed west

wall and *mīhrāb*, but more encaustic tile remains; a separate mosque stands on the west of the octagonal court-yard, of grey quartzite and red sandstone, the central bay of the three set in a projecting portico, with a central dome and *chhatrīs* over the side bays. The tomb-building has sloping buttresses at each angle, and is the last building in Delhi so treated. (For these buildings see S.A.A. Naqvi, *Humāyūn’s tomb and adjacent buildings*, Delhi 1947, 21–4.) The last octagonal tomb in Delhi was built some fourteen years later, in the reign of Akbar, the tomb of Adham Khān in the extreme south-west of Qil’a Rāy Pithōrā; this seeks to obtain additional elevation by converting the drum of the dome into an intermediate storey, arcaded externally, and without *chhatrīs*; the thick walls of the drum contain a labyrinth of stairways. Its general effect is rather spiritless.

The first two Mughal emperors, Bābur and Humāyūn in his first period, added nothing to Delhi’s monuments, except perhaps the commencement of the Purānā Qil’a; this, however, was mostly the work of the usurper Shīr Shāh Sūrī, as a citadel for his new city. Of the city only two gateways remain, the northern (Lāl, Kābulī or Khūnī Darwāza), opposite Fīrūz Shāh Kōṭlā, and the southern, with a short stretch of walling, near Purānā Qil’a (see *ASI, Annual Report*, xxii, 6 and Pl. II). Of the citadel, the walls remain, and two major structures within, the Shīr Maṇḍal, a two-storeyed octagon of red sandstone of unknown original purpose but used by Humāyūn as a library and from which he fell to his death; and the mosque, with no distinctive name, which has the Jamālī mosque as its immediate prototype: but each of the five façade bays has a smaller recessed archway, and every other feature of the earlier mosque is improved and refined in this later example. The external construction is in coursed ashlar, and the *ṭiwān* façade in red sandstone, some of it finely carved, embellished with white marble and polychromatic encaustic tile work; inside the central dome is supported by two ranks of squinches, and in the side bays stalactite pendentives support the roof; the rear wall has tapering turrets on each side of the *mīhrāb* projection, and an open octagonal turret at each angle.

The first major building of the Mughals in Delhi is the tomb of the emperor Humāyūn, of a style already prefigured in the small tomb of Atga Khān at Nizamuddin; the foundations of it were apparently

laid in 976/1568–9 by his widow, employing the Persian architect Mirzā Ghiyāth, although the enclosure wall had been started some five years before. In a large square garden enclosure (340 m side; this is the first *chārbāgh* garden in India still preserving its original plan) stands the mausoleum building, 47.5 m square on a plinth 95 m square, 6.7 m high; each face is alike, having a central rectangular fronton containing an immense arch, flanked by smaller wings each containing a smaller arch; these wings are octagonal in plan and project in front of the main arches. The central chamber is surmounted by a bulbous double dome on a high collar, around which are *chhatrīs* over the corner wings and portals. The entire building is in red sandstone, with a liberal use of white and coloured marble. Neighbouring structures are the small Nāṭ kā Gumbad, “Barber’s Dome”; the Nīlā Gumbad, “Blue Dome”, earlier than Humāyūn’s tomb and therefore not the tomb of Fahīm Khān, d. 1035/1626, as often stated; the “Afsarwālā” tomb and mosque; the ‘Arab Sarāṭī; and the tomb of ‘Īsā Khān already described (see Fig. 37 for plan of this complex; full description of these buildings in Naqvi, *Humāyūn’s tomb and adjacent buildings*, *op. cit.*). Not far to the south is the tomb of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm, Khān-i Khānān, d. 1036/1626–7, a similar structure but smaller and without the octagonal corner compartments – hence a more obvious forerunner of the Taj Maḥall than Humāyūn’s tomb; the white marble of this building was later stripped off by Āṣaf al-Dawla, *wazīr* of Awadh. Other early Mughal buildings are the Lāl Chawk or Khayr al-Manāzil (the latter name a chronogram, 969 = 1561–2), a mosque built by Māham Anaga, foster-mother of Akbar, with double-storeyed chambers on east, south and north forming a *madrasa*; and the mosque of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Nabī, *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* of Akbar, between Fīrūz Shāh Kōṭlā and the Purānā Qil‘a, built 983/1575–6 (see M. Zafar Hasan, *Mosque of Shaikh ‘Abdu-n Nabī* [= *Memoir ASI*, ix], Calcutta 1921).

The main phase of Mughal building in Delhi was the construction of Shāhjahānābād and the Red Fort, Lāl Qil‘a, founded 1048/1638. Within the palace enclosure, about 950 by 505 m, are a central court, containing the Dīwān-i ‘Āmm; flanking this, two open spaces containing gardens; and, on the eastern wall, the range of palaces facing inwards to the gardens and outwards to the river. The Dīwān-i ‘Āmm is of red sandstone, with slender double columns on the

open sides; this and the palace buildings on the east have engrailed arches, stand on low plinths, and most have open *chhatrīs* at each corner of the roof. Through the palaces runs an ornamental canal, the Nahr-i Bihisht, which flows south from the Shāh Burj, water being brought from a point thirty *kās* up the Jumna (through the Western Jumna canal; for the history of this, which dates from the time of Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, see J.J. Hatten, *History and description of government canals in the Punjab*, Lahore n.d., 1–3); this has a plain marble channel, which in the Rang Maḥall flows into a large tank in which is set a marble lotus, having previously passed, in the royal private apartments, under a screen bearing a representation of the “Scales of Justice”, Mīzān-i ‘Adl. Off these apartments is the external octagonal balcony, the Muthamman Burj, from which the emperor gave the *darshan*, his ceremonial appearance before the people. The Rang Maḥall and the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ are the most lavishly ornate of these palaces, built and paved in white marble, the piers of the arches inlaid with floral designs in *pietra dura*; the latter building contained the fabulous Peacock Throne (*Takht-i ṭāwūs*), taken to Persia by Nādir Shāh in 1152/1739 and there broken up (G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 321–2). The disposition of these and the other buildings is shown in the plan, Fig. 38. The fort originally contained no mosque; the Mōṭī Masjid was added by Awrangzīb in 1073/1662–3, entirely of white marble, with a curved “Bengali” cornice over the central bay. For the fort and its buildings, see G. Sanderson, *A guide to the buildings and gardens, Delhi Fort*<sup>4</sup>, Delhi 1937.

The Jāmi‘ Masjid of Shāhjahānābād (named *Masjid-i Jahān-numā*), built 1057–9/1648–50, stands on an open plain to the west of the Lāl Qil‘a, its high basement storey, with blind arches on all sides, built on an outcrop of the local Aravallī ridge. The gates on north, east and south have an external opening in the form of a half-dome with a smaller door in the base of each. The east gate, used as the royal entrance, is the largest. The *līwān* surrounding the court is open to the outside, and has a square *burj*, surmounted by an open *chhatrī*, at each angle. The western sanctuary is a detached compartment 79 m by 27.5 m with the court-yard (99 m square), with a wide central arch flanked by five smaller bays of engrailed arches on each side, and a three-storeyed

minaret at each front angle; above are three bulbous domes of white marble with slender vertical stripes of black marble. The mosque as a whole is in red sandstone, with white marble facings on the sanctuary, and white marble vertical stripes on the minarets. Nearly contemporary is the Faṭḥpurī Masjid at the west end of Chandnī Chawk, the main street of Shāhjahānābād, of similar style but less refinement, with a single dome; there is a mosque school within the enclosure. A smaller mosque of similar style, but with the three domes more bulbous and with equal black and white marble stripes, is the Zīnat al-Masājīd, ca. 1112/1700, in the east (river) quarter of Shāhjahānābād.

Of the latest Mughal phase, must be mentioned the Mōṭī Masjid in the *dargāh* of Quṭb al-Dīn Awliyā' at Mihrawlī (early 12th/18th century); the tomb, madrasa, and mosque of Ghāzī al-Dīn Khān, father of Āṣāf Jāh, in a hornwork outside the Ajmēr gate of Shāhjahānābād (1122/1710), and where the Arabic school is still maintained; the gateway of the Qudsiyya Bāgh, north of the Kashmīr Gate, ca. 1163/1750, and the elegant diminutive mosque (Sonahrī Masjid) of Jāwīd Khān, of fawn-coloured sandstone, of the same time; and the finely-proportioned fawn sandstone tomb of Safdar Jang, d. 1166/1753, standing in the last great Mughal garden. One British building is worth mention, St. James's church, built by Col. James Skinner in Palladian style in 1824. The vast building projects of New Delhi (*Na'ī Dillī*) show occasional reminiscences of the glory of Mughal building, but have no further Islamic significance.

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**AL-DIR'ĪYYA** or al-Dar'īyya, an oasis of the Wādī Hanīfa in the region of Najd in eastern Arabia. It is situated in lat. 24° 45' N., long. 46° 32' E., some 20 km/12.5 m to the northwest of the capital of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh (al-Riyāḍ). The settlement there became important in the second half of the 18th century as the centre of the Āl Su'ūd or Saudi family of tribal shaykhs until its final destruction in 1821 by an invading Egyptian army; it was thereafter abandoned and left ruinous.

The bed of the Wādī Hanīfa runs southeastwards through the oasis as a narrow ribbon between cliffs, and is liable to flash flooding which temporarily fills it with water. Hence the date gardens are in many places on a raised step above the valley floor, protected from the floods by a levee (*jurf*) or large stone blocks up to 3 m/10 feet high. The settlements farthest up the Wādī are al-'Ilb and al-'Awda, both among the palms on the right bank. Below these is Ghaṣība, now a complete ruin, on the high ground on the left bank opposite the tributary al-Bulayda. The tributary Qulayqil runs along the eastern side of Ghaṣība. After the wadi bears eastwards the left bank is lined with a series of settlements, among them being the low-lying al-Bujayrī, the home of the 18th century, puritanical reformer, Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and the many '*ulamā*' among his progeny, the Āl al-Shaykh. A mosque stands on the site where the Shaykh was accustomed to worship, and his grave is not far off, though, in keeping with his doctrine, it is not an object of visitation. On the right or southern bank facing these settlements is the promontory of al-Ṭurayf thrusting into the pocket between Wādī Hanīfa and Sha'īb Šafār; here rise the majestic ruins of the palaces where the princes of the Āl Su'ūd once lived and held court – in Philby's words, "the noblest monument in all Wahhabiland". The buildings, made of clay save for the pillars of stone, have a grace and delicacy of ornamentation unusual in Najd. Near the north-western corner of the fortified enclosure is the highest point in al-Ṭurayf, the citadel known as al-Darīsha (it is

noteworthy that in Najd, the wellspring of Arabic, the common words for window, *darīsha*, and gate, *darwāza*, are both Persian in origin). Leading up to the citadel from the shelf of palms below is a ramp called Darb Fayṣal after Fayṣal b. Su'ūd, one of the captains guarding the town when Ibrāhīm Pasha besieged it in 1233/1818. The most impressive palace still standing is Maqṣūrat 'Umar on the brink of the northern cliff. Near it is the congregational mosque of al-Ṭurayf in which the Imām 'Abd al-'Azīz was assassinated in 1218/1803. The ruins of al-Ṭurayf are gradually disintegrating because of the ravages of time and the development of a new settlement which is spreading from the foot of the promontory up to its shoulder.

According to the chroniclers of Najd, al-Dir'īyya was first settled in 850/1446–7 when Mānī' b. Rab'ʿa al-Muraydi was given Ghaṣība and al-Mulaybīd by his relative Ibn Dir' of Ḥajar al-Yamāma. Mānī' was an emigrant from the east; his former home, said to have been called al-Dir'īyya, is reported to have been in the region of al-Qaṭīf, but its exact location is not known. Some genealogists state that the Marada, the kinsfolk of Mānī', belong to Banū Ḥanīfa, while others advocate a descent from 'Anaza, which appears to be the prevailing view among members of the Āl Su'ūd. After Mānī' various branches of his descendants took turns in ruling al-Dir'īyya. Ghaṣība seems to have been the original centre and strong point; no record has been found of when it was supplanted by al-Ṭurayf, which topographically enjoys an even greater degree of impregnability. In 1133/1721 Sa'dūn b. Muḥammad Āl Ghurayr of Banū Khālīd, the lord of al-Ḥasā, plundered houses in al-Zuhayra, Malwī, and al-Surayḥa, all settlements still existing along the left bank.

In 1139/1726–7 Muḥammad b. Su'ūd Āl Muqrin, a direct descendant of Mānī', became the independent ruler of al-Dir'īyya, including Ghaṣība. At that time the primacy among the towns of central Najd was held by al-'Uyayna, farther up the valley, under the domination of the Āl Mu'ammār of Tamīm. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, the most powerful representative of this house, died the same year that Muḥammad b. Su'ūd came to power in al-Dir'īyya. Muḥammad b. Su'ūd won a good reputation as a secular lord. In 1157/1744 Shaykh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb chose al-Dir'īyya as his new home when requested to leave al-'Uyayna, his native town,

by 'Uthmān b. Aḥmad Āl Mu'ammār. The Shaykh and Muḥammad b. Su'ūd made a compact to work together in establishing the true version of Islam throughout the land of the Arabs.

The spiritual force of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and the military skill of Muḥammad b. Su'ūd and his son 'Abd al-'Azīz and grandson Su'ūd brought virtually the whole of the Arabian peninsula under the authority of al-Dir'īyya by the early 19th century. Ibn Bishr records his own eye-witness description of the capital in the time of Su'ūd. Much of the land now given over to palms was then occupied by buildings. Particularly vivid are Ibn Bishr's vignettes of the market in the valley bottom, the sunrise religious assembly in the same spot attended by Su'ūd and his resplendent corps of *mamlūks*, Su'ūd's hearing of petitions and dispensing of largesse to his subjects and guests, and the diligent Islamic instruction given by the sons of the Shaykh. Su'ūd was said to own 1,400 Arab horses, of which 600 were taken on campaigns by Bedouins or his *mamlūks*. He had 60 cannon, half of which were of large size. For Najd, al-Dir'īyya had become a very cosmopolitan and expensive centre: visitors from Oman, the Yemen, Syria, and Egypt thronged its bazaar; shops rented for as high as 45 riyals a month, and houses sold for 7,000 riyals. So much building went on that there was a great scarcity of wood.

The first and only European to see al-Dir'īyya while it flourished was J.L. Reinaud, an Arabic-speaking Dutchman (or Englishman?) sent there in 1799 by Samuel Manesty, the East India Company's Resident in Baṣra, to negotiate with the Imām 'Abd al-'Azīz. Reinaud, who spent a week in the oasis, remarked on the simplicity of the ruler's establishment and the sullen hospitality of the inhabitants.

When Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt advanced into Najd with the intention of breaking the power of the Āl Su'ūd, 'Abd Allāh b. Su'ūd, who had succeeded to power in 1229/1814, fortified himself in al-Dir'īyya instead of using the superior mobility of his forces to harass the enemy's over-extended lines of communication. Ibrāhīm, establishing himself athwart the Wādī at al-'Ilb, began a siege which lasted about six months. The attack consisted of a ponderous advance step by step down the Wādī, accompanied by a piecemeal reduction of the numerous towers and barricades of the defenders scattered about the heights on either flank. Ibrāhīm moved his headquarters from

al-Ilb down the Wādī to Qarī Quṣayr (now known in memory of his army as Qurayy al-Rūm), a tributary descending from the north. Sweeping around the oasis, the invader's horse fell on the town of 'Irqa farther down the Wādī. Progress was impeded by the explosion of Ibrāhīm's ammunition depot, but 'Abd Allāh b. Su'ūd failed to exploit this opportunity. Once a new supply of ammunition had been built up, Ibrāhīm resumed pressure on the main front and fought his way into the palm grove of Mushayrifā south of the tributary al-Bulayda, thus gaining access to the promontory of al-Ṭurayf from the heights to the west. A resolute offensive launched at all points brought about the surrender of the capital in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1233/September 1818. After staying in al-Dir'iyya a short time, Ibrāhīm, returned to Egypt. On his orders, the place was systemically torn down in 1819. According to Captain Sadleir, a British officer sent from Bombay to congratulate Ibrāhīm Pasha on the destruction of the Wahhābīs, who saw it almost immediately afterwards, "the walls of the fortification have been completely razed by the Pacha, and the date plantations and gardens destroyed. I did not see one man during my search through these ruins. The gardens of Deriah produced apricots, figs, grapes, pomegranates; and the dates were of a very fine description; citrons were also, mentioned, and many other fruit trees, but I could only discern the mutilated remains of those I have mentioned. Some few tamarisk trees are still to be seen."

An attempt was soon made to restore al-Dir'iyya as the capital. Since many members of the Āl Su'ūd had been killed during the siege or carried off to Cairo, Muḥammad b. Mushārī of the old princely house of Mu'ammār of al-'Uyayna, a nephew on the distaff side of the great Su'ūd, established himself in al-Dir'iyya in October 1819 with the aim of rebuilding the oasis and making himself the head of the reform movement in Najd. A few months later, in 1820, Mushārī b. Su'ūd appeared in al-Dir'iyya, and Ibn Mu'ammār swore allegiance to him as scion of the Āl Su'ūd. Having once tasted power, Ibn Mu'ammār dreamed of regaining it and rebelled against Mushārī b. Su'ūd. Another member of the Āl Su'ūd, Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh, a cousin of the great Su'ūd, now returned to the scene after having escaped Ibrāhīm Pasha's drag net. Turkī sided, with his relative Mushārī b. Su'ūd, but the Egyptian forces got hold of Mushārī and he died in captivity

in 1821. In revenge, Turkī put Ibn Mu'ammār to death. After taking al-Dir'iyya, Turkī also occupied al-Riyād, but the Egyptian troops quickly drove him out. In 1821 Ḥusayn Bey, the new Egyptian commander, ordered all the people who had settled in al-Dir'iyya with Ibn Mu'ammār to go to Tharmadā', the new Egyptian headquarters. After their departure, al-Dir'iyya was destroyed for the second time, trees being cut down and the torch set to whatever was inflammable. In Tharmadā' about 230 men from al-Dir'iyya were paraded on orders from Ḥusayn Bey and slaughtered in cold blood. The obliteration of al-Dir'iyya was complete. When Turkī in 1824 gained strength enough to challenge the Egyptian forces, he attacked them in Riyadh, which he chose as the new capital for his realm in preference to the twice desolated home of his forefathers.

In 1281/1865 Colonel Pelly, the British Resident in the Persian Gulf, passed through al-Dir'iyya on the way to Riyadh; the place seemed to him "utterly deserted". The modern oasis, now encroaching on the territory of its forerunner even in the hallowed precincts of al-Ṭurayf, was described by Philby after his visit in 1336/1917.

The urban sprawl of the modern capital, Riyadh, has fortunately not yet reached as far as al-Dir'iyya, and the Saudi authorities are aware of the outstanding heritage value of the site; one of the palaces there has recently been tastefully rebuilt and renovated by a member of the royal family.

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# F

**FEZ**, in Arabic Fās, French form Fès, a city of northern Morocco and one of the historic capitals of the kingdom of Morocco. It is situated in lat. 34° 6' N., long. 4° 54' W.

## I. TOPOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Fez stands at the north-east extremity of the plain of the Sā'is, at the exact place where the waters of the eastern side of this plain go down into the valley of Sebou via the valley of the Wādī Fez. It is therefore on the easiest route between the Atlantic coast of Morocco and the central Maghrib. Furthermore, one of the least difficult roads across the Middle Atlas to the south passes by way of Sefrou, 30 kms/18 miles south of Fez, and the communications between this last town whether with the Mediterranean coast (Bādis or Vélez) or with the Straits of Gibraltar (Tangier) are relatively easy, too. It might be said that Fez is clearly situated at the point of intersection of two great axes of communication, indicated by the general contours of the country: one axis north-south between the Mediterranean or the Straits of Gibraltar and the Tāfilālt and so beyond to the negro countries; the other west-east between the Atlantic coast and central Maghrib.

Moreover, the site of Fez is rich in water; apart from the river itself and its tributaries, which have been easy to canalise and turn to urban use, numerous springs rise from the steep banks of the watercourses, especially from the left bank, which is actually inside the town. In the immediate vicinity there are quarries which provide building stone,

sand and lime, while the cedar and oak forests of the Middle Atlas are not far away and offer wood of very good quality. Finally, for considerable distances around, the neighbouring country is favourable to all types of farming. Cereals, vines, olives and various kinds of fruit-trees grow here, while not only sheep and goats but cows also can be raised here.

Nevertheless, it seems that no urban centre existed on this privileged site before the Muslim town came into being. Archaeology has not confirmed the vague legendary tradition of Ibn Abī Zar's *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, according to which a very ancient town existed long ago on the site of Fez. It can therefore be regarded as likely that Fez came into being at the end of the 2nd/8th century at the desire of the Idrīsids. It has even long been believed, on the strength of the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, supported by numerous other authors, that Fez was founded by Idrīs b. Idrīs on I Rabī' I 192/4 January 808. The young king was thought to have then founded his town on the right bank of the Wādī Fez, and a lunar year later to the day, that is to say on 22 December 808, to have founded a second town on the left bank. Intrigued by this double foundation for which no explanation has been given, E. Lévi-Provençal studied the question very thoroughly and showed (*La fondation de Fès*, in *AIEO Alger*, iv [1938], 23–52), that there existed another tradition less well-known but older on the founding of Fez; this took it back to Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh, father of Idrīs b. Idrīs. He is said to have founded the town on the right bank in 172/789 under the name of Madīnat Fās. Death intervened before he had time to develop it, and twenty years later his son is believed to have



founded a town for himself on the left bank, which was given the name of al-‘Āliya. This tradition seems much more likely.

In any case, it is certain that for several centuries two cities, barely separated by the trickle of water in the Wādī Fās but frequently ranged against each other in bitter rivalry, co-existed and developed with difficulty, each hindering the other. During the whole time of the Idrīsids, that is to say until the beginning of the 4th/10th century, dynastic quarrels disturbed the life of the double city; then, during the first third of that century, it became one of the stakes in the struggle between the Umayyads of Spain and the Fatimids of Ifrīqiya, which was frequently staged in the north of Morocco. During the thirty years between 980 and 1012, it lived under the protection of the Umayyads and seems then to have enjoyed a certain prosperity. When the caliphate of Cordova began to be in jeopardy, it came under the authority of the Zenāta Berbers who, far from always agreeing among themselves, revived the ancient rivalries between the twin towns up to the time of the coming of the Almoravids.

The traditional date of the conquest of Fez by the Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn is 461/1069, but in a posthumous article (*La fondation de Marrakech*, in *Mél. d’Hist. et d’Archéol. de l’Occ. Mus.*, Algiers 1957, ii, 117–120) E. Lévi-Provençal, following al-Bakrī, showed that the traditional chronology should be treated with caution and that the foundation of Marrakech and consequently the conquest of Fez, which occurred after this, ought probably to be dated a few years later. Whatever the case, the Almoravid conquest marks a very important date in the history of Fez, since Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn combined the two towns into one and made it his essential military base in northern Morocco. There is therefore good justification to consider the Almoravid conqueror as the second founder of Fez: it was he who did away with the duality which had for so long prejudiced the city’s development; it was he also who marked out for it the direction in which it was to develop in the future by building to the west of the two original towns and on the very edge of the plain of the Sā’is, an important fortress, now disappeared, which stimulated the growth of more new quarters between it and the original ones. The Almoravids were also responsible for the growth in importance of the principal sanctuary of the left bank area, the

Qarawiyyīn mosque (Jāmi‘ al-Qarawiyyīn). This sanctuary had been built of modest size, it seems, in the 4th/10th century. The Almoravid ‘Alī b. Yūsuf had it destroyed with the exception of the minaret which still stands (Fig. 42) and in its place built a mosque of vast dimensions, sumptuously ornamented by Andalusian artisans. It is also probable that the principal works in the Wādī Fās, thanks to which the city has possessed a system of running water from a very early date, go back to the Almoravid epoch. Fez lived thus under the Almoravids for almost three-quarters of a century (467?–540/1075?–1145), one of the most prosperous periods of its existence, but a period about which unfortunately we have all too little detailed information.

The Almohad conquest marks a brief pause in the history of Fez. When ‘Abd al-Mu‘min attacked it in 540/1145, the city, which had every good reason for remaining faithful to the Almoravids, put up a violent resistance. The Almohad only conquered it after a hard siege, and punished the town by razing the Almoravid *qaṣaba* and the city ramparts. But like the Almoravids, the Almohads had need of Fez and the town grew afresh, in proportions of which al-Idrīsī’s account gives a fair idea. It is a city in full development and at the height of economic progress that he describes in his work, The fourth Almohad caliph, al-Nāṣir, even ordered on the very day after the defeat of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), that the ramparts of Fez should be reconstructed. The general outline of these and a good part of their masonry date from this period (Fig. 40). Thus the old city of Fez attained the proportions that we now know. Its surrounding wall is pierced by eight huge gates, four on each bank, and it seems certain that empty spaces, gardens and orchards, once existed within this enclosure.

A century later, Fez changed masters anew and came under the authority of the Marīnids. Though badly received at first, the new masters succeeded in raising the city’s prosperity to a height as yet unknown. Unlike the Almoravids and the Almohads, they did not come from the south but from the east, and Fez was the first large town which they had succeeded in conquering; hence they made it their capital and relegated Marrakech to second place. Because of this, the fortunes of Fez were assured for several centuries. The new court lived at first in the *qaṣaba* which the Almohads had reconstructed on the site

of the ancient Almoravid *qaṣaba*, in the district now called Bū Julūd (probably a popular corruption of Abu 'l-Junūd). They soon found themselves cramped for space here; hence the Marīnid sovereign Abū Yūsuf (656–85/1258–86) decided to found a royal and administrative town to the west of the ancient one, on the extreme borders of the plain of the Sā'is, and the foundations were laid out on 3 Shawwāl 674/21 March 1276. This new urban centre was at first named *al-Madīna al-Bayḍā'* (the white city), but has been known for a very long time and still is known as Fās al-Jadīd (New Fez). It consisted essentially of the palace, various administrative buildings, a great mosque (Fig. 41) to which were added little by little various other sanctuaries, barracks, the homes of various important Marīnid dignitaries, and later, in the 9th/15th century, a special quarter in which the Jews were compelled to live. From the beginning, this town was surrounded by a double city wall, broken by only a few gates. In the 10th/16th century, these were reinforced by a number of bastions capable of supporting cannon.

Thus Fez became again a double urban centre, with a middle-class and commercial town, Fās al-Bālī (Ancient Fez), known locally as "al-Madīna" (i.e. the "town" proper), and an administrative and military centre which complemented rather than entered into competition with the first. The description which Leo Africanus gives of Fez at the beginning of the 16th century gives the impression of an active and heavily populated city, so heavily populated indeed that several areas of lightly constructed buildings had been established outside the ramparts, especially to the north-west of the ancient city. It was a commercial and industrial city (notable for its textiles and leather-goods), but also a city of religion and learning, where around the Qarawiyyīn Mosque flourished what J. Berque has called "the School of Fez" (*Ville et université. Aperçu sur l'histoire de l'École de Fez*, in *Rev. hist. de Droit fr. et étr.* [1949]), and finally a centre of art, thanks to the country palaces built by the Marīnids on the hills which dominate Fez to the north, but thanks above all to the colleges (*madrasas*) built mainly in the 8th/14th century by various Marīnid princes around the Qarawiyyīn Mosque, the Mosque of the Andalusians in the upper part of the old town, and in Fās al-Jadīd. These colleges are almost all ornamented with good taste and variety and form one of the greatest adornments of Fez.

This favourable situation lasted for three centuries, during which Fez enjoyed political, economic and intellectual primacy throughout Morocco as well as in the western regions of what is now Algeria, and was in economic and cultural relations with the western Sahara as far as the loop of the Niger. In 870–1/1465, the city was the scene of an attempt to restore the Idrīsids, which hung fire; the Waṭṭāsids, successors of the Marīnids, do not seem to have been very hard in their treatment of those concerned, as is shown by the description of Leo Africanus who describes an active and flourishing city.

Nevertheless, the Sa'dī *sharīfs*, masters of Marrakech since 931/1524 (R. Le Tourneau, *Les débuts de la dynastie sa'dienne*, Algiers 1954) gradually extended their influence over the rest of Morocco, threatened Fez from 954/1547 on, and thanks to inside intrigues, managed to get hold of it on 28 Dhu 'l-Hijja 955/28 January 1549. This change of dynasty was not a good thing for the city, for the Sa'dīs, a southern people, had already made Marrakech their capital. Fez became once again the second city of the Sharīfian empire. At first it accepted this situation very unwillingly, and welcomed the Waṭṭāsīd pretender, Abū Ḥassūn, when he put the Sa'dīs to flight on 2 Ṣafar 961/7th January 1554 with the help of a small Turkish force which had accompanied him from Algiers. But this venture was not to be successful for long; the Sa'dīs returned in force in Shawwāl 968/September 1554. Abū Ḥassūn, who had been forced to discharge his over-enterprising Turkish allies, was killed in battle beneath the walls of Fez, and the city came back into the possession of the conquerors. These did not long continue to treat the opposition harshly, reinforced its defences, perhaps in order to hold it more strongly, and put in hand works of improvement and embellishment at the Qarawiyyīn Mosque. A diminished but still prosperous situation was the lot of Fez in the second half of the 10th/16th century.

When the Sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr died at Fez on 16 Rabī' I 1012/25 August 1603, his sons fought savagely over the succession and brought about a state of anarchy in Morocco which lasted more than sixty years (R. Le Tourneau, *La décadence sa'dienne et l'anarchie marocaine au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Ann. de la Fac. des Lettres d'Aix*, xxxii [1958], 187–225). Fez was caught up in this whirlwind of violence, conquered by naked force, and despoiled in various reconquests; very

grave internal disputes added to its misfortunes and for more than fifty years it suffered the darkest period of its history. It was an exhausted city of which the 'Alawid pretender, Mawlāy al-Rāshid, took possession in 1076/1666.

Under the power of this energetic prince, the city's wounds began to heal and it began to come to life again, with the help of a sovereign who was putting in hand great works of public utility (construction of a bridge over the neighbouring Sebou, of two fortresses to the west of the ancient town, restoration of a bridge over the Wādī Fās, creation of a new *madrassa* in addition to those built by the Marīnids) when he was killed accidentally in 1082/1672. His brother, Mawlāy Ismā'īl, who replaced him, was also a remarkable man but he detested Fez; he had a new capital constructed at Meknès and continued to insult and offend the people of Fez throughout his long reign of fifty-five years, to such a degree that the city was becoming depopulated. On the death of Mawlāy Ismā'īl (1139/1727) matters became even worse; several of his sons fought over the succession and, just as in the preceding century, Morocco fell back into a grave state of anarchy. Once again, for a period of thirty years, Fez was delivered up to the caprices of ephemeral rulers, among them Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh who detested its people, and to the pillaging of the soldiery, especially that of the military tribe of Ūdāya. At last, when Sayyidī Muḥammad (1171–1204/1757–90) succeeded his father, 'Abd Allāh, Fez was granted a long period of respite, which was disturbed only briefly by the disorders which darkened the end of Mawlāy Sulaymān's reign (1207–30/1792–1824). Its position as capital was restored and it shared this with Marrakech up to the beginning of the 20th century. Then Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz, freed from the tutelage of his Vizier, Bā Aḥmad, adopted a policy of modernisation which raised a large part of the Moroccan population against him.

In the course of the second half of the 19th century, many Fez merchants had entered into contact with various European or African countries (England, Spain, France, Italy, Germany, French West Africa) and the city was gradually being drawn into international trade. Moreover, a number of Europeans and Americans (soldiers, diplomats, clergy, doctors, businessmen) came and settled in the city of Idrīs. The destiny of Fez, like that of the rest of Morocco,

was beginning to take a new turn. Furthermore the Sultan Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1290–1311/1873–94) had undertaken important public works in this city, where he normally lived when he was not travelling around the country at the head of his army; he set up a small-arms factory near his palace, the Makīna; he connected by long walls the two urban areas of Fās al-Jadīd and the Madīna, which had remained separated so far, and had a new palace built at Bū Julūd, on the edge of the Madīna.

From 1901 onwards, Fez once again faced disturbed conditions; it was threatened in 1903 by the pretender, Bū Ḥmāra; then when Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz was forced to abdicate in 1908, Fez raised to power a descendant of its founder Idrīs, the Sharīf Muḥammad al-Kattānī. However, he did not succeed in raising an army and could not prevent the sultan proclaimed in Marrakech, Mawlāy 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, from installing himself in the city. Unrest continued, however, and the new sovereign, threatened in his capital by Berber tribes from the Middle Atlas, finally appealed to the French army for help in 1911. A column commanded by General Moinier came and encamped under the walls of Fez, the first time that a European army had been in contact with the city; the troops established themselves south of Fās al-Jadīd, at Dār al-Dubaybagh (colloquial pronunciation: Dār ad-Dbībagh), a country house built by Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh in the 18th century. On 30 March 1912, in the following year, the Protectorate treaty between France and Morocco was signed in a room of the palace of Bū Julūd. A few days later (16 and 17 April 1912), Moroccan troops revolted and massacred a number of Europeans, while at the same time others were rescued by the people of Fez. A little later, General Lyautey, the first French Resident-General of Morocco, was besieged in Fez by rebellious Berber tribes; the town was set free by a column under General Gouraud (end of May – beginning of June, 1912). From that time on Fez was able to live in peace and organise itself for a new type of life.

A European town soon began to rise on a vast flat area in the region of Dār ad-Dbībagh; it was called Dār ad-Dbībagh in Arabic and the "Ville Nouvelle" in French. The palace of Bū Julūd became the seat of the Resident-General, and the Bū Julūd district began to fill up with many Europeans. Behind the city walls of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan, there arose administrative

buildings adapted to their mediaeval style. The merchants of Fez quickly accommodated themselves to the new economic conditions of the country. Very early on, some of them went and established themselves at Casablanca, without however breaking off all contact with their ancestral city. A system of modern education was organised alongside the traditional religious teaching.

Perhaps startled by so many novelties, the city of Fez retired into its shell for a few years, but soon began to take an attitude of discreet opposition to the new régime. The Rif war and the first successes of 'Abd Karīm (1925) raised fear of pillage and hopes of liberation. Little by little, a young people's party turned towards political action hostile to the Protectorate, and led the opposition against the *ẓahīr* on the organisation of justice in Berber regions (16 May 1930). In 1937 and 1944, at the time of political crises which ended finally in the demand for independence of 11 January 1944, Fez was the scene of important demonstrations. Nevertheless, the political centre of gravity of Morocco was shifting towards Rabat and Casablanca, and Fez played no more than a secondary part in the events which, between 1953 and 1956, led to the proclamation of Morocco's independence.

In the post-1950 period, Fez has been made up of four main centres: 1. the Madīna; 2. Fās al-Jadīd, itself composed of three elements, a little Muslim town of the more humble strata of the population, the palace and its dependencies and the former Jewish quarter or Mellāḥ (the former substantial Jewish community having virtually all emigrated either after 1948, or, especially, after 1956, to France or Israel); 3. the New City (Ville Nouvelle), founded in 1916 by the Resident-General, Marshal Lyautey, but with the greater part of its French residents emigrating to France after 1956; and 4. a new Muslim town situated to the northwest of the palace and created since 1950 according to modern planning standards. Around this core area, however, many bidonvilles of rural emigrants have sprung up. Industrial and craft activities within the city have remained largely traditional, including leather goods, textiles and food processing, with a flourishing agricultural hinterland, although its position in 1900 as the main commercial city of Morocco has long given place to Casablanca. Nevertheless, Fez retains intellectual prestige from

its being still centre of traditional learning grouped round the Qarawiyyīn, and has also benefited much from modern tourism.

Recently, Fez has been designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage City. According to the 2004 census, the city has a population of 947,000.

## II. MONUMENTS

### 1. *The Idrīsids*

We know of the two places of prayer which formed the origins of the two great sanctuaries of the city only from brief accounts. The mosque of Fāṭima in the quarter of the Qarawiyyīn (242/857) and the mosque of the Andalusians in the quarter of the same name (245/859–60) were buildings of medium size, with naves parallel to the *qibla* wall, with *ṣaḥns* planted with trees, and minarets of very modest height. Some rubble remains of the surrounding wall exist in the quarter of the Qarawiyyīn but, in the absence of all traces of doors or towers, these are not sufficient to allow us to plot the main lines of this first rampart. The settlements founded by the two Idrīs attained urban status only very gradually, and there can have been few monuments built during this period.

### 2. *The Ẓenāta Amīrs*

After a troubled period, the city began to develop a certain amount of artistic activity under the Ẓenāta Amīrs, who were allies and vassals of the Umayyads of Cordova. After a Fatimid incursion, the mosque of Fāṭima, from that time on called the Qarawiyyīn, and that of the Andalusians, became the congregational mosques of the two quarters (321/933). The two structures were rebuilt and enlarged under the Maghrāwa Amīrs: their naves, still parallel to the wall of the *qibla*, were made of rows of horseshoe brick arches; the axial naves were bordered with bastions of stone with a four-leaved plan. The two minarets, built in 349/956, still exist. That of the Qarawiyyīn (Fig. 42) was built on the orders and at the expense of Sultan 'Abd al-Raḥmān III of Cordova. In their proportions and their square plan, with staircases surrounding a central newel, the two stone towers

resemble the Andalusian type of minaret, but their copings of projecting string-courses and cupolas belong to the Ifrīqiyan type. Andalusian influences were only beginning to be added to the African and oriental elements which had come from Aghlabid Tunisia.

The actions of the Umayyads in the Maghrib were hardly ever concerned with the spread of artistic influence: the ancient *minbar* of the mosque of the Andalusians, detached from a more recent one in the course of a restoration of the sanctuary, bears witness to the persistence of oriental influences. Made in 369/980 at the time of the occupation of Fez by the Zīrid Buluggīn, this pulpit of turned and carved wood is of a completely Fatimid style. When in 375/986 an Umayyad expedition retook the town, they began by destroying this Shi'ite pulpit; but once this pious fury had passed, they saw that the ancient *minbar*, repaired and provided with a new seat-back to the greater glory of orthodoxy, could very well continue to be used, and an artist was found to make the repairs and additions in the original style. This pulpit, after that of Kairouan, the oldest of all the *minbars* which have come down to us, is the only monument which remains as a witness of the struggles between the Fatimids and the Umayyads in Morocco.

Thus Fez awakened little by little to artistic life under the prevailing influence of Kairouan, and in the middle of the 4th/10th century had also received some influences from Andalusian sources.

### 3. *The Almoravids*

The period of the Almoravids was a decisive one in the architectural history of Fez. Although the Ṣanhāja Amīrs took Marrakech, the city which they had founded, as their capital, they nevertheless did not forget the great city of the north. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn united the two quarters of the Qarawiyyīn and the Andalusians and at their highest point built the Qaṣba (*qaṣaba*) of Bū Jlūd (Abu 'l-Julūd). He was soon to become master of Muslim Spain, the whole of whose artistic resources were put at the service of the African amīrs. Hispano-Moorish art, which became the dominant factor in Fez as in Marrakech, eliminated the Ifrīqiyan influences under which the city had lived up to this time. In becoming attached to the artistic tradition under which it was to continue up to our own times, Fez became an artistic metropolis.

The second Almoravid sultan, 'Alī b. Yūsuf, gave the Qarawiyyīn mosque its present dimensions and form by enlarging it on the *qibla* side and on the side of the *ṣahn*, and by working over all the earlier parts. The work was executed between 529/1135 and 536/1142. The arrangement of naves parallel to the wall of the chevet was retained, but a higher axial nave leading to the *mihrāb* was inserted between the ancient and new naves of the hall of prayer. A row of rich cupolas – above all domes with stalactites – covered it. The Almoravid enlargements were made of glazed or bonded brick, which on the outer wall of the *mihrāb* formed a very beautiful interlacing design. Inside the building, in the great axial nave, rich sculptured decorations, heightened with colour, had been covered with plaster by the Almohads in the period of their rigorous puritanism. These magnificent ornaments, mainly epigraphic and floral, were uncovered in the course of a restoration of the whole of the building directed by H. Terrasse. The whole art of Muslim Spain, as it had been elaborated in the 5th/11th century, with its profuse richness, its erudite composition and its nervous elegance, is revealed in this Moroccan mosque.

The al-Qarawiyyīn mosque preserves the *minbar* of carved wood and marquetry which was given to it by 'Alī b. Yūsuf. Second in Morocco only to the one at present in the Kutubiyya at Marrakech, the work of the same ruler, it is one of the most beautiful in all Islam. The great mosque of Fez, long unknown in detail, has become once again the greatest witness to Hispano-Moorish art in the time of the Almoravids.

### 4. *The Almohads*

The Almohads, who kept Marrakech as their capital, were slower to interest themselves in Fez. They gave a congregational mosque to the Qaṣba of Bū Jlūd. Under Muḥammad al-Nāṣir, the mosque of the Andalusians was reconstructed, with the exception of its minaret. The ancient Zīrid and Almoravid *minbar* was covered, except for its seat-back, with a new sculptured decoration. At the Qarawiyyīn, which was given a great ornamental chandelier and a room for ritual ablutions, some works of detail were carried out. But the greatest work of the Almohads was the reconstruction of the great city wall (Fig. 40) which

still to-day surrounds Fās al-Bālī. Bāb Gīsa (Jīsa) and Bāb Maḥrūk, more or less repaired or altered, date for the main part from this period. During the whole time of the Almohads, Fez was very prosperous, and Andalusian influences continued to prevail there without rival.

### 5. The Marīnids

Under the Marīnids, Fez became the capital of Morocco. In 674/1276, a little while after his victory over the last of the Almohads, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb founded, at a short distance to the west of the old town, a new administrative city, Fās al-Jadīd. Here he built his palaces, which he endowed with a great mosque (Figs. 41, 44) and here he installed his guard and the administrative services of the state. Fās al-Jadīd was surrounded by a mighty rampart with inner and outer walls and furnished with monumental gates. Three of these gates, Bāb al-Sammārīn, Bāb al-Bākākīn and Bāb al-Makhzan still exist to-day, very little altered. The palaces of the Marīnids have been replaced by more modern buildings, but some of their vaulted store-houses are still to be seen there.

Other sanctuaries were built later on at Fās al-Jadīd: the Ḥamrā' mosque, doubtless in the reign of Abū Sa'īd (710–31/1310–31), the little sanctuary of Lāllā Zhar (Zahr, 759/1357) built by Abū 'Inān, and finally the mosque of Lāllā Gharība (810/1408), whose minaret alone has been preserved. The great mosque of Ḥamrā' and Lāllā Zhar are beautiful buildings of harmonious proportions and quiet luxury. In 720/1320, Abū Sa'īd had a *madrasa* constructed, which is to-day in a very damaged condition.

The Marīnids did not forget Fās al-Bālī. There they built several small mosques such as the Sharābliyyīn and Abu 'l-Ḥasan, whose sanctuaries have been rebuilt but which still preserve some carved wood from this period and, even more important, their graceful minarets. All the Marīnid minarets of Fās al-Jadīd and Fās al-Bālī consist of square towers with turrets. Their façades are decorated with interlaced designs in brick enclosing backgrounds of mosaic faïence. Other *azulejos* in the form of polygonal stars cover the wide string-course at the top of the tower. They are perfect examples of the classic type of Hispano-Moorish minaret.

But the old town was indebted above all to the Marīnids for the glorious beauty of the *madrasas* of

this period. These are students' colleges arranged around luxurious courtyards at the back of which are situated halls of prayer. As early as 670/1271, the founder of the dynasty, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, built the *madrasa* of the Ṣaffārīn. The Ṣahrīj (720/1321) (Fig. 45), Ṣba'īyyīn (723/1323) and 'Aṭṭārīn (743/1346) *madrasas* were built in the time of Abū Sa'īd. Abu 'l-Ḥasan founded the Miṣbāḥiyya (743/1346), and Abū 'Inān the one which bears his name, the Bū 'Ināniyya (Figs. 39, 43). Outwardly each of different appearance, all the *madrasas* built in this last great epoch of Hispano-Moorish art are extremely beautiful. The decorations which cover them are admirably arranged and the detail of the ornament is worthy of the harmony of the whole. The latest in date and the largest, the Bū 'Ināniyya, which is the only one to possess a *minbar* and a minaret, is the last great masterpiece of the classic period of Hispano-Moorish art to be found in Morocco.

The Almoravid and Almohad monuments were planned and decorated by artists who came from Spain, but towards the end of the 7th/13th century Fez had its own workshops, closely linked with those of Granada. From the beginning of the 8th/14th century onwards, beautiful houses were erected both in Fās al-Jadīd and Fās al-Bālī, which, like the *madrasas*, were adorned with floors and facings of faïence mosaic, plaster and carved wood. The same decorative style prevailed in sanctuaries, palaces and rich homes. The masonry, also very homogeneous in style, is less beautiful but almost as delicate as the ornament. In the walls, stone gives place to bonded or glazed brick, and often also to cobwork. Cedar wood plays a large part in all the architecture of Fez. Whether in beams, lintels, corbelling, ceilings or *artesonados* domes, it provides both roof beams and cover for all types of buildings. In the framework of doors and openings and in joinery, it is moulded, decorated with pieces of applied ornament or carved. At the tops of walls and courtyards, it is worked into friezes and projecting porches resting upon carved and painted corbels. This wide use of wood, the frequency of pillars and the rarity of columns, are the only characteristics which distinguish the Marīnid monuments from contemporary Naṣrid buildings. Vaulted architecture is to be found only in the great store-houses of Fās al-Jadīd and in the *ḥammāms*, which follow the very simple plans of the Andalusian baths.

Thus under the Marīnids, Fez received not only its shape as two distinct agglomerations, but also its architectural appearance. Henceforth it was second only to Granada as the most active centre of Hispano-Moorish art. Once Muslim Spain had disappeared, all the processes of masonry, techniques and ornamental forms inherited from the 14th century continued to be used in Fez up to our own times, in a slow decline and with a touching fidelity.

#### 6. *The Saʿdīs*

The end of the Marīnid dynasty and the reign of the Wattāsids produced no great monuments in Fez. Nevertheless, its buildings maintained the same architectural and decorative traditions as those of the art which preceded this period. Relations with Granada had become more rare, and from the end of the 8th/14th century onwards, the latest innovations in ornament of the Alhambra of Muḥammad V had not been passed on to Fez. Moreover, in 896/1492, Granada was reconquered. In the victorious thrust of Renaissance art in Spain, Hispano-Moorish art became confined by the 10th/16th century to its African domain.

Under the Saʿdīs, who struggled for a long time against the Wattāsids for the possession of Fez, the city went through difficult times. Marrakech once again became the capital of Morocco and the sultans distrusted the metropolis of the north. They reinforced the ramparts of Fās al-Jadīd, which remained the headquarters of government, with bastions for the use of cannon. Two works of the same kind but even more powerful, the northern *burj* and the southern *burj*, dominated and overlooked Fās al-Bālī. The Qarawiyyīn was enriched with two fountain kiosks, jutting out of the shorter sides of the *ṣahn* (Fig. 42). In the anarchy in which the Saʿdī dynasty dissolved, Fez passed through terrible times and in such a troubled period no monuments could be constructed.

#### 7. *The ʿAlawīs*

The founder of the dynasty, Mawlāy al-Rashīd, hastened to give Fās al-Bālī a new *madrasa*, that of the Sharṛāṭīn (1081/1670). His successor, Mawlāy Ismāʿīl, transferred his capital to Meknès. Nevertheless, he had the mausoleum and sanctuary of Mawlāy Idṛīs rebuilt.

At the beginning of the 18th century, Fez once again became the customary residence of the sultan and the central government. Almost all the sovereigns, from Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Allāh onwards, had work done on the palaces of Fās al-Jadīd. The most important groups of buildings which still exist to-day date mainly from Mawlāy ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (1822–59) and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (1873–94). The ramparts were repaired many times and one of the great gates, Bāb al-Futūḥ, was entirely rebuilt by Mawlāy Sulaymān.

Numerous sanctuaries, whether congregational mosques or simple places of prayer, were built in Fez under the ʿAlawī sovereigns and very often through their initiative. The most important of these were the mosques of Bāb Gīsa (Jīsa), of al-Raṣīf and of al-Siyāj at Fās al-Bālī, and the mosque of Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh at Fās al-Jadīd. Local mosques, places of prayer dedicated to saints, headquarters of Sufi brotherhoods, were built in great numbers. Sanctuaries of reasonably large dimensions consisted according to local tradition of naves parallel to the wall of the *qibla*. The minarets were square towers surmounted by turrets but the decoration of a network of interlacing and faïence was almost always omitted and the walls of brick, glazed or not, were ornamented with simple blind arcades. Some little sanctuaries still keep their “platform” minarets of a very archaic type. An occasional *madrasa* was built: those of Bāb Gīsa and al-Wād preserve very nearly the traditional arrangement.

Most of the houses of Fez date from the ʿAlawī period but continue the Marīnid tradition. The walls are made either of cobwork or more commonly of brick, and sometimes of coated rubble. In the old town, the houses rise vertically, mostly on two floors around narrow court-yards. These houses, though poor in light and ventilation, are nevertheless sometimes sumptuous; the pillars of the courtyard and the bases of the walls are panelled in faïence mosaics; carved plaster often ornaments the door and window frames and the tympanums of the openings, and sometimes even the walls themselves. A cornice of moulded or even carved cedar-wood crowns the whole. The ceilings and the joinery – also of cedar-wood – are worked with care. In the less dense outlying districts, there are lower houses around vast court-yards and even gardens. The *funduqs*, with several storeys and galleries, follow the same arrange-

ment as that of the Marīnid hostleries, and are, in this city of commerce, very often beautiful buildings.

Thus in the work of these last centuries there is nothing new, but a remarkable fidelity to a great architectural and decorative tradition. Despite the baldness of the ornamental detail, both the civil and the religious architecture of Fez preserves, sometimes not without grandeur, a sense of balance which does not exclude the picturesque. Above all, a perfect unity of style, maintained by guilds of artisans, knowing and loving their work, has given Fās al-Bālī and, even more, Fās al-Jadīd, an astonishing harmony. Regulations concerning matters of art have succeeded in preserving in Fez, as in other ancient cities in Morocco, their originality and beauty. In Fez, more than elsewhere, there has been preserved the architectural and decorative climate of Muslim Andalusia.

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### 2. MONUMENTS

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## G

**GHAZNA**, a town of eastern Afghanistan situated 145 km/90 miles southwest of Kabul in lat. 68° 18' E., long. 33° 44' N. at an altitude of 2,220 m/7,280 feet. In the 5th–6th/11th–12th centuries it was the capital of a dynasty, Turkish in origin but heavily Persianised, the Ghaznavids, who dominated the eastern fringes of the Iranian world and north-western India.

The original form of the name must have been \**Ganzak* < *ganja* “treasury”, with a later metathesis in eastern Iranian of *-nz/-nj-* to *-zn-*, and this etymology indicates that Ghazna was already in pre-Islamic times the metropolis of the surrounding region of Zābulistān. The parallel forms *Ghaznī* (in present-day use) and *Ghaznīn* must go back to forms like *Ghaznik* and *Ghaznēn*; the geographer Maqdisī and the anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* (end of 4th/10th century) have *Ghaznīn*, and Yāqūt says that this is the correct, learned form.

The oldest mention of the town seems to be in the 2nd century A.D., when Ptolemy gives Ga(n)zaka in the region of Paropamisadai, locating it 1,100 *stadia* from Kabul, but to the north of that town. It must have been of some significance under the successive waves of military conquerors in this region, such as the Kushans and Ephthalites. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang (7th century A.D.) mentions it as Ho(k)-si(k)-na = Ghaznik, and describes it as the chief town of the independent kingdom of Tsau-kiu-ch’a = Zābulistān. Buddhism was known in the region, for recent excavations at Ghazna have uncovered a Buddhist site and many clay and terracotta buddhas have been found. (It should be noted that

A. Bombaci, in *East and West*, vii [1957], 255–6, doubts the accepted identification of Ghazna with the places mentioned by Ptolemy and Hiuen-Tsang.)

The history of Ghazna in the first three Islamic centuries is most obscure. The armies of the Arab governors of Khurasan and Sīstān penetrated into Zābulistān in ‘Abd al-Malik’s reign and fought the local ruler, the Zunbīl, whose summer quarters were in Zābulistān (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 397; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 488). The population of this area was doubtless basically Iranian, but with a considerable admixture of Turkish and other Central Asian peoples brought in by earlier waves of conquest; as the homeland of Rustam, Zābulistān plays a part in the Iranian national epic as the homeland of heroes. At the end of the 3rd/9th century, the Saffarids Ya‘qūb and ‘Amr b. Layth reached Ghazna and Kabul, defeating the Zunbīl of that time, but it is only with the 4th/10th century that the history of Ghazna, by then a theoretical dependency of the Samanids, becomes reasonably clear.

In 351/962 a Samanid slave commander, Alptigin, came to Ghazna with an army and established himself there, defeating the local ruler Abū ‘Alī Lawīk or Anūk, described as a brother-in-law of the Hindūshāhī Kabul Shāh. In 366/977 another slave commander, Sebūktigin, rose to power in Ghazna, and under the dynasty which he founded, that of the Ghaznavids, the town entered the two most glorious centuries of its existence. It now became the capital of a vast empire, stretching at Sultan Maḥmūd’s death in 421/1030 from western Persia to the Ganges valley, and it shared with Kabul a dominating

position on the borderland between the Islamic and Indian worlds; according to Ibn Ḥawqal<sup>2</sup>, 450, Ghazna's Indian trade did not suffer with the coming of Alptigin's army and the temporary severance of political links with India. It was still at this time, and for several decades to come, a frontier fortress town on the edge of the pagan Indian world; in the reign of Mas'ūd I of Ghazna (421–32/1030–41) there was still a Sālār or commander of the *ghāzīs* of Ghazna (Bayhaqī, *Tā'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād, Tehrān 1324/1945, 254; cf. the anecdote in the first discourse of Nizāmī 'Arūḍī's *Chahār maqāla* describing the attacks in Maḥmūd's reign of the infidels on the nearby town of Lāmghān). The geographers of the later 4th/10th century stress that Ghazna was an entrepôt (*furḍa*) for the trade between Ghazna and India, that it was a resort of merchants and that its inhabitants enjoyed prosperity and ease of life. They expatiate on its freedom from noxious insects and reptiles and its healthy climate. In winter, snow fell there extensively, and the historian Bayhaqī describes graphically how in the summer of 422/1031 torrential rain caused the stream flowing through the Ghazna suburb of Afghān-Shāl to swell and burst its banks, carrying away the bridge and destroying many caravanserais, markets and houses. Ghazna itself was not in a fertile spot and had few or no gardens, but the surrounding country of Zābulistān was fertile and the town accordingly enjoyed an abundance of provisions. Al-Tha'ālībī lists among the specialities of the Ghazna region *amīrī* apples and rhubarb, and Fakhr-i Mudabbir Mubārakshāh mentions monster pears from there, *pīl-amrūd* "elephant-pears".

Al-Maqdisī describes the layout of Ghazna as it was during Sebūktigin's time. It had a citadel, *qal'a*, in the centre of the town (the modern Bālā Ḥiṣār), with the ruler's palace; a town proper or *madīna*, in which many of the markets were situated, and which had a wall and four gates; and a suburb, *rabād*, containing the rest of the markets and houses. The citadel and *madīna* had been rebuilt by Ya'qūb and 'Amr b. Layth (Bayhaqī, 261). Work in the 1950s by the Italian Archaeological Mission at Ghazna has shown that the houses of the great men lay on the hill slopes to the east of the modern town, on the way to the Rawḍa-yi Sulṭān, where lies Maḥmūd's tomb. In this vicinity are the two decorated brick towers built by Mas'ūd III and Bahrām Shāh, which may be the minarets of mosques, and not necessarily towers of victory as

early western visitors to Ghazna imagined. The site of a fine palace has also been uncovered here. We learn from Bayhaqī that Maḥmūd had a palace at Afghān-Shāl, the Ṣad-Hazāra garden and the Firūzī palace and garden where he was eventually buried. His son Mas'ūd decided in 427/1035–6 to build a splendid new palace to his own design (Bayhaqī, 499, 539–41). For the erection and decoration of these and other buildings, the spoils of India were used; it seems that objects of precious metals and captured Hindu statues were directly incorporated into the palace fabrics as trophies of war. With the plunder brought back from the expedition of 409/1018 to Kanawj and Muttra, Maḥmūd decided to build a great new mosque in Ghazna, to be known as the *'Arīs al-Falak* "Bride of the Heavens"; to this was attached a *madrasa* containing a library of books filched from Khurasan and the west ('Utbī-Manīnī, ii, 290–300). Other constructional works by Maḥmūd included elephant stables (*pīl-khāna*) to house 1,000 beasts, with quarters for their attendants, and various irrigation works in the district; one of his dams, the Band-i Sulṭān, a few miles to the north of the town, has survived to this day. For all these building works, it is probable that the early Ghaznavids imported skilled artisans from Persia and even from India, for Zābulistān had no artistic traditions of its own.

After the Ghaznavids' loss of their western territories, Ghazna and Lahore became their two main centres, and the minting of coins was concentrated on these two towns. In the first half of the 6th/12th century, Ghazna was twice occupied by Saljuq armies (510/1117 and 529/1135), but a much greater disaster occurred in 545/1150–1 when 'Alā' al-Dīn Ḥusayn of Ghūr sacked the town in vengeance for two of his brothers killed by the Ghaznavid Bahrām Shāh; this orgy of destruction earned for him his title of *Jahān-sūz* "World-incendiary". However, Ghazna seems to have recovered to some extent. It was finally lost to the Ghaznavids in 558/1163, and after an occupation by a group of Ghuzz from Khurasan, passed into Ghurid hands, becoming the capital of the Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad. After the latter's death in 599/1203, it was held briefly by one of the Ghurids' Turkish slave commanders, Tāj al-Dīn Yildiz, but in 612/1215–16 came into the possession of the Ghurids' supplanters, the Khwārazm Shāhs. But Jalāl al-Dīn Mengübirṭ's governorship there was short. He was driven into India by Chingiz

Khān's Mongols in 618/1221, and the town was then sacked by the latter.

This was really the end of Ghazna's period of glory; coins now cease to be minted there. In Il-Khanid times, it passed to the Kart ruler of Herat, Mu'izz al-Dīn Ḥusayn. Tīmūr granted it in 804/1401 to his grandson Pīr Muḥammad b. Jihāngīr, who used it as a base for raids on India. In 910/1504 Bābur appeared at Ghazna and forced its then ruler Muqīm b. Dhi 'l-Nūn Arghūn to retire to Qandahar. Bābur has left a description of the town as it was at this time, a small place where agriculture was difficult, only a few grapes, melons and apples being produced; he marvelled that so insignificant a place should once have been the capital of a mighty empire. Under the Mughals and native Afghan dynasties, Ghazna played no very great rôle. It was besieged in 1059/1649 by a Persian army, but Awrangzīb succeeded in holding on to it, despite his loss of Kandahar. Nādir Shāh captured it in 1151/1738 before occupying Kabul and marching on Delhi in the next year, and after his assassination in 1160/1747, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī used Ghazna and Kabul as springboards for attacks on India. During the First Afghan-British War of 1839–42 Ghazna was twice taken by British forces, and on the second occasion the British commander sent back to India, at the Governor-General Lord Ellenborough's request, the alleged Gates of Somnāth captured by Maḥmūd of Ghazna eight centuries previously.

Today, Ghazna is a town of some importance; it lies on the Kabul-Kandahar road and is the junction for the roads eastward to Gardīz and Mātūn, Urgan and Tōchī. It is the administrative centre of the province (*wilāyat*) of Ghazna. The great majority of the people are Persian-speaking and are Sunnī in religion. The population of the town is estimated at 35,000.

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# H

**HAIFA**, in Arabic script Hayfā, in Hebrew Mehoz Hefa, a port and city on the Mediterranean coast of Palestine, originally lying at the foot of Mount Carmel but now extending up it, in lat. 32° 49' N., long. 34° 59' E. Since 1948 it has been within the State of Israel.

The region of the later town of Haifa had a modest existence in Antiquity. It is not mentioned in the Bible, but appears frequently in the Talmud, and is also mentioned by the early Christian writer Eusebius as Sykaminos/Sycaminium and as Ephra. Traces exist of Roman and Byzantine occupation. After the Arab conquest of Palestine in the 630s–640s, Haifa was always overshadowed by Acre/ʿAkkā to its north. It was first described by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in 438/1046.

He speaks of the palm-groves and numerous trees of this village (*dih*), and mentions the nearby sands of the kind used by Persian goldsmiths and called by them Makkī sand. He also found shipwrights who, he said, made the large, sea-going ships called Jūdī (*Safar-nāma*, ed. and Fr. tr. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881, text 18, tr. 60, Eng. tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany and New York 1986, 19).

The Crusaders on their way south at first by-passed Haifa. They soon turned their attention to this useful port, perhaps still containing a shipyard, and *ca.* Shawwāl 493/August 1100, after a siege of about a month, captured Haifa with the help of a Venetian fleet. According to Albert of Aix, the population were Jews, who inhabited this place with a special grant from the Fatimid caliph, for which they paid

tribute, and who defended it in arms, with the help of Muslim troops. After the capture, the Jewish and Muslim garrison and population, apart from a few who escaped, were assembled and massacred.

Under Frankish rule, Haifa acquired some importance, and was often a subject of dispute between the Frankish lords. Al-Idrīsī, whose account belongs to this period, describes it as an excellent anchorage and as the port of Tiberias. During the wars between the Crusaders and the Muslims, the fate of Haifa, like other ports on the Palestine coast, was linked with that of Acre.

In 583/1187, after the fall of Acre, Haifa, with other places, was occupied by the forces of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. In view of the evidence of the Muslim sources, the statement of some Frankish sources, repeated by most modern Western historians of the Crusades, that Haifa was captured *before* the fall of Acre must be rejected (see W.B. Stevenson, *The Crusaders in the East*, Cambridge 1907, 250). In 587/1191, anticipating the Frankish recovery of Acre, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn demolished the walls and fortifications of Haifa, before abandoning it to the Franks. Haifa now remained in Frankish hands, and was refortified by King Louis IX of France *ca.* 1250–1. In 663/1265 it was abandoned by its inhabitants before the advance of Baybars, who razed its fortifications to the ground. It was later recovered by the Franks, but was finally reconquered by the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalīl in 690/1291, after the reconquest of Acre.

In the Mamluk period, Haifa was affected by the general policy of keeping the Palestine coast in a state

of devastation, as a precaution against a return by the Crusaders. Al-Qalqashandī mentions it only as a ruin (*Ṣubḥ*, iv, 155 = Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks*, Paris 1923, 124). The first Ottoman survey registers of the conquest do not list Haifa among the inhabited places. At about the same time, Pīrī Re'īs, in his description of the Palestine coast, mentions only a ruined castle (U. Heyd, *A Turkish description of the coast of Palestine in the early sixteenth century*, in *IEJ*, vi/4 [1956], 206, 210–11). By 1019/1611, however, a Turkish document speaks of Frankish merchants who “used to come” to the port (*iskele*) of Haifa. They had stopped coming because of molestation, which was therefore to cease (Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552–1615*, Oxford 1960, 129). In this period, Haifa seems to have formed part of the possessions of the Ṭarabay family. In 1032/1623 it was besieged by Fakhr al-Dīn II Ma'n, who offered to raise the siege if Aḥmad Ibn Ṭarabay would undertake not to attack the Ṣafad area. The latter, however, preferred to destroy Haifa rather than risk its falling into the hands of his enemy. More frequent mentions by travellers confirm the increasing use of Haifa during the 17th and 18th centuries, though the population seems to have remained very small. During the late forties or early fifties of the 18th century, Haifa and its surroundings came into the possession of Shaykh Zāhir al-'Umar. In Shawwāl 1174/May 1761 'Othmān Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Damascus, having been authorised by the Sultan to annex Haifa and its surroundings to his province, sent thirty soldiers on a French ship from Beirut to Haifa, with orders to seize the village and fortress by a sudden attack. Forewarned by his spies, Shaykh Zāhir was able to drive the ship away by gunfire. After this incident he destroyed the existing village and built a new one, some 2 km to the north-east, to which he transferred the inhabitants. He called the new village *al-'imāra al-jadīda*, the “new construction”, but it came to be known as Hayfā al-Jadīda, New Haifa. It was defended by walls with round towers on the three land sides and by a rectangular, two-storey fortress, armed with guns, overlooking the village and the harbour. Mikhā'il Ṣabbāgh remarks that this fortress was built allegedly for defence against infidel (?Maltese) pirates, but actually against possible attacks from Nābulus. It was called Burj Abū Salām or Burj al-Salām.

Some ruins remain on the hill which is still called Burj. The new village built by Shaykh Zāhir was the nucleus of modern Haifa. After his fall it was ruled by Aḥmad Pasha Jazzār, and in 1799 was captured by the French, who, however, abandoned it after their failure to take Acre. In 1837 it was captured by Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt, and in 1840, with Acre, suffered damage when the two ports were bombarded by Turkish, British, and Austrian ships.

The gradual silting up of the port of Acre had resulted in a diversion of traffic to Haifa, which began to grow in size and importance. The Jewish population was increased by newcomers from Morocco, Turkey and later from Europe. A new element was the Templars, a group of German Protestants from Württemberg who settled in Haifa in 1868. Though their purpose in coming was religious pietism, they inaugurated the modern economic development of Haifa. They built roads, introduced four-wheeled carriages, and established regular passenger services to Acre and Nazareth. Among other activities, they built a steam-mill, planted vineyards, and introduced modern agricultural methods. Another group of religious settlers were the Bahā'īs, the followers of Bahā' Allāh who died in exile near Acre in 1892. The tomb of his precursor the Bāb and of his son 'Abd al-Bahā', known as 'Abbās Efendi, are in a mausoleum on the slopes of Mount Carmel; Haifa is the administrative centre of the Bahā'ī religion.

In 1886 work was begun on a government carriage road from Haifa to Tiberias and Janīn; in 1898, on the occasion of the visit of the German Emperor and Empress, a pier was built, and a carriage road was constructed from Haifa to Jaffa. Despite these developments, the population remained small. Towards the end of the 19th century, Turkish estimates put it at about 6,000 souls, most of them Muslim; by the outbreak of war in 1914 they had risen to between 10,000 and 12,000, of whom about half were Muslims, and the rest Catholic and Orthodox Christians, with a few hundred each of Jews and of German Templars. In late Ottoman times Haifa was the seat of a *qaḍā'* in the *sanjaq* of 'Akkā in the *wilāyet* of Bayrūt.

On 23 September 1918, Haifa was occupied by British troops and, as part of the mandated territory of Palestine, entered on a phase of intensive growth and development. A new era in the economic life

of the town had already begun with the opening, in 1905, of the Dar'ā-Haifa branch of the Hījāz railway. This, by linking Haifa with Damascus and the Hawrān as well as with Arabia, had given a great impetus to its development as a port. The low freight charges, made possible by the gift capital of the Hījāz railway, gave it an immediate advantage over both Jaffa and Beirut. In 1918 a new line linked Haifa with Southern Palestine and Egypt; the port was improved in 1921, and a major expansion completed in 1933, by which date the tonnage entering Haifa harbour had quadrupled in ten years. The completion of the oil pipeline from Iraq in 1933 and of the refinery in 1939 also contributed greatly to the economic growth of the city. These developments helped and were helped by a considerable Arab immigration into the city, and, especially in the thirties and forties, by the immigration of large numbers of Jews, chiefly from central and eastern Europe. Censuses held under the Mandate show the following population figures: 1922: 9,377 Muslims, 8,863 Christians, 6,230 Jews, 164 others; 1931: 20,324 Muslims, 13,824 Christians, 15,923 Jews, 332 others. By the end of the Mandate, in 1948, the population of Haifa was estimated at 120,000, two-thirds of whom were Jews and the rest Arabs.

During the Palestine War of 1948–9, it was inevitable that such an important port and industrial centre as Haifa should be fought over. On 21 April 1948 the general officer commanding British troops in Haifa informed Arab and Jewish leaders that he was going to concentrate his forces in the port area and the roads leading to it and withdraw from the rest of the city. This announcement was followed by a swift struggle which left Haifa in Jewish hands, and the greater part of the Arab population left by sea to Acre and Lebanon or by land to Nazareth. The circumstances remain obscure and controversial, but the end result was that, of the 50,000 Arabs living in Haifa before the Palestine War, only 3,000 remained after the struggle; by 1965, however, the Arab population of Haifa numbered about 10,000, mainly living in the Wādī Nisnās quarter on the slopes of Mount Carmel.

As part of Israel, Haifa has become the country's main port and the third largest city, with much industry. On the slopes of Mount Carmel are two prominent educational institutions, the Israel Institute of Technology (Technion), opened in 1924,

and Haifa University, founded in 1964. The present population comprises 270,000 in the city itself, but over half-a-million in the metropolitan area, including a considerable Arab element: Muslims, including Ahmadiyya; Druzes; Christians, mainly Maronites; and Baha'is (Haifa being the world centre of the Baha'i faith, see above).

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**HAMADAN**, in Arabic script Hamadān or Hamadhān, the classical Ecbatana, an ancient city of western Persia, situated in a mountainous region on the eastern flanks of the Alvand massif of the Zagros chain, in lat. 37° 47' N., long. 48° 30' E. at an altitude of 1,645 m/5,395 feet.

Hamadan is a very old city. It may conceivably, but improbably, be mentioned in cuneiform texts from ca. 1100 B.C., the time of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I, but is certainly mentioned by Herodotus (i. 98), who says that the king of Media Deïokes built the city of Agbatana or Ekbatana in the 7th century B.C. The name has been interpreted as Old Persian *\*ha<sup>h</sup>gmata*—“place of gathering”; an Elamitic form *\*hal.mata-na* suggests a possible meaning “land of the Medes.” The city was well known as the capital of the Medes and then a summer capital of the Achaemenids, and an important point on the trade route connecting Mesopotamia with the East under the Seleucids, Parthians and Sasanids. It appears in

Armenian sources as Ahmatan and Hamatan, and in the Biblical Aramaic of the Old Testament as Ahmetā: in Ezra, vi. 2, Darius finds in the Median capital a document of Cyrus the Great authorising the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem. It also figures in Syriac texts in various forms.

The ancient, but mythical, pre-Islamic history of Hamadan is mentioned in several Arabic sources, notably the geographers. After the battle of Nihāvand in A.D. 641 or 642, the Persian commander in Hamadan made peace with the victorious Arabs. The circumstances of the Arab conquest of the city are confused in the sources, but it seems that the Persians broke the initial peace agreement and the city had to be stormed by the commander Jarīr b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Bajālī and his troops, probably in spring 645 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2650; al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 309). Arabs from the tribes of Rabī‘a and ‘Ijl were apparently settled in the city (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 994), whilst men from Ḥanzala and Juhayna also settled in the Hamadan area.

In the early 8th century, a part of the Banū ‘Ijl moved into Jibāl and acquired land grants (*iqṭā‘*s) in the region between Hamadan and Isfāhan, which now became known as the Karaj of Abū Dulaf al-‘Ijlī. During the civil warfare between the brothers al-Amīn and al-Ma’mūn, the respective armies from Iraq and Khurasan clashed in the vicinity of Hamadan and there was a siege of al-Amīn’s forces within the city by al-Ma’mūn’s general Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn (196/811–12).

The geographers of the 4th/10th century describe Hamadan as a large city, mostly rebuilt since the Arab conquest, with four gates in its walls, three markets and extensive suburbs. The sources state, however, that it was not a cultural centre like Isfāhan, Ray, etc., but depended more on commerce, with some goldsmiths’ work and leather goods manufactured there. Al-Maqrīsī notes (398) some peculiarities of the New Persian spoken in the city, such as the suffixing of *-lā* to Arabic names.

In 319/931 the city was taken by the Daylamī soldier of fortune Mardāwīj b. Ziyār with a massacre of many of the inhabitants. In 345/956 it was afflicted by an earthquake, and in 351/962 sectarian religious clashes in the city caused many deaths. It passed into the hands of the Buyid Amir ‘Imād al-Dawla, and then after 365/976, into those of his son Fakhr al-Dawla. In the early 5th/11th century, the Kākūyid

Amir of Isfāhan, ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Muḥammad, brought Hamadan within his dominions, but was driven out in 421/1030 by Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Soon afterwards, however, the city was taken by the Saljuqs, and it subsequently became for a time, in the 6th/12th century, the capital of the Great Saljuq sultans; it was during this period that a number of Hamadan’s fine monuments were erected.

No local history of Hamdan has survived, but a local history by Abū Shujā‘ Shīrawayh b. Shāhdār (d. 509/1115) was used by Yāqūt in his geographical dictionary. Ḥājji Khalifa mentions other histories of the city, all lost, an indication of the lack of a strong and continuous scholarly tradition in the city. One of the notable sons of Hamadan was the rustic poet and mystic Bābā Ṭāhir, who lived in Buyid or Saljuq times.

Like most Persian cities, Hamadan suffered devastation by the Mongols, in two attacks of 618/1221 and 621/1224. Out of the ruins, a township arose on the northern side of the old city, and was called “New Hamadan.”

Under the Il-Khanids Hamadan regained its former importance, and Abaqa Khān died there in 680/1282. The city passed from the Jalāyirids to Tīmūr, and later to the Aq Qoyunlu, until the Safavids established their rule in the city after 908/1503. Several times during the 10th/16th century Hamadan was occupied by Ottoman troops. In 1136/1724 Ahmed Pasha, the Ottoman governor of Baghdad, held the city until he was expelled by Nādir Shāh eight years later (a two-volume survey of the town and district of Hamadan, compiled during this period, is preserved in the Turkish archives, see B. Lewis, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 260). After changing fortunes, Hamadan reverted to Persia in 1732. In 1789 the city was taken by Āghā Muḥammad Qājār, founder of the Qajar dynasty, and the citadel, on the hill now called al-Mušallā, was destroyed.

During the 19th century, Hamadan, thanks to its strategic situation, regained some of its commercial prosperity. Ker Porter estimated its population in ca. 1820 at 40,000, but the local population suffered much from the oppression of the Turkmen Qaraguzlu chief. There was a severe famine in 1870–2, and Curzon estimated the population at only 15,000 (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 575). At the opening of the 20th century, Hamadan was an early centre of the constitutional movement. During

the First World War, possession of the city oscillated between Persian, Ottoman, Russian and British forces, and there was further famine there. Only after *ca.* 1930 did the population start to increase with the general development of the Persian economy and population growth.

Noteworthy in the history of Hamadan was its long-established Jewish community. Since the Old Testament mentions that Israelites were brought to the towns of Media by the Assyrian king (i.e., Shalmaneser, in *ca.* 722 B.C.), Hamadan's Jewish community may have been one of the earliest groups outside Palestine (see 2 Kings, xviii, 11–12). In Islamic time, it gave birth to (the Muslim convert) Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (1250–1318), physician, historian and vizier to the Il-Khanids. By the 19th century, it was probably the largest Jewish community in a Persian city, in *ca.* 1850 estimated at 500 families; its members worked in the textile trade and in such crafts as gold and silversmithing. In the later 19th century, the community suffered much persecution from the Muslim majority, with discriminatory measures imposed and riots stirred up against them; during this time, many conversions took place, especially to Babism/Baha'ism and to Christianity. After 1948, many of Hamadan's Jews emigrated to Tehran or to Israel, and with the present hostile Islamist régime in Persia, the community has all but disappeared.

The principal Islamic monuments of Hamadan include the 'Alawiyyān mosque from the Saljuq period, the Burj-i Qurbān and the tomb of Bābā Tāhir.

Hamadan is today the administrative centre of a province of the same name. The population is 550,284 (2005 estimate).

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**HERAT**, in Arabic script Harāt, a city of what is now western Afghanistan which was one of the great urban centres of the mediaeval Islamic province of Khurasan. In post-Mongol times it had a great florescence as a cultural and artistic centre under the Timurids. In Arabic and Persian sources we find the forms of the name Harā, Harāh, and the older Harē from Middle Persian Harēv (whence the *nisba* or gentilic Harawī); Armenian has Hrev. It lies in the flat river plain of the Heri Rud where the river has emerged from between the Paropamisus range to the north and the mountains of Ghūr to the south, in lat. 34° 20' N., long. 62° 07' E. at an altitude of 922 m/3,025 feet. In early Islamic times, its hinterland to the north was the hilly district of Bādghīs.

The city is mentioned in the Old Persian inscriptions (Haraiva), in the Avesta and in Greek as Ἀρία or Ἀρεία. Alexander the Great built a city here called Alexandria in Aria. Other towns on the Heri Rud are mentioned by Ptolemy, Isidore of Charax and others, an indication of the fertility of the river valley. In the trilingual inscription of Shapūr I at Naqsh-e Rostām, the province of Herat is called in Parthian *hryw* (line 2) and in Greek PHN (the Middle Persian form is illegible). In the Pahlavi list of the cities of Irānshahr (see Markwart, in *Bibl.*) we find the name written *hr'y* to which the Arabs added a feminine ending. Under the Sasanids, Herat was an important military centre on the frontier against the Hephthalites, although at times it was under Hephthalite rule.

The Arab army under al-Aḥnaf b. Qays in its conquest of Khurasan in 31/652 seems to have avoided Herat, but we may assume that the city submitted to the Arabs, since shortly afterwards an Arab governor is mentioned there. Nothing is known of events in Herat during the civil war and under the early Umayyad caliphate, but apparently Herat revolted and was reconquered in 41/661. In 83/702 Yazīd b. al-Muhallab defeated certain Arab rebels, followers of Ibn al-Ash'ath, and forced them out of Herat. The city was the scene of conflicts between different groups of Muslims and Arab tribes in the



disorders leading to the establishment of the 'Abbasid caliphate. Herat was also a centre of the followers of the Neo-Zoroastrian rebel leader Ustādhīs.

Herat was an important trading centre, situated as it was on the routes from Iraq and Khurasan going northeastwards to Marv al-Rūdh, Balkh and across the Oxus into Transoxania. It was also possible to travel on from Herat southwards through Isfīzār and Farāh towards Sistan or southeastwards to the Helmand river valley, Bust, Kandahar and Kabul and thence down to the plains of northwestern India.

Under the first Ghaznavid sultans (early 5th/11th century), Herat was an important base for the sultans' conquests in Khurasan and northwestern Persia. Sultan Maḥmūd entrusted the governorship of the city to his son prince Mas'ūd, later his successor as sultan in Ghazna. Mas'ūd used Herat as a base for his vain attempts to stem the incursions into Khurasan of the Turkmens, led by the Saljuq family, but shortly after the sultan's crushing defeat at the battle of Dandānqān in 421/1040, Herat passed out of his hands into Saljuq control, and the latter dynasty retained it until shortly after the death of Sultan Sanjar in 552/1157. Soon after then it was held by the Ghurid sultans and the Khwārazm Shāhs for a few decades only, until the Mongol onslaught. It is in Ghaznavid and early Ghurid times that we hear of the pietistic sect of the Karrāmiyya as being influential in Herat, until the Ghurid Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muhammad, after at first favouring them, turned to the more orthodox Shāfi'ī legal school.

The Mongols captured Herat in 618/1221, and the pillage and massacres are graphically described by the local historian Sayf-i Harawī in his *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Harāt* (written in the early 8th/14th century, see Bibl.).

The city was destroyed a second time and remained in ruins from 619/1222 to about 634/1236, but people returned to the city, including some who had been captured by the Mongols, and much of the city was rebuilt. In 642/1244 a local prince Shams al-Dīn Kurt (or Kart) was named ruler of Herat by the Mongol governor of Khurasan, and in 653/1255 he was confirmed in his rule by the founder of the Il-Khanid dynasty Hülegü. Shams al-Dīn founded a new dynasty and his successors, especially Fakhr al-Dīn and Ghiyāth al-Dīn, built many mosques and other buildings. The members of this dynasty were great patrons of literature and the arts.

Timūr took Herat in 782/1380 and he brought the Kurt dynasty to an end a few years later, but the city reached its greatest glory under the Timurid princes, especially Sultan Ḥusayn Bayqara who ruled it from 874/1469 to 912/1506. His chief minister, the poet and author in Persian and Turkish, Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, was a great builder and patron of the arts. The present Muṣallā area, and many buildings such as the *madrassa* of Gawharshād, the 'Alī Shīr *maḥall*, many gardens, and others, date from this time.

The village of Gāzurgāh, over 2 km northeast of Herat, contained a shrine which was enlarged and embellished under the Timurids. The tomb of the poet and mystic Khwāja 'Abd 'Allāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088), was first rebuilt by Shāh Rukh about 829/1425, and other famous men were buried in the shrine area (see L. Golombek, *The Timurid shrine at Gāzur Gāh*, Toronto 1969).

In 913/1507 the city was occupied by the Özbegs, but after much fighting the city was taken by Shāh Ismā'īl, in 916/1510 and the Shāmlū Turkomans assumed the governorship of the area. At the death of Shāh Ismā'īl, the Özbegs again took Herat and held it until Shāh Ṭahmāsp retook it in 934/1528. Several times later, for brief periods, the Özbegs held the city, but the Safavids ruled it most of the time until the revolt of the 'Abdālī Afghans in 1128/1716. Several Safavid expeditions to retake the city failed, and the Afghans remained in possession of the city until 1142/1729 when they submitted to Nādir Shāh. Another revolt of the Afghans was suppressed by Nādir Shāh in 1732. In 1160/1747, the nephew of Nādir Shāh, one 'Alī Qulī Khān, revolted in Herat, but after Nādir's death in that year it fell under Afghan rule.

From the mid-19th century onwards, Herat was a point of dispute between the rulers in Persia and the Amirs of Afghanistan, the latter, from the middle years of the 19th century backed by the British, who were anxious to protect India from possible threats posed by the Russian advance into Central Asia. The early Qajar Shahs of Persia regarded Herat as an integral part of the Persian empire and cultural region, as it had certainly been in Timurid and Safavid times. In the first decades of the 19th century, Persia retained a fragile control over the city, but after ca. 1830, the British authorities in India began to favour a status for Herat as an autonomous Afghan principality. Russian influence seemed to be growing at the Qajar court in Tehran, and after the 1860s

it was deemed that a buffer-state between Russian Central Asia and British India should be set up to protect British interests. In 1837–8 the Persian army besieged Herat, but British military and naval power in the Persian Gulf region compelled the Shah to make peace, although the agricultural region round Herat was by then badly devastated. The Persians captured Herat temporarily in 1851–2, but a crisis arose in 1856 when a large Persian army besieged the city for nine months and in October of that year entered the starving city. A British expedition to the Gulf and an invasion of Fars brought Nāṣir al-Dīn Shah to the negotiating table, and the Treaty of Paris of 1857 compelled the Persians to evacuate Herat, the end of over three centuries' conflict over the city.

The Afghan hold on Herat remained, however, weak, owing to the warring factions within the ruling family of Durrānī Amirs, and British fears were now that Herat might fall to the advancing Russians. Not until the reign of the forceful 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān (1880–1901) was the Afghan hold on Herat made reasonably firm, though Herat long remained a marginal, provincial outpost of the Afghan kingdom. Only in the 1960s did Soviet Russian engineers build the Herat-Kandahar highway, and the city was henceforth more easily connected with Kabul and the main centres of political life in Afghanistan.

During the 20th century, Herat has been a populous and agriculturally richly productive region of the country, with the city now the administrative centre of a *wilāyat* or province of the same name. It was bombarded during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan of 1970 and this and ensuing warfare in the region devastated the region and destroyed much of Herat itself and many of its fine architectural monuments. The population, largely Tajik and Persian-speaking, was 300,000 according to the 2005 official estimate.

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**HOMS**, in Arabic Ḥimṣ, the classical Emesa, a town of west-central Syria. It is situated in lat. 34° 44' N., long. 36° 43' E., at an altitude of 500 m/1,640 feet, 80 km/50 miles from the Mediterranean coast, on the eastern bank of the Orontes river (Ar. Nahr al-ʿĀṣī) and in the centre of a vast cultivated plain, bounded on the east by the desert on the west by volcanic mountains. Situated at the entrance to a depression between the mountains of Lebanon and the Jabal Anṣāriyya, Homs benefits from the climatic influences of the sea which come through this opening and enjoys a less continental climate than the rest of Syria; it has an average annual temperature of 16° C. It has also the heaviest rainfall, which averages annually 600 mm, while nearby Ḥamāt has only 350 mm.

The varied soil, made up of alluvium and disintegrated basaltic coulées, favours agricultural and pastoral activity, thanks to the richness of its water resources. Already in the 2nd millennium B.C. the Egyptians had dammed the Orontes and were perhaps the first to organise the irrigation system which has been perfected in the course of time. In the Middle Ages, a canal led the water of Salamiyya to irrigate the cultivated land on the east of the town. A modern irrigation system was constructed in 1938 below the lake. A canal leads off from the dam and branches out into several secondary canals which permit irrigation between the Orontes and Homs.

Homs is on an important crossing of routes. It is situated on a shelf, the Homs gap, which is the easiest passage from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean via Palmyra and which since remotest antiquity has been the channel for the produce of Mesopotamia and, in the mid-20th century, enabled the pipelines from Kirkūk to run petroleum to Tripoli and Bāniyās; it is situated also midway along the route joining Aleppo and Damascus. Before the construction of the railway, the journey to Damascus took five days on horseback. The single-track D.H.P. railway, built in 1902, ensured connexions with Beirut through Rayak. Under the Ottoman Empire, this railway had a strategic rôle, as was shown before 1914 by a very important military platform at Homs.

## I. HISTORY

Human settlement on this site has been conditioned for five thousand years by irrigation, the origin of which goes back to the most distant times. In the 2nd millennium B.C. Homs still had only an obscure rôle, the principal towns of the region being Kadesh, which the Hittites occupied in the time of Rameses II, and Qatna, the present Mishrifé. Yāqūt says that the name of the town is attributed to an eponym: Ḥimṣ b. al-Mahr b. Hāf b. Muknīf al-‘Amāliqī, and that the town was founded by the ancient Greeks who planted there the Palestine olive. Homs must be among the towns founded by Seleucus Nicator or among those to which he gave a Greek name, but up to the present it has not been identified. In 64 B.C., when Pompey made Syria a Roman province, Homs fell within the orbit of the Empire. There is no doubt that Roman town-planning left its mark on Homs, for one can still trace a town built on a square

plan with a citadel in the south-west corner, but in the present-day network of streets the *decumanus* and the *cardo* are scarcely discernible. Well before Islam, numerous Arabs settled in the area and, from 81 B.C. until 96 A.D., a local Arab dynasty reigned at Homs. The most illustrious of these princes was Sampsigeramus, who preferred to dwell at Rastān (Arethusa) where he controlled one of the routes over the Orontes. The pyramidal mausoleum which this prince built at Homs in A.D. 78 was destroyed in 1911. With its temple of the Sun, worshipped in the form of a block of black basalt, Homs rivalled Ba‘labakk in ancient times.

The crossroad of empires, Homs emerged from obscurity when, in the time of Domitian, it received the name of Emesa. Under Antoninus Pius, in the 2nd century A.D., Homs began to strike coins, but the town did not occupy a leading position among the towns of the Roman Orient until the young high-priest of the Sun Heliogabalus was made Emperor by his troops (A.D. 217). Ruling under the name of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, he had as successor another citizen of Homs, his cousin Alexander Severus who fought the Sasanids. In 272 Homs saw the defeat of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, conquered by the Roman legions. The paucity of Christian inscriptions at Homs attests to the existence of a pagan majority, elements of which were to persist down to the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, since the beginning of the 5th century, Christianity had been firmly implanted at Emesa, which was a bishop's see in the ecclesiastical province of Lebanese Phoenicia, dependent on Damascus. Later, with the discovery of the head of St. John the Baptist near the town (452), Emesa became an ecclesiastical metropolis. Among the Arab tribes which were then settled in the area were the Banū Tanūkh.

At the time of the Arab conquest, numerous semi-nomadic Arab tribes came from the south to settle in the area. Homs then became an important Yamanī centre and was included in the area of the Banū Kalb, who were great horse-breeders. After the battle of the Yarmūk, the Emperor Heraclius abandoned Homs. When the Muslim army, under the command of Abū ‘Ubayda b. al-Jarrāḥ, accompanied by Khālīd b. al-Walīd, appeared before the walls of the town, the population asked for *amān* and agreed to pay a ransom of 71,000 *dīnārs*. The Muslims entered

Homs without bloodshed in 16/637 and turned the church of St. John, which was then one of the largest in Syria, into a mosque. It is related that almost five hundred Companions of the Prophet came to live in the newly-occupied town. Under the caliph 'Umar, the governor was Sa'īd b. 'Āmir. In 26/647, Mu'āwiya took Homs and Qinnasrīn and included them among the provinces of Syria; then, when the latter was divided into five military districts, Homs became the capital of one of these *junds* or military districts. During this Muslim period, this *jund* comprised all the region north of Homs where Qinnasrīn and the *Awāṣim* were situated. The *kharāj* of the *jund* brought 800,000 *dīnārs* into the treasury. The caliph appointed as governor the *amīr* Shurāḥbīl, who proceeded to share out the houses, the Muslims occupying the districts and houses abandoned by the Christians. At the battle of Siffin in 37/657, the inhabitants of Homs took the side of 'Alī, and for a long time Shi'ism held a preponderant position in this area.

In 41/661, under Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, the *jund* was deprived of its northern region which went to form a new *jund* with Qinnasrīn, Aleppo and Manbij as its main centres. The boundary between the two seems to have been a line passing through Bāniyās, Ṭartūs, Jisr al-Shughur, Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān, Apamea, Shayzar, Ḥamāt, Rastān, Salamiyya, Qaryatayn and Tadmur. On the death of Yazīd, the governorship of Homs is said to have been conferred on al-Nu'mān b. Bashīr (d. 65/684), but many authors maintain that it went to his son Khālīd b. Yazīd who had built a palace at Homs. In 126/744, on the death of Yazīd III, Marwān II intervened in Syria with the support of the Qaysīs. He attacked Sulaymān b. Hishām, who was assisted by the Kalbīs. In 127/754, Sulaymān, defeated, fled to Homs and from there to Kufa. Homs held out for a time against Marwān II but he finally took the town. In order to prevent the town, whose *jund* then numbered 20,000 Yamanīs, from being used as a base of operations for the Kalbīs, he razed the walls. In 128/746 order was restored.

In 132/750 there appeared in Syria 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-'Abbāsī, who was to overthrow the last Umayyad, Marwān II. From that date Syria fell under the control of Iraq. In 137/754, the 'Abbasid caliph gave Aleppo, Qinnasrīn and Homs to Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Abbās. The 'Abbasid period was a dark one in the history of the town; the population,

mostly of Yamanī origin, rose up against the Qaysīs and provoked numerous punitive expeditions from the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809) onwards. Homs was prosperous at that period, for its revenues, according to al-Jahshiyārī, amounted to 320,000 *dīnārs* and 1,000 camel-loads of grapes. The last punitive expedition took place under al-Musta'īn who, in 250/864, put Aleppo, Qinnasrīn and Homs under the same governor.

When the 'Abbasid caliphate weakened, Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, the governor of Egypt, extended his authority over Syria in 264/878. The Tulunid power was to maintain itself until 282/896. In 269/883 Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn named as his representative the *amīr* Lu'lu', who imposed the authority of the sovereign upon Homs, Aleppo, Qinnasrīn and Diyār Muḍar. The Carmathians appeared at this period and sowed trouble throughout the region. In 290/903 their leader Ḥusayn, known as Ṣāhib al-Shāma, came to Homs from Damascus. In order to avoid extortions, the townspeople agreed to the reading of the *khuṭba* in the name of the new master. The latter seized Ḥamāt, Salamiyya and Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān before reaching Aleppo, where the Ḥamdānids took up arms against him.

In the middle of the 4th/10th century, Homs sought the support of the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo to avoid falling into the power of the Ikhshīdīd governors of Damascus. In 333/944 the Ḥamdānids were victorious at the battle of Rastān on the Orontes, and Sayf al-Dawla seized Homs, which was to remain in the hands of his dynasty until 406/1016. In 356/967, on the death of Sayf al-Dawla, Homs had been governed for a year by Abū Firās. The illustrious poet attempted a rebellion against Sa'd al-Dawla but was defeated, taken prisoner, and executed on 2 Jumādā I 357/4 April 968.

In the following year, Nicephorus Phocas occupied Homs during his victorious campaign in Syria, transformed the great mosque into a church, had divine service celebrated there, and then set fire to it. In 362/973 Nicephorus Phocas departed and the Ḥamdānids governed the town again. In Rajab 364/March-April 975, the Byzantine general John Tzimiskes succeeded in occupying a large part of Syria and levied tribute from Homs, Damascus, Beirut and Ba'labakk. At this time, there appeared a Turkish *amīr*, Alptakīn Bakjur, who rebelled at Homs against the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo; having failed to

receive the Byzantine reinforcements on which he was counting, he was forced to withdraw. Three years later Sa'd al-Dawla granted him Homs as a fief. The memory of this *amīr* has been preserved by a Kufic inscription, the sole remaining trace of a minaret which was demolished in 1912. Homs remained one of the stakes in the Arabo-Byzantine rivalry and was set on fire by the Greeks in Rabī' II 373/September 983.

In 385/995 the Emperor Basil II established his authority over Aleppo, Shayzar and Homs. This town was taken only after a lively resistance; it was devastated and then placed under the authority of the Byzantine duke of Antioch. In 389/999, on the orders of the *basileus*, the town was burnt.

In 406/1016 Ḥamdānīd power came to an end and Aleppo fell to the Mirdāsids. Ten years later, Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās, *amīr* of the Banū Kilāb, was in control of Homs, then, in 420/1029, Shibl al-Dawla Naṣr b. Mirdās governed the town. From the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Fatimids extended their power into Syria, and Homs did not escape them. A pro-Fatimid *amīr*, Khalaf b. Mulā'ib, was in command at Homs in 475/1082 and caused much trouble by his brigandage and depredations. In 483/1090, in response to a complaint about him from the Saljuq princes and commanders in Syria, the sultan Malik Shāh wrote instructing them to attack and remove him. Homs was taken after a siege. Khalaf was captured and sent to Isfahan. The town was given to Tāj al-Dawla Tutush. Then in 487/1094 it passed to his son Riḍwān, ruler of Aleppo. Riḍwān's Atabeg, the *amīr* Janāḥ al-Dawla Ḥusayn, after quarrelling with his ward, took refuge at Homs and made himself independent there in 490/1097. Later, when the Franks arrived, he was to join forces with Duqāq against them.

After the capture of Antioch/Aṇṭākiya (491/1098), the Crusaders made a first attack southwards; they sacked Ma'arrat al-Nu'mān but besieged Homs in vain. The town was then under the *amīr* Qaraja, a former *mamlūk* of Malik Shāh, representing Janāḥ al-Dawla. Contrary to a legend accepted by d'Herbelot and later by Pococke and Le Strange, the Franks did not succeed in capturing the town, which they named "La Chamelle". They merely cut off the port of Ṭartūs. In the middle of 496/May 1103, Janāḥ al-Dawla was assassinated by three Ismā'īlīs inside the great mosque of Homs. Prompt action by Duqāq, the

ruler of Damascus, forestalled a Frankish attempt to take advantage of the situation by attacking Homs, and brought the city under Damascene control. Ibn al-Athīr's story, which puts the murder of Janāḥ al-Dawla a year earlier than all the other sources, and thus places it at the moment when Janāḥ al-Dawla was preparing to attack Raymond of Saint-Gilles, together with his account of Raymond's immediate attack on Homs, may be dismissed. The following year, Duqāq died and Zāḥir al-Dīn Tughtakīn succeeded him, leaving Qaraja as governor of Homs. From this period, Homs became a huge military camp against the Franks, an assembly-point for troops, an arsenal, a depot for heavy siege equipment and in addition it supplied large contingents for the war.

In 506/1112, Khayrkhān (Qarakhān) succeeded his father as master of Homs. Two years later, Najm al-Dīn Īl Ghāzī appeared outside the town, but Khayrkhān overcame his opponent in Sha'bān 508/January 1115. In 512/1118 Zāḥir al-Dīn Tughtakīn b. Būrī took Homs and imposed his suzerainty upon Khayrkhān.

In Rabī' II 520/May 1126 the Franks invaded the territory of Homs and laid it waste, but 'Izz al-Dīn Maṣ'ūd b. Aq Sunqūr came from Aleppo and relieved the town. In 524/1129, Zangī had in the ranks of his army the *amīr* Khayrkhān, but he dismissed him, made him a prisoner and laid siege to Homs, demanding that the population should surrender the town. In order to encourage the besieged townspeople to surrender, he inflicted the most excruciating tortures on their *amīr* Khayrkhān before their eyes, but the town did not yield. A few years later, when the *amīr* Khumārtāsh was governing Homs in the name of the sons of Khayrkhān, Zangī came once more to besiege the town, which was one of the best fortified and had an impregnable citadel. Khumārtāsh called in the aid of the *amīr* of Damascus, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd. The sons of Khayrkhān negotiated the cession of Homs to the prince of Damascus in Rabī' I 530/December 1135, the latter giving the governorship of the town to the chamberlain Yūsuf b. Fīrūz.

In Ramaḍān 531/May 1137 Zangī again drew up his forces outside Homs, where Onar offered a vigorous resistance. A few months later, during another siege which was to last three months, correspondence was exchanged between Zangī and Shihāb al-Dīn

Maḥmūd which resulted in a matrimonial alliance, the prince of Damascus marrying a daughter of Zangī, while the latter took as wife Ṣafwat al-Mulk, queen-mother of the prince, who brought him Homs as her dowry. The governor of the town, Muʿīn Dīn Onar, received Bārīn, Lakma and Ḥiṣn al-Sharqī by way of compensation. Two years later, on the death of Zangī, Onar lost no time in re-establishing his suzerainty over the governor of Homs. Al-Raḥba, on the Euphrates, and Tadmur depended upon this place. An important point in the struggle against the Franks, a rallying-point for Muslim troops, sheltered from surprise attacks on the right bank of the Orontes, Homs was one of the operational bases in the centre of a line running from north to south, from Aleppo through Shayzar and Ḥamāt towards Damascus, Boṣrā and Salkhad. Nūr al-Dīn installed himself there in 544/1149. At the time of the siege of Damascus by the Franks of the Second Crusade, Homs served as a rallying-point for the troops of Nūr al-Dīn and for those of Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī.

The contemporary geographer al-Idrīsī describes Homs as a town with active markets and paved streets, notes that it possesses one of the largest great mosques in Syria and mentions particularly the numerous canals which irrigated orchards and gardens. In 548/1153 Nūr al-Dīn encamped at Homs and prevented supplies from being taken into Damascus, hoping to bring about the surrender of that town. When, a few months later, Nūr al-Dīn succeeded in taking Damascus on 10 Ṣafar 549/25 April 1154, he gave Homs in compensation to Muḥīr al-Dīn Abak, the defeated *amīr* who, however, was able to remain there for only a short time.

The successive earthquakes of the year 552/1157 sorely tried Homs and the other towns of northern Syria, and, with the earth tremor of 565/1170, the already weakened defence works suffered heavy damage.

After the first expedition of Syrian troops into Egypt (559/1164), the *amīr isfahsalār* Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh received Homs as an *iqṭāʿ* from Nūr al-Dīn, together with al-Raḥba and Tadmur. This was the origin of the Asadī dynasty of Homs. In 564/1169 Shīrkūh died and Nūr al-Dīn reclaimed the town from his son, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad, to award it to another *amīr*.

In the middle of 570/beginning of 1175, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn/Saladin took Homs and Ḥamāt. Four years

later, when he reorganised northern Syria, he gave back the town to his cousin Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Shīrkūh. Re-installed in Homs, the Asadī dynasty's task was to keep in check the Franks of Tripoli, who were increasing the frequency of their raids into the rich agricultural region around Homs, where they also made off with horses. Ibn Jubayr, who passed through the town in 580/1185, notes the good condition of the walls round it. In 581/1186, al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II succeeded his father at Homs. In 602/1205 he fought the Hospitallers of Crac des Chevaliers/Ḥiṣn al-Akrād. In 604/1207, he had to appeal to the Ayyubid prince of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Zāhir Ghāzī, for aid. The following year, al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm took command at Homs; several times he had to push back the Provençaux of Tripoli and the Hospitallers of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād, and to assure a better defence he supervised the maintenance of the town walls and restored the Bāb al-Masdūd. In 623/1226 Homs took part in the quarrel of the Ayyubid princes, Ibrāhīm being the ally of al-Malik al-Ashraf of Aleppo. The town was attacked by al-Muʿazzam ʿIsā, prince of Damascus.

In 640/1242 Ibrāhīm with troops from Homs overcame the Khwārazmians who had come from the East. He died in Damascus in 644 and his remains were transferred to Homs where his son al-Ashraf Mūsā succeeded him. In 646/1248 the Ayyubid of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, took Homs and temporarily interrupted the control of the Asadī dynasty over the town. In Ṣafar 658/February 1260 the town was taken by the Mongols, Mūsā recovered his possessions and fought alongside Hülegü's troops at ʿAyn Jālūt. After the defeat, on 25 Ramaḍān 658/3 September 1260, he obtained *amān* from Quṭuz and resumed his post at Homs. A short while afterwards, a Mongol army was routed near Homs by the prince of that town in cooperation with the prince of Ḥamāt. Baybars came to power in Cairo in 659/1261 and repaired the citadel at Homs, supplying it with provisions so that it might resist any eventual return by the Mongols. Al-Ashraf Mūsā died in 661/1262, and with him the Asadī dynasty, which had ruled at Homs for almost a century, was extinguished. The town lost its independence; from this time forth it was commanded by a deputy governor and was sometimes dependent on the *amīr* of Ḥamāt and sometimes on the ruler of Damascus.

In 680/1281 Homs witnessed the victory of Qalāwūn over a coalition of Armenians and Mongols. From the reign of Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn onwards, Homs played no further political rôle; it was governed by an *amīr* of a thousand troops and, later on, the command was given to an *amīr* of *ṭablkhāna*. None of these governors left any lasting impression on the history of the town. In the citadel, the *nāʾib* was a *mamlūk* of the Cairo sultan. At this time an official pigeon-house was installed at Homs to ensure postal contact with Qarā in the south and Ḥamāt in the north. In Rabīʿ I 699/December 1299 Ghazan crushed the Mamluks at Homs but did not remain in the district. According to the geographer al-Dimashqī, Homs was at that time the smallest governorship in Syria and comprised Shamsīn, Shumaymis and Salamiyya; the *niyāba* of Homs was included in that of Damascus.

The anarchy prevailing in Syria in the 9th/15th century does not seem to have arrested the economic life of Homs, if the Mamluk decrees of 817/1414 and 844/1440 are to be believed, for these indicate the important position held by the weavers in this town where wool, and especially silk, had been worked for centuries, rivalling Alexandria in the quality and beauty of its products. Tīmūr Lang, after taking Aleppo in 803/1400, seized Ḥamāt and Homs before occupying Damascus. During the following century no event of importance occurred at Homs, the territory of which was exposed to the depredations of Bedouins. In 916/1510 the town was menaced by the powerful tribe of the Āl Faql b. Nuʾayr; it was relieved with the assistance of Sibāy, the governor of Damascus, who on this occasion seized an abundant booty consisting particularly of camels and sheep. When, in 922/1516, the Ottoman sultan Selīm I had subjected Syria, Homs became one of the five *livās* attached to Tripoli/Ṭarābulus. On the death of the Sultan in 926/1520, the governor of Damascus, Jānbirdī Ghazālī, proclaimed himself independent and seized Tripoli, Homs and Ḥamāt. The post of governor of Homs was given to the *muqaddam* Ibn al-Ḥarfūsh. We have a picture of Homs in the 10th/16th century by Pierre Belon, who describes it as a town with good walls of hewn stone and with a citadel built, he says, by the Romans. Although the surrounding walls were almost intact, the town within the walls was quite ruined. Within the walls, says the French traveller, "there is noth-

ing beautiful to be seen except the bazaar and the bazestan in the Turkish style". Under Süleymān I and Selīm II, several surveys of lands, of the adult male population, and of the tax-returns were made for the towns and provinces of Syria (for Homs, see B. Lewis, *The Ottoman archives as a source for the history of the Arab lands*, in *JRAS* [1951], 152–3). Through the Ottoman fiscal regulations we have information on economic activity at Homs at this period. The yoghurt brought to the town by the Türkmens was exported as far as Damascus; the watermills for corn and sesame were numerous, and the oil-presses were very busy. Grapes remained one of the country's main resources. There were good harvests of rice which had just been added to the products of the cultivated marshland for feeding the town. The main industry was weaving. Homs was one of the largest centres for silk, the neighbouring mulberry trees feeding the silkworms, and here were made mottled fabrics, run through with gold thread, which were exported as far as Istanbul. At Homs, camels and cattle in transit from Damascus towards Aleppo met the flocks of sheep and goats coming down from Aleppo and Ḥamāt for Damascus.

In the course of the centuries, the Ottomans destroyed the gates in the town walls one after the other, and in 1785 Volney could describe Homs as "a town, formerly strong and well populated, now no more than a fairly large ruined village, where there are no more than 2,000 inhabitants, partly Greeks and partly Muslims. There resides an *agha* who holds on sub-lease from the pasha of Damascus all the countryside as far as Palmyra. The farming lease was given to the pasha for 400 purses or 500,000 livres, but it brings in four times as much" (cf. *Voyages*, ed. Paris 1823, iii, 18–19). The *agha* was of a local family. In 1831 Homs was seized by adventurers and then fell into the power of Ibrāhīm Pasha who, until 1840, was to represent the authority of Muḥammad ʿAlī in Syria. At this time, a particularly serious revolt flared up in the town, and the Egyptian troops had difficulty in repressing it; one of its consequences was the almost total demolition of the citadel. After 1840 the town was again under Ottoman rule.

Under the Syrian Republic, Homs has remained an important agricultural centre and an active industrial city; the Military School is there. The plain of Homs produces cereals, notably barley and corn, with extensive cultivated areas in the east. All

around the town, numerous ruins of *qanawāt* bear witness to the efforts made by man for centuries to exploit the earth; with state encouragement many new villages are being built upon the ruins of old settlements, and one of the original features of the region is peasant ownership, the cultivator being the owner of the ground he is working. Moreover, the technique of the rural economy is attaining there a very high degree of perfection. Besides barley and corn are to be found maize, lentils, and cotton, as well as sugar-beet, which has been cultivated since 1949. Trees grown include poplar, lime, cypress, and fruit trees such as the apricot, pomegranate, pear, apple and plum. The vine, grown east of Homs beyond the marshland and in the basaltic area of Wa'ar on the left bank of the Orontes, has been one of the principal resources of the country since Antiquity. Its wine was praised by the poet al-Akhtal in the days of the Umayyads. It is a most economical crop; the vines are neither treated with copper sulphate nor stummed; they are not staked up and the branches grow along the ground. The grapes are sold fresh or dry or turned into *dibs* (molasses).

Around Homs the cultivated marshlands and the market gardens covering nearly 1,200 hectares form the greatest patch of green in the Orontes valley. It is the most intensively cultivated part of the valley's irrigated zone. Nowadays these gardens are made up of small properties (*ṣayfiyya*) of an average area of 30 *dunums*, mostly owned by one family, and represent the fruit of man's diligent and meticulous labour over centuries. As the meeting-point for the agricultural area, Homs is an important market. The townsmen have few relations with the western plateaux but prefer to trade with the Bedouin tribes, since no obstacle separates them from the desert. In summer, the Bedouin come up to the Orontes to buy in the markets while the townsmen take the dairy produce and entrust to the nomads the flocks they own. An important centre of consumption, Homs takes the agricultural products and in return supplies the country with clothes and manufactured goods. For centuries there has been developing in the town a processing industry; corn and barley are treated for the starch necessary for finishing in the textile industry. There is a considerable manufacture of molasses and, in the mid-20th century, 16 presses were still in existence. In 1949 there were two factories treating sesame to make *sirāj* or *ṭahīna*

(an emulsion of oil mixed with seed-pulp). The most important industry and trade is still weaving; since the early Middle Ages the fabrics and silks of Homs were renowned in the markets of the world. Before 1914, 4,000 looms employed 30,000 workers; in 1933 there were more than 4,300 looms; nowadays silk and cotton goods are exported to Egypt and Iraq. Modern factories have been built at Homs and in the area; there were two flour-mills (1938), a distillery, a starch-works, a glucose factory, a sugar factory (1949) and a vegetable-oil factory which treats cotton and sunflower-seed (1951). Finally, from the far distance can be seen the petroleum storage-tanks shining in the sun, while tall chimneys indicate the presence of an important oil refinery which used to convey the crude oil piped from Kirkūk to Syrian Tripoli until this was interrupted. It is a hub for various of Syria's transportation lines, and is now the administrative centre of a large *muḥāfaẓa* or province which extends from the frontier with northern Lebanon eastwards to the Iraq border. The population of the town is now some 730,000 persons (2005 estimate).

## II. MONUMENTS

The rectangular enceinte of antiquity had almost entirely disappeared in 1895 when Max Van Berchem passed through Homs. Of the gates, only the names remain, a few stones still indicating the position of some of them. Starting from the north-east there are around the town the following gates: Bāb Tadmur, where a ramp incorporating Hellenistic remains emerged from the town. Southwards, a deep wide ditch followed the defensive wall which was reinforced by round and square towers, the remains of which can still be seen. Bāb al-Durayd survives only in the name of the district situated in the south-east corner of the town. In the south, large blocks of stone indicate the site of the Bāb al-Sibā'; not far away was the Bāb al-Turkmān. The Bāb al-Masdūd, on the western side, restored several times during the Middle Ages, still bears the appearance of a well-maintained fortified work with the remains of the bases of columns; a square tower stood on each side of the gate. The road which leads back in a northerly direction is called Shāri' al-Khandaq, thus preserving the memory of the vanished moat. Another gate, the Bāb Hūd, opened into the wall before one arrived at the north-west corner, which was marked by three



round towers that are still standing. Finally, in the north face near the great mosque, there opened the Bāb al-Sūq which no longer exists.

#### *The Citadel*

In the south-east corner of the town, dominating the town with its silhouette, the citadel rose up on a mound 275 m in diameter. The origin of this *tell*, which seems to be artificial, is thought to be Hittite or Aramaean. Numerous travellers described it, up to the beginning of the 19th century. During the Egyptian occupation (1831–40), Ibrāhīm Pasha destroyed it and left inside only the Jāmi‘ al-Sulṭān which has now disappeared. On the north front, a particularly important tower, repaired in 1952, exists in part and bears two inscriptions of 594/1198 and of 599/1202 in the name of the Asadī al-Malik al-Mujāhid Shīrkūh. There remain of the Ayyubid and Mamluk citadel only a few stones of the glacis, a huge cistern, stretches of the walls and the half-ruined square towers overlooking the moat.

#### *The mosques*

Most of the ancient mosques in Homs and particularly the Great Mosque and the mosques of Abū Lubāda, al-Faḍā’il, al-‘Umarī and al-Sirāj, share three characteristics: the minaret, the prayer-hall and the *maṣṭaba*. The minaret is square and about 20 m/65 feet high; at the base there are foundations consisting of huge stones together with re-used column bases and stones, some carrying fragments of Greek inscriptions. Higher up the basalt foundations become less massive. At the top, on each face, there opens a high double-bay surmounted by an octagonal drum, which itself bears a whitewashed cupola. The prayer-hall, roofed with a series of ribbed vaults and having within it facilities for the minor ablutions, opens through large doors into the courtyard. At the north of the courtyard a raised area, the *maṣṭaba*, partly shaded by a vine, is used for prayer in the open air.

The Great Mosque of Nūr al-Dīn is situated in the north of the town amidst the *sūqs*. The “continuity of site” of sanctuaries leads us to suppose that this mosque is built on the site of the Temple of the Sun and of the cathedral of St. John, the forecourt of

which was once occupied, it is said, by the original mosque. The mosque is a huge rectangular edifice with the main axis running east-west. It has two entrances: the western entrance leads from the road into the courtyard; the southern entrance opens into the Bāb al-Sūq quarter and leads by a long vaulted corridor to the prayer-hall. This latter is 99 m long by 17 m wide and has two long bays, each covered by 13 ribbed vaults. Each of three *mihrābs* in the south wall is framed by two columns of white marble. The central *mihrāb* still bears in its conch a gilded mosaic which could be earlier than the 5th/11th century. To the left of this *mihrāb*, a door opens into a square room lit by a lantern and reserved for the Naqshbandiyya dervish order. The prayer-hall opens out into the courtyard through eleven wide doors. This oblong courtyard has a dais (*maṣṭaba*) paved with black and white marble, with a small basin for ablutions; an ogival stone sharply incurved, in which a hole has been made, serves as a *mihrāb*; to the north, beneath a pillared portico, open seven rooms, while the western part of this *riwāq*, having taps, is used for ablutions. Near the Great Mosque, in the market to the west, there was formerly a cupola surmounted by a weather-vane in the form of a copper statuette standing on a fish. This cupola was regarded as a talisman against scorpions.

In the third quarter of the 20th century there were about fifteen *ḥammāms* which are still in use, the most frequented being the Ḥammām Ṣafā’, the Ḥammām ‘Uthmānī, the Ḥammām al-Sirāj and the Ḥammām Ṣaghīr. The latter, situated in the *sūq* of the goldsmiths, is a *wāqf* of the Great Mosque. From its layout, it seems to be the oldest bath in Homs.

From the age of caravans, Homs still preserves about twenty *khāns*, some of which have been made into bus garages. Although the Khān al-Sabīl, where the traveller Ibn Jubayr stayed, seems to have disappeared, there remains a Khān Asad Pasha and a Khān al-Ḥarīr, which is in fact a *qaysāriyya* where silk has been sold for centuries.

The *sūqs*, paved in the Middle Ages, are now tiled, and not only the cloth bazaar, but also those of the goldsmiths and of their neighbours, the chest-makers, are very busy. The *sūq* of the pastry shops is in the centre, while the vegetable and dairy-produce markets are on the edge of the commercial area, together with the basket-makers, the saddlers, the metal-workers and the blacksmiths.

Places of pilgrimage are numerous outside the old town (see al-Harawī, *Ẓiyārāt*, 8–9); the most frequented is the Jāmi' Khālīd b. al-Walīd situated in the northern suburb. The fame of this sanctuary goes back at least to the Ayyubid era and retained its attraction under the Mamluks. Khālīd b. al-Walīd, who died at Medina, and his wife Faḍḍā are said to be buried there; Yāqūt wondered whether this was not rather the tomb of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya who built a palace nearby or even that of Khālīd b. 'Iyād b. Ghanm, the Qurashī who conquered the Jazīra. The original mausoleum was situated by the side of a mosque; it was altered by Saladin, then by Baybars in 664/1265; al-Malik al-Ashraf Khālīd b. Sayf al-Dīn Qalāwūn had works carried out there in 691/1292. In 1908 it was all demolished and rebuilt in the Ottoman style on the model of the mosques of Istanbul by Nāzīm Pasha, the governor of Syria. The sultan 'Abd Ḥamīd II devoted 6,000 *dīnārs* to works which were completed in 1913. The prayer-hall is almost square (32 m × 30 m) and covered by nine cupolas, of which the central cupola, which is 12 m in diameter, rises to 30 m and rests on four strong pillars. A public park has recently been made of the vast cemetery which surrounded the monument. Some of the burials date back to Roman times, as is attested by the sarcophagi found there.

Among the *mazārs* may be mentioned, outside the Bāb al-Durayd, the *maqām* of Ka'b al-Aḥbār, which is a mosque on the upper floor; in the neighbouring cemetery there is a fairly large square building with a cupola: it is the Maqām Ja'far; further on, amidst whitewashed basalt tombs, a sizeable arch indicates the Maqām 'Abd al-'Azīz. At Homs there are also the tombs of two Ayyubid princes, the Maṣjid Khīḍr to the south of the town, where al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm is buried (d. 644/1246 at Damascus), and, within the walls, the *turba* of al-Malik al-Mujāhid Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh II, a very dilapidated cubic edifice dating from 637/1239, surmounted by an octagonal drum with a brick cupola.

The exigencies of modern town planning have led to the disappearance, in 1960, of a convent of Mawlawiyya derwishes, formerly situated west of the town near the present Government House and dating from 840/1437. Finally, the existence of two large ruined dwellings may be indicated: the Bayt Zahrāwī and the Bayt Mallāḥ, vestiges of former prosperity.

Of the ten churches at present in Homs serving the Christians who number about one-fifth of the population, none presents any great archeological interest, neither the Greek Orthodox church of Mār Elyān nor the former seat of the Syrian Catholic Patriarch Umm al-Zannār, since the buildings are modern.

Outside the walls many water-mills grind grain on the Orontes; the most ancient are the Ṭāḥūn al-Sab'a, dated by an inscription of 824/1421, the Ṭāḥūn al-Khuṣṣa, dated to 975/1567 by a Turkish inscription, and the mill of al-Mīmās which lacks an inscription.

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**HYDERABAD**, in Arabic script Ḥaydarābād, a city of South India. It was successively the capital of the Deccani later Quṭb Shāhī sultans of Golconda; of a *śūba* or province in the Mughal empire; and in British Indian times, of the princely state of the Nizāms of Hyderabad. Finally, the lands were incorporated into the present Indian Union. It is situated in lat. 17° 22' N., long. 78° 27' E.

## I. HISTORY

The site of the present city was selected in 997/1589 by the fifth Qutb Shāhī dynast, Muḥammad Qutb Shāh, on the right bank of the river Mūsī, a tributary of the Krishna, some 11 km/8 miles east of the fortress of Golconda/Golkondā, and at first given the name of Bhāgnagar after a Hindu dancing-girl named Bhāgmatī, one of the sultan's concubines. A city quickly grew up on this site, since there was no room for expansion in the overcrowded Golconda where, moreover, the water-supply was inadequate. The exact date of the transfer of the seat of government from Golconda to Hyderabad is not known, although this seems to have taken place within a dozen years of the foundation; Hyderabad was not at first fortified, Golconda remaining as the citadel of the capital. At this time North India was in the hands of the Mughals, and envoys from Akbar were well received in 999/1591; the Qutb Shāhī sultan sent valuable presents to Akbar which were accepted as tribute, and his domains were left unmolested. The new city prospered, some of its finest buildings dating from this time (see below), until the intervention of the Mughal prince (later the emperor) Awrangzīb in the dispute between Mīr Jumla and 'Abd Allāh Qutb Shāh in 1065/1655 when Hyderabad was plundered before the sultan bought peace; but the peace was uneasy, and Hyderabad again fell to the Mughals under Awrangzīb four years before the great siege of Golconda in 1098/1687. After the conquest, Hyderabad became the residence of the *ṣubadārs* of the Deccan, under the last of whom, Chīn Qīlich Khān, Nizām al-Mulk, the governor Mubārīz Khān commenced the fortification of the city by a stone wall. After the important and decisive battle of Shakarkheldā in 1137/1724, by which the Nizām al-Mulk crushed the plan of his deputy Mubārīz Khān to usurp power in the province, Hyderabad became the capital of the now independent Deccan province under the Nizām al-Mulk, who received the title of Āṣaf Jāh from the Mughal emperor Muḥammad Shāh; the titles Nizām al-Mulk and Āṣaf Jāh henceforth became hereditary in his family. Āṣaf Jāh acquired an extensive province, roughly co-extensive with Hyderabad State before its dissolution plus Berār to its north and the so-called Northern Sarkārs.

The Nizāms accepted British ascendancy in the Deccan by the Treaty of Masulipatam of 1768, and

from 1778 a British Resident was installed at the court of Hyderabad. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857–8 the Nizām remained faithful to the British connection, and received as a reward an access of territory. In 1918 he was awarded by the Government of India the title of "His Exalted Highness."

The city of Hyderabad developed considerably in the second half of the 19th century. It became served by both broad-gauge and narrow-gauge railways, and in the field of education, the Oriental College (*Dār al-'Ulūm*) was set up in 1854, and an institution of higher education became Hyderabad College in 1880 and was affiliated to Madras University. The city's suburbs began to spread along both sides of the river, and included the important cantonment of Secunderabad/Sikandarābād, named after the sixth Nizām, Mīr 'Alī Akbar Khān Iskandar Jāh, which acquired its own municipal corporation. In the 20th century, further measures of modernisation included many public works. The Osmania University came into being in 1918, and a Department of Archaeology was set up which did good work on the preservation and recording of Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, including the Ajanta Caves.

At the time of Partition, the Nizām's government opted for inclusion in Pakistan, on the principle which had been laid down that native rulers had a choice of acceding to either side. But Hyderabad State, geographically isolated from the parts of Pakistan in northern India, was incorporated into the Indian Union by military force, although maps published in Pakistan continued for a long time afterwards to show Hyderabad as part of Pakistan. The territories of the former state were in 1956 split up on a linguistic basis. Hyderabad is now the capital of Andhra Pradesh State, mainly Telugu-speaking, with flourishing industry, especially that of textiles and carpets, and is now India's sixth largest city, with a population of 8,173,000 (2005 estimate). Although the Muslim population has been much depleted by emigration to Pakistan, Hyderabad remains an important centre of Muslim culture and Urdu scholarship.

## II. MONUMENTS

The old city is surrounded by a bastioned wall, completed by the first Āṣaf Jāh, with thirteen gates and a number of smaller posterns. The city is connected to the northern suburbs by four bridges, the

oldest of which (*Purānā pul*) was built by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh in 1001/1593. The same ruler was responsible for the buildings in the central focal point of the city, notably the Chār mīnār, Chār kamān, Chār sū kā ḥawḍ, all around a crossing of four roads leading to the four quarters of the old city; also the Dār al-Shifā', Āshūr-khāna, and Jāmi' Masjid. The Chār mīnār, "four minarets", is a triumphal archway, 30 m square in plan, its ground storey consisting of four great arches of 10.8 m span, each facing a cardinal point; above this is an arcaded triforium running round the building supported on carved corbels, with a smaller arcade and a perforated marble screen above it; at each corner stands a minaret 55.8 m in height from the ground level, each decorated with a double arcaded balcony at the level of the triforium supported by a continuation of the corbel course; a further single arcaded balcony encircles each shaft above roof-level (this is the characteristic feature of the Quṭb Shāhī architecture); and each minaret is topped by yet another such balcony supporting a round kiosk with an ogee dome foliated at its base in the Bijapur manner. The small rooms inside the upper storey are said to have been used for instruction by *shaykhs*; but, from the strictly ceremonial and royal nature of the use of this building under the Quṭb Shāhīs and Āṣaf Jāhīs, this story may be doubted (see *Annual Report Arch. Dept. Hyderabad State 1917-18 A.D. (1327 F)*, Pl. IIa; *ibid.*, 1918-19, 3-4 and plans on Pl. III-IV). The Chār kamān, "four bows" (*ARADHyd 1918-19 (1328 F)*, 4), are four wide arches near the Chār mīnār built over the four roads leading to the four quarters of the city, near to which stands the Chār sū kā ḥawḍ, "carfax cistern"; near this once stood Muḥammad Qulī's Dād *maḥall*, "palace of justice", destroyed by a powder explosion in 1771 (described by the French traveller Tavernier in 1062/1652). West of this complex is the Makka Masjid, the principal mosque of the city, commenced by 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh, continued by his successor Abu 'l-Ḥasan, the last Quṭb Shāhī sultan, and completed at Awrangzīb's order; the *ṭūwān*, with two large domes, is 67.5 m long and 54 m deep, standing behind a vast *ṣaḥn* 108 m square; the tombs of Nizām 'Alī Khān and later Āṣaf Jāhīs stand in the mosque. The old remains of a contemporary *ḥammām* stand in its courtyard. In the north of the old city is the 'Āshūr-khāna, "room of the tenth [of Muḥarram]", still in use for the Muḥarram ceremonies, with fine

Persian faience decorating its walls. The Dār al-Shifā', also built by Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, is in the north-east quarter of the city, a large building with arcaded chambers for the care of the sick, lying all round a paved quadrangle, formerly in use also as a school for the Yūnānī system of medicine; a mosque, built at the same time, stands opposite its entrance. Many other buildings of Quṭb Shāhī times stand in the city and suburbs, notably the Tolī Masjid of the time of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh (inscription in *mīhrāb* giving date of 1082/1671 by *abjad*); description in *ARADHyd. 1916-17 A.D. (1326 F)*, 3ff., Pl. IIb and c, plan on Pl. IIIa; also the mosque and other buildings of the Shaykhpet suburb, see *ARADHyd. 1936-37 A.C. (1346 F)*, 2ff., with an inscription of 1043/1633, cf. *EIM*, 1935-6, 21-2 and Pl. XIII. Between Hyderabad and Golconda, on the 'Uthmān Sāgar road, surmounting two small hills, are the *bārādārī* of Tārāmātī, a Hindū concubine of Muḥammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and the elegant but incomplete (no minarets) mosque of "Pēmmatī", d. 1073/1662, for which see *ARADHyd. 1924-25 A.D. (1334 F)*, 2-4 and Pls. III-VI. Of the other Quṭb Shāhī monuments, the Gosha Maḥall stands north of the old city, a palace built by the last sultan with an extensive pleasure-park for the *zanāna* and an ornamental tank, now dry and used for football matches. The Dā'ira-yi Mīr Mu'min is a burial ground east of the city consecrated by a Shi'ite saint who came to Hyderabad from Karbala in the reign of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh; the cemetery, now used for Sunnis as well as the Shi'a, contains many fine tombs and gravestones, including the fine domed tomb of the Mīr himself in Quṭb Shāhī style.

There are also in and around Hyderabad many palaces and other buildings of the Āṣaf Jāh dynasty, from the Purānī Ḥawelī of the first Nizām, the Chawmaḥalla palace in the centre of the city which is the principal city residence of the Nizāms, modelled on a royal palace in Tehran, the palace of Sir Salar Jung now used as a museum, to the late 19th century Falaknumā palace outside the city on the south-west, with a Corinthian façade, Louis XIV reception hall, and other exotic features.

The city water supply depends on tanks, to which modern waterworks are now attached, excavated in former times. The Ḥusayn Sāgar, about 8 sq. miles (2,100 hectares), lies between Hyderabad and Secundarabad, the road between the two cities

running along the *band* on its east; it was originally excavated by Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh in 983/1575 as a reservoir for Golconda and was filled by a channel cut from the Mūsī. South-west of the city is the Mīr ‘Ālam tank, built by French engineers in the Nizām’s service early in the 19th century, while the Mīr Jumla tank to the south-east, now no longer used, was constructed in 1035/1625.

Of European monuments, the old British Residency of 1803–8, now a women’s college, and the tomb of the French soldier M. (Michel Joachim Marie) Raymond (corrupted locally to “Mūsā Raḥīm”!), d. 25 March 1798, are worth notice.

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# I

**ISFAHAN**, in Arabic script *Iṣfahān*, in older Arabic usage *Iṣbahān*, a city of west-central Persia. It lies in lat. 32° 41' N., long. 51° 41' E. at an altitude of 1,554 m/5,100 feet, in a plain which runs in a northwest to southeast direction between the central Zagros range to its southeast and the Kūh-i Kargas to its northeast.

## I. HISTORY

The town of Isfahan is mentioned by the classical geographers as Aspadana, but the town does not seem to have had any importance at that time. In Sasanid times, there was here the town of Jay, in Greek Gabai, whose founding was attributed to Alexander the Great, and this name Jay appears on coins minted at Isfahan even after the Arab conquest. The town had acquired some importance at that time, the Sasanid town having, allegedly, walls with four gates, including a “Gate of the Jews”; the Jewish colony there subsequently gave to the main part of the city the name of Yahūdiyya.

Under the Sasanid emperors, Isfahan was an important province, holding a central position (Cf. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*<sup>2</sup>, Copenhagen 1944, 506). Hurmuzān, when consulted by ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb on his plans for further conquest, advised him to march on Isfahan, which he compared to the head whose fall would be followed by that of the two wings, Azerbaijan and Fars. Bal’amī likened Fars and Kirman to the two hands of Isfahan and Azerbaijan and Rayy to its two feet (*Tarjuma-yi tārikh-i Ṭabarī*, ed. Muḥammad Javād Mashkūr, Tehran 1959–60, 326).

After the Arab conquest, Isfahan formed part of the province of Jibāl, which corresponded to the earlier Media, and which became known in the 6th/12th century as ‘Irāq-i ‘Ajam. According to Ḥamza, Isfahan extended from Hamadan and Māh Nihāwand to Kirman, and from Rayy and Qumis to Fars and Khūzistān, and consisted, in pre-Islamic times, of three *ustāns*, 30 *rustāqs*, 120 *tasījs*, 5,000 villages, and 7 cities. Four of these became ruined, the province then comprising two *kūras*, 27 *rustāqs*, and 3,313 villages. When the Arabs came, two more cities were ruined, leaving only Jay. In 189/804–5 Hārūn al-Rashīd separated the *kūra* of Qumm, which consisted of four *rustāqs*, from Isfahan together with what he added to it from the *rustāqs* of Hamadan and Nihāwand, after which Isfahan consisted of 23 *rustāqs*. Al-Mu‘taṣim made further changes, constituting Karaj into a *kūra*, taking four *rustāqs* from Isfahan and some estates from Nihāwand and Hamadan, after which Isfahan consisted of 19 *rustāqs*, 1 *kūra*, and 2,500 villages.

Under the Mongols, the province of Isfahan contained three main cities, Isfahan, Fīrūzān in the *bulūk* of Linjān, and Fārifā’ān in Rūdasht, and consisted of 8 *bulūks*, and 400 villages, together with many cultivated lands belonging to these villages. The *bulūks* were Jay (which included the town of Isfahan and its environs), with 75 villages, Karārij with 23 villages, Quhāb with 40, both to the south of the town, Barā’ān with 80 villages and Rūdasht with 60 to the east, Burkhwār with 32 to the north, and Mārbīn with 58 and Linjān with 20 to the west (Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. G. Le Strange, London 1919, 48, 50–1). In the 19th century,

Isfahan formed an extensive province divided into 9 *bulūks*, the ninth being Karvan, north of Linjān, 8 *maḥalls*, namely Rār, Kiyār, Mīzdaj, and Gandumān (which together formed Chahār Maḥall), Simūrum, Jarqūya, Ardīstān, and Quhpāya (south of Ardīstān, and east of Isfahan, on both sides of the Zāyanda-Rūd river), two *qaṣabas*, Najafābād and Qumīsha (the modern Shahriḍā), and 5 *nāḥiyas*, Chādagān, Varzaq, Tukhmāqlū, Gurjī, and Chinārūd, which together formed Firaydan (Muḥammad Mīhdī b. Muḥammad Riḍā al-Isfahani, *Nisf-i jahān fī ta'rīf-i Isfahān*, ed. Manūchīhr Sutūda, Tehran 1962–3, 21–2, 296–336; A. Houtum-Schindler, *Eastern Persian Irak*, London 1898, 125–9). The number of villages in all the *bulūks* except Karārīj and Barā'ān, which had declined, and Rūdasht, which was unaltered, had increased by the 19th century. Under Riḍā Shāh, Isfahan was reduced to a district or sub-province (*shahristān*) and formed part of the Tenth Ustān, which also included, as separate *shahristāns*, Shahr-i Kurd, Shahriḍā, Firaydan, Yazd, Ardīstān and Nā'in. Its population according to the census of 1319 (A.H.S.)/1941–2 was 240,598, but by 1956–7 the population of the *shahristān*, which comprised the town of Isfahan, Sidih, Falāvarjān, Najafābād, and Kūhpāya (Quhpāya), was 880,027.

Physically and climatically, Isfahan is a varied province ranging from the mountain districts of Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall, with their extensive pastures where transhumance is practised, the plateau in the north and north-west where oasis-farming prevails, the immensely fertile riverain plain of Isfahan, and districts in the east and north-east bordering the *kavūr*. Rainfall is heaviest in the mountain districts of Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall, where it is *ca.* 10 inches with heavy snowfalls in winter. In the town of Isfahan, the annual rainfall is *ca.* 5 inches and falls mainly from November to April. The prevailing winds are north-west in winter and south-east in summer. Temperature varies with altitude. Extremes of heat and cold occur in August and January. In the mountain districts the cold is intense in winter, but the heat is not very great in summer. In the neighbourhood of the town of Isfahan the seasons are extremely regular. The mean monthly maximum temperature in the town in August is 36.1° C. and the mean monthly minimum temperature in January is –2.2° C. Humidity is low. Outbreaks of plague are recorded in 324/936, 344/955–6, and 423/1031–2,

when 4,000 people died, and 810/1407–8. The only severe earthquake recorded in Isfahan took place in Rabī' I 239/950, when many people were killed (Houtum-Schindler, 124; Muḥammad Mīhdī, 96).

Except in Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall, where dry farming is practised, all cultivation is irrigated by river water, *qanāts*, or wells. Water in the Isfahan plain is found at a depth of 12–15 ft. In recent years, a large number of machine-operated wells have been sunk, which has been a contributory factor in the lowering of the water-table which has taken place. The Zāyanda-rūd River, or Zanda-rūd (also called by Ibn Rusta, Māfarrukhī and others the Zarīn-rūd), which rises on the eastern slopes of the Zarda Kūh, receives various tributaries from Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall and then flows south-east through the town of Isfahan and finally disappears in the Gāvkhūnī marsh to the east of the town. Between Linjān, where the Zāyanda-rūd enters the Isfahan plain and this marsh, it waters the *bulūks* of Linjān, Mārbīn Jay, Karārīj, Barā'ān, and Rūdasht, by means of 105 canals, known locally as *mādīs*. The original distribution of the water was attributed by Ibn Rusta to Ardashīr b. Bābak. The modern division of the water goes back, according to tradition, to Shāh 'Abbās. Between Linjān and the Gāvkhūnī the river was crossed by twelve permanent and two temporary bridges. Below the last of these at Varzana there are three dykes or dams for the purpose of raising the water to irrigate the land on either side. One, the Band-i Marwān, was built in Umayyad times (A.K.S. Lambton, *The regulation of the waters of the Zāyanda Rūd*, 663–73). In 1954 a tunnel connecting the Zāyanda-rūd with the Kārūn was opened at Kūhrang, which materially increased the flow of water in the Zāyanda-Rūd. This plan was first conceived by Shāh Tahmāsp. His successor, Shāh 'Abbās, began to cut through the mountains near Kūhrang, but the work was abandoned before completion. New plans were made during the reign of Riḍā Shāh to tunnel through the Kūhrang in order to join the two rivers. In 1970 the Shāh 'Abbās the Great dam was opened in the Kavand district. This dam enables the flow of water to be regulated throughout the year so that surplus water no longer flows into the Gāvkhūnī marsh, which was reported to be drying up.

Many of the early Islamic geographers, also Māfarrukhī, his Persian translator, Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āvī (*Tarjuma-yi Maḥāsīn-i*

*Isfahān*, ed. ‘Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran 1949–50), and numerous other writers speak of the excellent climate, fertility and abundant crops of Isfahan. These included wheat, barley, millet, opium, which became an important export in the 19th century, rice (in Linjān and Alinjān), cotton, tobacco, various oilseeds, pulses and legumes, beet, madder, saffron, many kinds of vegetables and herbs, melons, grapes, fruits of various kinds, almonds and nuts. The Isfahani peasant is known for his thrift and good farming (A.K.S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962–1966*, Oxford 1969, 145). Animal manure, sewage and pigeon manure collected in pigeon-towers, a characteristic feature of the landscape of the Isfahan plain, noted by many travellers (see Curzon, ii, 19–20), have traditionally been used in agriculture round Isfahan. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī mentions excellent pastures in the neighbourhood of Isfahan. In many parts of the province, flocks are a supplementary source of livelihood, and in Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall the main source. From these two districts abundant meat supplies also were available to Isfahan. Formerly horse-breeding and mule-breeding were important in Chahār Maḥall, and camels were kept in the Ardistan district. Rugs and carpets are woven in different parts of the province. Isfahan was also noted for its textiles (cf. Olearius, *The voyages and travels of the ambassadors...*, London 1669, 225), armour and brass-work. Small mineral deposits were formerly worked in Quhistān and Taymara, but had fallen out of use by the second half of the 19th century.

The province of Isfahan, in view of its central position, has experienced most of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the Arab conquest. The population is nevertheless remarkably homogenous, apart from certain well-marked geographical areas, notably Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall, which are inhabited chiefly by Bakhtiārī tribes, and small Jewish and Christian minorities mainly in the town of Isfahan. For the rest the various settlers brought in by different dynasties which successively ruled the province have been absorbed into the local population. Jews, as stated above, have been settled in Isfahan from ancient times. Benjamin of Tudela, writing in the 6th/12th century, states that there were 15,000 Jews in the town (Elkan Adler, *Jewish Travellers*, London 1930, 53). By the 19th century their numbers had fallen. Curzon puts them at only 3,700 (i, 510; see further W.J. Fischel, *Isfahan, the story of a*

*Jewish community in Persia*, 111 ff.). Under Shāh ‘Abbās, Armenians were brought from Julfā and settled south of Isfahan in a suburb which came to be known as New Julfā. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century their numbers reached 30,000. After the fall of the Safavids, because of oppression and persecution, their numbers were greatly reduced. In 1889 there were only some 2,000 Armenians in Julfā (Curzon, ii, 51–3). Small settlements of Armenians and Georgians in Firaydan and Chahār Maḥall are also said to go back to the time of Shāh ‘Abbās.

Isfahanis are noted for their vigour, quickness of intellect and good craftsmanship. Māfarrukhī states that the best Isfahanis were very good but the bad very bad. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi ‘l-Riqlā Āvī also mentions their intelligence and skill as craftsmen. Qazwīnī similarly praises their craftsmanship and learning in *fiqh*, *adab*, astronomy and medicine. Māfarrukhī relates that Anūshīrvān preferred Isfahani troops, especially those of Firaydan, over all others. The city has produced many scholars, divines, and literary men.

Factional and sectarian strife between Shāfi‘īs and Ḥanafīs appears to have been a common feature of Isfahani life in mediaeval times (cf. the verses by Kamāl al-Dīn Iṣfahānī, quoted by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzha*, 49–50, and others). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited Isfahan in 727/1326–7, states that the people of Isfahan had fine figures and clear white skins tinged with red, and were brave, pugnacious, and generous, and given to much hospitality, and also to sectarian strife. “The city of Isfahan is one of the largest and fairest of cities, but is now in ruins for the greater part, as the result of the feud there between the Sunnīs and Rāfiḍīs” (*The travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa A.D. 1325–1354*, tr. Gibb, ii, 294–5). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī also mentions their courage and the prevalence of faction. He states that the majority were Sunnīs of the Shāfi‘ī rite and that they performed their religious duties very exactly. After the adoption of Shi‘ism under the Safavids, Shāfi‘ī-Ḥanafī strife disappeared, but a new form of factional strife between Ḥaydarīs and Ni‘matīs, popularly supposed to have been started and encouraged by Shāh ‘Abbās, began. It was still strong in the 19th century. Curzon, writing in the late 19th century, gives an unfavourable account of the people of Isfahan. He alleges that they enjoyed an unenviable reputation for cowardice and morals, and were niggardly and



close in business matters, and that the local *lūṭīs* of Isfahan were regarded as the biggest blackguards in Persia (ii, 43).

### 1. *Isfahan in the early Islamic centuries*

There are two versions of the capture of Isfahan by the Muslims. According to the Kufan school, it took place in 19/640. On the order of the caliph ‘Umar, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Itbān marched on Jay, which was commanded by one of the four *pādhospān* of the Persian empire (see Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser und Araber*, 151, no. 2; cf. Christensen, *L’empire des Sassanides*, 87), who, after several battles, capitulated on condition that *jizya* was replaced by an annual tribute. Al-Ṭabarī gives the date as 21/641–2. The Basran school state that in 23/644 Abū Mūsā Ash‘arī, after Nihāwand, took Isfahan, or that his lieutenant ‘Abd Allāh b. Budayl received the capitulation of the town on the usual conditions of the establishment of *kharāj* and *jizya*. Māfarrukhī states that the *jizya* and *kharāj* of Isfahan in the first year of the conquest amounted to 40,000,000 dirhams.

Under the Patriarchal Caliphs and the Umayyads, Isfahan came under the jurisdiction of the governors of Basra and Iraq, who usually appointed the governors of Isfahan. It did not entirely escape the disturbances committed by the Khārijites. In 68/687–8 the town was besieged by the Azāriqa branch, who were defeated by ‘Itāb b. Warqa and fled to Fars and Kirman. From 75/694 al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, who had become governor of Iraq, appointed governors over Isfahan. During his government, there appears to have been some settlement by Banū Tamīm in Jay, Banū Qays in the *rustāq* of Anār and Taymara, Banū ‘Anaza in Jāpalaq and Barqrūd, and Ash‘arīs in Kumīdān, the *rustāq* bordering Rayy and Qūmis. Arab settlement in Ardistān also traditionally goes back to early Islamic times, and in the late 19th century Ardistānīs still traced back their genealogies to Arab ancestors.

In 127/744–5 ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya, the ‘Alid rebel, seized Isfahan and held it for some two years until he was put to flight by ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra, who recovered Isfahan for the Umayyads. After the ‘Abbasid revolt broke out in 130/747, Qaḥṭaba, Abū Muslim’s general, defeated an Umayyad force in the neighbourhood of Isfahan and in 131/748–9 a second and larger force under ‘Āmir b. Ḍubāra was

defeated near the town. From 132/749–50, ‘Abbasid governors were appointed over Isfahan. On the whole, its history under the early ‘Abbasids appears to have been uneventful, apart from its abortive seizure in 138/755–6 by Jumhūr b. ‘Ijlī, who rebelled against al-Manṣūr. Under Hārūn al-Rashīd, as stated above, Qumm was separated from Isfahan in 189/804–5. Its *kharāj* after this amounted to some 12,000,000 dirhams. After the civil war, Isfahan became part of the government of Ḥasan b. Sahl. In 200/815–6 and 201/816–17 there was a severe famine. Whether this had anything to do with an apparent decrease in the revenue or not, it had fallen to 10,500,000 dirhams in the year 204/237 according to Qudāma. In 221–2/836–7 it was still lower, being only 7,000,000 dirhams, according to Ibn Khurradādhbih. This may, perhaps, have been due in part to the fact that about 218/833 the Khurramdīnī movement, which had caused dislocation in Azerbaijan for many years, spread to Isfahan. An army sent by al-Mu‘taṣim put the disturbances down. According to al-Ya‘qūbī, the revenue had again risen towards the end of the century to 10,000,000 dirhams while Ibn Rusta puts it at over 10,300,000 dirhams.

In 253/867 ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. Abī Dulaf was appointed to the government of Isfahan, which remained in the hands of the Banū Dulaf until 282/895–6 when al-Mu‘taḍid seized Ibn Abī Dulaf’s property. In 260/873–4, Yaḥyā b. Harthama appears to have reassessed Isfahan. In the following year, Isfahan passed briefly under the control of the Saffārid Ya‘qūb b. Layth. The Banū Dulaf, who had been reinstated, continued, however, to hold the government of the province, as they did also under ‘Amr b. Layth, who succeeded in 265/879. In due course, when al-Muwaffāq felt strong enough to move against ‘Amr, he ordered Aḥmad b. ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. Abī Dulaf in 271/884–5 to attack ‘Amr. The latter was defeated, and Isfahan once more came under the control of the caliphate. In 284/897–8 ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā was sent to Jibāl and ordered to reassess Isfahan and abrogate the assessment (*dastūr*) of Yaḥyā b. Harthama. Ibn Rusta, who lived in Isfahan and probably wrote his account of the town about 290/903, described Jay as measuring half a league across and covering an area of 2,000 *jarībs* (ca. 600 acres). It had four gates and 100 towers.

‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Misma‘ī, who had been appointed governor in 290/902–3, rebelled

in 295/907–8 with the support of Kurds from the mountain regions to the south-west. He was subdued by a force sent by al-Muqtadir under Badr al-Ḥammāmī, who became governor of Isfahan. The latter was succeeded by ‘Alī b. Wahsūdān, the Daylamite, who, when he was appointed governor of Fars in 300/912–13, also became governor of Isfahan. In 301/913, Isfahan passed for a brief period under the nominal rule of the Samanids, but in 304/916–17 it was again under an ‘Abbasid governor, Aḥmad Šu‘lūk, during whose tenure of office Ḥamīd, the vizier of al-Muqtadir in 307/919–20, farmed the *kharāj* of Isfahan on a *muqāṭa‘a* contract. In 311/923–4 Aḥmad rebelled but was defeated and killed.

## 2. *The Buyids*

A troubled period now began for Isfahan. In 315/927 Mardāwīj b. Ziyār took the city and appointed Aḥmad b. Kayghaligh governor. In 319/931 the Daylamite Lashkarī took Isfahan from Aḥmad, who subsequently recovered the city and killed Lashkarī. Muẓaffar b. Yāqūt, whom al-Muqtadir had appointed governor of Isfahan in the same year, does not appear to have gone there. Mardāwīj meanwhile returned to the city where he billeted large numbers of troops. Some two years later, in 321/933, ‘Alī b. Būya ‘Imād al-Dawla, who had been appointed by Mardāwīj over Karaj, took Isfahan, but retired when Mardāwīj sent his brother Wūshmgīr against him. In the same year, al-Qāḥir appointed Muḥammad b. Yāqūt governor of Isfahan after he had written to Mardāwīj bidding him to evacuate the city in return for recognition as ruler of Rayy and the Jibāl, and to Wūshmgīr to retire from Isfahan. Al-Qāḥir was deposed shortly afterwards. Mardāwīj retained Isfahan and in the following year, after ‘Alī b. Būya had seized Fārs and his brother Aḥmad had occupied Kirman, set out again for Isfahan, where he was assassinated by his Turkish troops. ‘Alī b. Būya and his brother Ḥasan Rukn al-Dawla then occupied Isfahan, turning out Wūshmgīr. The latter recovered it in 327/938–9, but in the following year Ḥasan retook it and continued to rule it until his death in 366/976, though a Khurasani force under Maṣṣūr b. Qarāteḡīn temporarily took the city in 339/950–1. In 343/954 Isfahan again suffered a Khurasani incursion, and was plundered by Abū ‘Alī Chaghānī.

On the death of Rukn al-Dawla, Isfahan went to his son Mu‘ayyid al-Dawla, who, from 367/977, ruled as ‘Aḍud al-Dawla’s subordinate. He was followed in 372/982–3 by his brother Fakhr al-Dawla. The latter died in 387/997, and was succeeded by his four-year-old son Majd al-Dawla, whose mother became the effective ruler of the kingdom. Majd al-Dawla, resenting his mother’s interference, made an abortive attempt in 397/1006 to throw off her control. In the following year ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Dushmanziyār, the maternal uncle of Fakhr al-Dawla’s wife, became governor of Isfahan, which he ruled intermittently until his death in 433/1041–2. He was expelled by the Buyid, Ibn Fūlād, in 407/1016–17 but regained the city in 411/1020–1. In 418/1027–8 he was besieged for four months by ‘Alī b. ‘Umrān the Ispahbad and Manūchihr b. Qābūs. In 420/1029 he lost Isfahan to Maṣ‘ūd b. Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid. Having appointed a governor over the city, Maṣ‘ūd went away, but when the Isfahanis rose and killed the Ghaznavid governor, he returned and massacred a large number of the inhabitants. In the following year ‘Alā’ al-Dawla recovered the city, but Anūshīrvān b. Qābūs, with the help of Ghaznavid troops, put him to flight. In 423/1032 he returned to Isfahan and in 424/1032–3 Maṣ‘ūd gave him the government of the city in return for a sum of money. In the following year, ‘Alā’ al-Dawla was again defeated by a Ghaznavid force. He retired to Firaydan and Khwānsār. After collecting reinforcements he retook the city in 427/1035–6.

In spite of repeated disorders in Buyid times, Isfahan became a flourishing and extensive city, especially during the vizierate of the Šāḥib Ismā‘īl Ibn ‘Abbād to Mu‘ayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla. The Ṭabara or Ṭabarak quarter was added by the Buyids, its fortress being built according to tradition by Rukn al-Dawla or Mu‘ayyid al-Dawla. In 429/1037–8 ‘Alā’ al-Dawla built a wall round the city, for which purpose he laid heavy impositions on the people. The city under the Buyids contained splendid private and official residences, stables, baths, gardens, and fine well-stocked bazaars. Ibn Ḥawqal mentions the wealth and trade of Isfahan and its export of silks and textiles to other provinces. No other city between Iraq and Khurasan except Rayy had more trade. There was a congregational mosque in Shahristān and Yahūdiyya, which was more

than twice the size of the former and bigger than Hamadan. Māfarrukhī records that formerly nearly 2,000 sheep and goats and 100 head of cattle were slaughtered daily in Isfahan (86–7). If these figures are at all accurate, even allowing, in view of the high prosperity, for a much heavier meat consumption than in later times, the population, on a conservative estimate, would have been over 100,000.

### 3. *The Saljuqs*

During the reign of Maḥmūd, the Ghuzz Turks had begun to move into Persia. They were active to the north and north-west of Isfahan but do not appear to have penetrated to the city itself, though in 430/1038–9 ‘Alā’ al-Dawla marched from Isfahan against bodies of Ghuzz who had been operating in the neighbourhood of Dīnawar and defeated them. It was not until some years after the battle of Dandānqān (431/1040) that the Saljuqs took Isfahan. In 434/1042–3 Toghriī Beg advanced on the city. Farāmurz, who had succeeded his father ‘Alā’ al-Dawla in the previous year, bought him off and agreed to read the *khuṭba* in his name. Farāmurz later allied himself with the Buyid Abū Kālījār and omitted Toghriī’s name from the *khuṭba*. In 438/1046–7 Toghriī once more advanced on Isfahan and on this occasion laid siege to the city. Farāmurz submitted, agreeing to pay an annual tribute and to read the *khuṭba* in Toghriī’s name, but once Toghriī left the district he again withdrew his allegiance.

In 442/1050 Toghriī besieged the city for the second time. It fell after nearly a year, in Muḥarram 443/1051. Toghriī appointed a young Nishapuri over the city and ordered that no taxes should be demanded for three years. His conciliatory policy was successful. The city rapidly recovered its prosperity and those who had been scattered abroad during the years of disorders and famine returned. Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who came to Isfahan via Khān Linjān in 444/1052, wrote that the people there were secure and at peace and went about their own business. Speaking of Isfahan, he states that it was the most populous and flourishing city that he had seen in Persian-speaking lands. Describing the thriving condition of the town, he states that it had a large congregational mosque and many bazaars, including one occupied by 200 *ṣarrāḡs*, and caravansarais in which many merchants were to be found. The town

had a strong wall with battlements, said to be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *farsakhs* in circumference; the quarters of the town were divided from each other by gates (*Safar-nāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, Persian text, 92–3).

Toghriī Beg is alleged to have been much attached to the city. He moved his capital there from Rayy and made it his chief residence for the last twelve years of his reign. He spent over 500,000 *ḍinārs* on public buildings and improvements in the city and its environs. It continued throughout the Great Saljuq period to be one of the main centres of the empire and to be directly administered (whereas much of the empire was alienated from the control of the central government as *iqṭā’s*). Alp Arslān also treated the people of Isfahan with favour. Malik Shāh received the caliph’s investiture as *walī al-‘ahd* or designated heir there in 464/1071–2. On the death of Alp Arslān, Qāwurd b. Chaghri Beg, in an abortive attempt to assert his claim to the throne, briefly occupied Isfahan. During the reign of Malik Shāh, Isfahan reached great heights and became an important Sunni centre (see A. Bausani, *Religion in the Saljuq period*, in *CHIr*, v, Cambridge 1968, 283–302). Both he and his vizier Nizām al-Mulk exerted themselves in its development. Māfarrukhī relates that it was exempted during the reign of Malik Shāh from *qisma* and *taqsīl* and extra-ordinary dues. Announcements to this effect were made in the mosques and tablets put up at the gates and on the walls of the bazaars. The Gulbār quarter, in which is situated the square now known as the Maydān-i Kuhna, with government offices and residences, was added. New mosques were built and additions made to old ones, notably the old congregational mosque (see A. Godard, *Historique du Maṣṣid-é Djum’a d’Isfahan*, in *Āthār-é Irān*, i–iii [1936–8]; A. Gabriel, *Le Maṣṣid-i Jum’a d’Isfahan*, in *Ars Islamica*, ii [1935]). A fortress was made in Diz Kūh (Shāhdiz) where Malik Shāh kept his armoury and treasury. Nizām al-Mulk built a Nizāmiyya in the Dardasht quarter. The annual revenue of the property which he constituted into *waqf* for it was over 10,000 *ḍinārs*. According to Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi ‘l-Riḍā Āvī, the *madrasa* was still in existence in 729/1328–9, but its endowments had been usurped.

With the death of Malik Shāh in 485/1092, Isfahan ceased to prosper, though as the capital of the empire its possession was of importance to those who contended for power. The townspeople

were probably not closely engaged in these struggles, but it is likely that the prevailing insecurity and the coming and going of troops dislocated their lives to some extent and engendered discontent. The balance between order and disorder in the city was always delicate, as the following incident which happened about this time shows. A report was spread that a certain blind man, alleged to be a Bāṭinī or Ismāʿīlī, had lured unsuspecting people to their death. The populace rioted and seized and burnt all who were accused of being Bāṭinīs. This did not, however, end the activities of the Bāṭinīs. ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAṭṭāsh, the *dāʿī*, had laid the foundations of the movement carefully during the reign of Malik Shāh, and in the disorders following his death the movement spread.

Tāj al-Mulk and Turkān Khātūn, Malik Shāh's wife, read the *khutba* in Baghdad, where Malik Shāh had died, in the name of her four-year-old son Maḥmūd and hastened to Isfahan. Berkyaruq, the son of Zubayda Khātūn, who had been seized by the supporters of Turkān Khātūn, but later freed by the Nizāmiyya *mamlūks*, left the city on the approach of Turkān Khātūn, but subsequently returned and besieged her there. In 487/1094, on the sudden death of Turkān Khātūn, who had meanwhile distributed to her followers all the treasure and stores which had been accumulated in Isfahan, Berkyaruq re-entered the city. He remained in possession for some years, although mainly absent from it dealing with rebellions in other parts of his empire. From about 490/1097, however, when the struggle with his half-brother Muḥammad began, his position in the city was no longer secure. In 492/1098–9, after numbers of his army had deserted to Muḥammad, he was refused entry and forced to retire to Khūzistān. The struggle between the brothers continued for the next five years or so, during which time the Bāṭinīs greatly increased their power in Isfahan and the neighbourhood. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Malik ʿAṭṭāsh, who had succeeded his father as *dāʿī* at Isfahan, obtained entry to the fortress of Shāhdiz (according to one account as schoolmaster to the garrison), won them over and seized the fortress. By 494/1100 the Bāṭinīs were collecting taxes in its neighbourhood and had also gained possession of the fortress of Khān Linjān. Berkyaruq, who had been, rightly or wrongly, accused of Bāṭinī sympathies, now decided to move against the Bāṭinīs. The Shāfiʿī *qāḍī*, Abu ʿl-Qāsim Khujandī, roused the populace, and a large number

of persons accused of being Bāṭinīs were rounded up and burnt. The Bāṭinīs, however, remained in possession of Shāhdiz.

In 495/1102, Muḥammad, having been defeated near Rayy by Berkyaruq, fled to Isfahan, where he was besieged by his brother for some nine months. During this period he was forced twice to ask loans of the prominent people of the city to satisfy the demands of his troops. When the city finally became short of food, Muḥammad escaped and fled to Azerbaijan, where he was pursued by Berkyaruq. The struggle continued until 497/1103–4 when peace was made and Berkyaruq returned to Isfahan. On Berkyaruq's death in the following year, Muḥammad re-entered the city. One of his first tasks was to reduce the Bāṭinīs in Shāhdiz and the neighbourhood. For some time, Aḥmad b. ʿAṭṭāsh negotiated successfully to be allowed to remain as chief of the garrison, and it was not until 500/1107 that a capitulation was agreed to. Some of the garrison accepted a safe conduct, but the remainder fought to the end. Aḥmad was finally captured, paraded through the town and skinned alive (see further M.G.S. Hodgson, *The order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, and idem, *The Ismāʿīlī state*, in *CHI*, v, 422–82). There does not appear to have been any renewal of Bāṭinī activities after this apart from isolated incidents, such as the burning of the Friday mosque and its library in 515/1121–2, which was attributed to them.

From 500/1106–7 until Muḥammad's death in 511/1118, Isfahan remained the main centre of the Great Saljuq empire. Thereafter, power moved to Khurasan, where Sanjar ruled as the Great Saljuq sultan, while Isfahan and the western provinces were disputed by the Saljuqs of Iraq and their Atabegs. There were renewals of sectarian strife, notably an outbreak in 560/1164–5 between the Khujandī faction and others accompanied by arson, destruction of property and loss of life. In 590/1194 Isfahan was taken by the Khwārazm Shāh Tekish, to whom the caliph al-Nāṣir had appealed in *ca.* 588/1192 for help against Toghrīl, the last of the Saljuqs of Iraq. Isfahan changed hands several times in the subsequent campaigns between the caliph and the Khwārazm Shāh. In 623/1226 the Mongol armies under Churmaghūn reached the neighbourhood of Isfahan, and in 625/1228 Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm Shāh defeated them outside the city (J.A. Boyle, *Dynastic and political history of the Īl-Khāns*, in *CHI*, v,

330). Although he was unable to sustain his victory, Isfahan did not finally fall until about 638/1240–1, when it was delivered into the hands of the Mongols by treachery within the walls.

#### 4. *The Il-Khanids and Timurids*

In addition to the disorders and extortion which everywhere accompanied Mongol rule, the fact that the centre of the kingdom was moved to Azerbaijan was also to the detriment of Isfahan. The Isfahanis did not easily accept Mongol rule and proved a tough proposition for the conquerors. Bahā' al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Juwaynī, who was appointed governor of Isfahan and Iraq by Abaqa, took a strong line because of the reputation of the Isfahanis for rioting and disorder. He placed heavy impositions upon them, and broke them by his severity. Thieves and disturbers of the peace were reduced to obedience and security was established in the city and countryside.

By the 8th/14th century the natural advantages of Isfahan had enabled it to regain some of its former prosperity. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the price fixed for corn and other grain was always moderate and fruit extremely cheap (*Nuzha*, 49). In 735/1335 *dīwānī* taxes levied as *taṃghā* amounted to 350,000 currency dīnārs in Isfahan while 500,000 currency dīnārs were levied as *dīwānī* taxes from the surrounding districts. Fīrūzān, one of the three main cities of the Isfahan province in his time, paid 134,500 currency dīnārs as *dīwānī* taxation (*ḥuqūq-i dīwānī*). It is difficult to compare these figures with the figures for earlier periods because of the different methods of raising revenue and fluctuations in the value of the coinage. Ḥamd Allāh, however, maintains that there had been a marked decrease in the revenue in Mongol times and that the improvement made under Ghazan Khān was not sustained. There is no reason to suppose that Isfahan was exempted from this general tendency. Ḥamd Allāh also mentions that there were many *madrasas*, *khānqahs* and *awqāf* in Isfahan, though, as stated above, some of them had been usurped. From the account of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the craft guilds appear to have been in a thriving condition (ii, 295–6), though we have unfortunately little information about the internal and external trade of Isfahan at this time.

With the break-up of the Il-Khanid empire, Isfahan fell to the Chubānids. In 742/1341–2, Shāh Shaykh Abū Ishāq the Īnjūid, took it from them and later lost it to the Muẓaffarids, when Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muẓaffar obtained possession of it in 758/1357. The Muẓaffarids, although much split by internecine strife, were the most successful of the succession states. Their main centres, however, were in Fars and Kirman, and their rule did not restore Isfahan to its central position. The city was besieged several times and frequently changed hands. When, during Tīmūr's second expedition to Persia in 786–9/1384–7, the Muẓaffarid Zayn al-Ābidīn b. Shāh Shujā' refused a summons to join him, Tīmūr marched on Isfahan, which he reached in 789/1387. The 'ulamā' sued for peace. Tīmūr sent *muḥaṣṣils* into the town to collect the money which they had promised. A riot ensued in which the *muḥaṣṣils* were killed, together with many soldiers who had entered the town on their own affairs. Tīmūr in retaliation massacred 70,000 of the inhabitants (Nizām Dīn Shāmī, *Ẓafar-nāma*, ed. F. Tauer, Prague 1937, i, 104–5).

Prosperity did not return to Isfahan under Tīmūr's successors. Shāh Rukh besieged Mīrzā Iskandar there in 817/1414 from 4 Rabī' I to 2 Jumādā I when the city fell by assault and was looted. In 856/1452 Isfahan was taken by Jahānshāh of the Qara Qoyunlu and in the following year was sacked by him. In due course it passed under the control of the White Sheep, who ruled from Azerbaijan. The Venetians, Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, visited Isfahan when Uzun Ḥasan was there in 879/1474–5, and the former estimated the population to be only 50,000 (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josapha Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, London, 1873, 71–2; cf. G. Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Turin 1865). Even allowing for the roughness of the estimates, it is clear that there had been a big decline in population since Māfarrukhī wrote.

#### 5. *The Safavids*

Shāh Ismā'īl, the founder of the Safavid empire, took Isfahan in 908/1502–3. Both he and Shāh Ṭahmāsp made token gestures of favour to the Isfahanis. The former in 911/1505–6, according to an inscription in the congregational mosque, forbade the writing of

drafts on the districts of Isfahan and their inhabitants, and the latter, also according to inscriptions in the congregational mosque, remitted various taxes on the guilds and certain dues and tolls in 971/1563–4, and *rāhdārī* on foodstuffs, except imported sugar, and also forbade the quartering of troops in the city. In 955/1548 during the rebellion of Alqās Mīrzā, Isfahan was for a brief period taken by the Ottomans, and for some years prior to the accession of Shāh ‘Abbās great disorder appears to have prevailed in the city (Iskandar Beg, *‘Alam-ārā-yi ‘Abbāsī*, lith., Tehran 1896–7, 265). By the beginning of the 11th/17th century the Safavid empire extended from Georgia to Afghanistan and from the Caspian Sea to the Persian Gulf. Isfahan was its natural political, administrative, and commercial centre, as it had been of the Saljuq empire, and in 1005/1596–7 Shāh ‘Abbās made it his capital. He replanned and largely rebuilt the city. Later additions were made by Shāh ‘Abbās II and Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. Here the Safavid Shahs were visited by embassies from European powers, factors of the great trading corporations, and representatives of the religious orders of Christendom. Many of these foreign visitors resided for long periods in the city, where “a life of gorgeous ceremonial mingled with holiday festivity rendered Isfahan the most famous and romantic city of the East” (Curzon, ii, 22 ff., 546 ff.; see also L. Lockhart. *The fall of the Ṣafavī dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, appx. III, 473–85).

Chardin, who visited Persia from 1664–70 and 1671–77 calls Isfahan “the greatest and most beautiful town in the whole Orient”, in which there were to be found inhabitants of all religions, Christians, Jews, Mahommedans, gentiles, and fire-worshippers, and merchants from the whole world (*Voyages*, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, viii, 134). He states that there were 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1,802 caravansarais, 273 baths and 12 cemeteries within its walls. The caravansarais were full of Armenians, who traded in cloth, while the place of the *ṣarrāfs* of earlier times had been taken by Banians, of whom there were, according to Thévenôt, 1,500 in 1665. The city by this time had grown enormously. Estimates of the population varied from 600,000 to 1,100,000. Chardin who records that 2,000 sheep were killed daily in the city, 500 in the suburbs, and 90 in the Shāh’s kitchens, while giving no precise figure for the population, believed Isfahan to be as populous

as London. This suggests that its population was between 600,000 and 700,000. Muḥammad Mīhḏī gives the latter figure for the population by the death of Shāh ‘Abbās and estimates it at 1 million under Shāh Ṣaḡī and still higher under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (176–8; see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 476–7).

Administration under Shāh ‘Abbās and his successors was highly centralised. The different departments, with their elaborate procedures, had their offices in Isfahan (see further Mīrzā Raff‘ā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*, ed. Muḥammad Taqī Dānish Pazhūh, in *Rev. de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines*, Univ. of Tehran, xv, 5–6 and xvi, 1–4, which in some respects gives a fuller account of the organisation of the state than the *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London 1943). The city and neighbouring districts came under the *khāṣṣa* administration. Most of the land had been converted into *khālīṣa* and some into *waqf*. The vizier of Isfahan arranged for the cultivation of the former and the *wazīr-i mawqūfāt* (also called the *wazīr-i fayḍ āthār*) for the latter (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, p. xvi, 3, 319–21), while a special department under the *wazīr-i ḥalāl* administered Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn’s *awqāf* (*ibid.*, p. xvi, 3, 322).

In addition to land and property taxes, dues and tolls, the people were subject to *ad hoc* levies, while many local officials, such as the *mīrāb*, collected dues and fees as the whole or part of their emoluments. Drafts on the revenue were common practice and certain sums, especially for the payment of officials of the central government, were made a charge on different groups of taxpayers. For example 50 *tūmāns* was levied on the Armenians of Jawlāha (in Julfā) on account of the *in‘ām-i ḥamasāla* of the *amīr shikār-bāshī*. These practices were known under previous governments, but were less widespread than under the Safavids.

The craft guilds were assessed by the *naqīb al-ashrāf* in a lump sum, which was subsequently allocated among the individual members, subject to the acceptance of the assessment by two-thirds of the members. The *naqīb al-ashrāf* also appointed the elders (*rīshīfīdān*) of the dervishes and certain other guilds. Prices were under the control of the *muhtasib al-mamālīk*. Some of the guilds performed *corvées* for the court and some from time to time were granted exemptions from taxation. (Tavernier, 239; Chardin, iv, 95, vi, 119–20; A.K.S. Lambton, *Islamic society*

in *Persia*, inaugural lecture, School of Oriental and African Studies, London 1954, 22 ff. Public order within the city was under the *dārūghā*, who carried out summary punishment for disorders and acts contrary to the *Sharī'a*. The *ʿasas*, who belonged to the *dārūghā*'s office, patrolled the city with his men.

The *kalāntar* was the main link between the population and the government, corresponding in part to the earlier *raʾīs*. It was his duty to reconcile the interests of the two parties. He was usually recruited from among the notables of the town. He had general oversight of the *kadkhudās* of the districts and the craft guilds. Together with the vizier, he appointed the *kadkhudās* (see Lambton, *The office of kalantar under the Safavids and Afshars*, in *Mélanges Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963).

Under Shāh ʿAbbās, Isfahan again became an important religious centre, with this difference that orthodoxy was now Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism. Shīʿite divines were brought to Isfahan from other centres and taught and disputed there, but there is unfortunately little information on the course of the conversion of its inhabitants. By the middle of the 17th century religious festivals such as the *ʿīd-i qurbān* and the Muḥarram ceremonies were performed with passion and vigour. Under Shāh ʿAbbās there was strong supervision of religious affairs, as there was over other aspects of the life of the city. The religious classes were organised into corporations under the general oversight of the *ṣadr* (*Dastūr al-mulūk*, xvi, 1–2, 64). Under Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn a new office, that of *mullā-bāshī*, was created, and its holder made head of all the religious classes. The decision of *sharʿi* cases was in the hands of the *shaykh al-islām* and the *qāḍī*. Shāh ʿAbbās and his immediate successors treated other religions with toleration, but persecution began under Shāh Sulaymān and in the time of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn was directed, not only against other faiths, but also against Sunnis and Sufis (see further Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 32–5, 70–9).

The well-being of Isfahan, as the capital of the empire, was closely bound up with the fortunes of the Safavid dynasty, as it had been earlier with those of the Saljuq dynasty, whose capital it had also been. The fall of the Safavids, however, proved far more disastrous for Isfahan than that of the Saljuqs. By the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, a marked decay in standards of public and private life and administrative competence had taken place. Security in the town was also at a low ebb. Rustam al-Ḥukamāʾ gives a

list of bloodthirsty “toughs” (*pahlavānān va zabardastān va gurdān shabraw va ʿayyār*), and alleges that the Shāh was unable to punish them because the “pillars of the state protected and aided them”.

#### 6. The 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries

Eventually the Afghans rebelled and invaded central Persia. In 1134/1722, after the Safavid army had been decisively beaten at Gulnābād near Isfahan, the city was besieged (see Lockhart, *op. cit.*, 144 ff. for a detailed account of the siege). It was reduced to appalling straits and fell after six months. Some 20,000 persons were killed by enemy action and it is estimated that four times as many died from starvation and pestilence. The city was declared to have been conquered by force (*ʿanwat<sup>am</sup>*) and orders given for all land to be declared *khālīṣa*. Many of those who had escaped in the siege fled to India and the Ottoman empire. Sunnism once more, for a brief period, became the official religion.

The Safavid restoration which began when Nādir entered Isfahan in 1141/1729 with Ṭahmāsp, after defeating the Afghans near Murchakhwart, was short-lived. Isfahan was only a shadow of its former self. Many of the inhabitants who had survived the siege perished in the subsequent massacres. Heavy impositions were laid upon those who survived to pay the soldiery, by whom they were treated with great cruelty (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 39 ff.). When Nādir finally assumed the crown in 1148/1736, he moved the capital to Mashhad. Isfahan, like other parts of Nādir's empire, suffered heavy exactions. More land was confiscated for the state, and orders were given for the resumption of *awqāf*. ʿĀdil Shāh on his accession in 1160/1747–8 revoked Nādir's land decrees, but confusion continued to exist because there had been many cases of falsification of title deeds, destruction of land registers and usurpation (Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, London 1953, 131–2).

On Nādir's death, the people rose against the governor, who took refuge in the fortress of Ṭabarak, where he was besieged. He was eventually killed by one of his own *ghulāms*. Ibrāhīm Shāh then sent a new *beglarbegī* to the city in the person of Abu ʿl-Faṭḥ Khān Bakhtiyārī, who on Ibrāhīm Shāh's death shortly afterwards, ruled in the name of Abū Turāb Mīrzā, the eight-year old grandson (through the female line)

of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn. An abortive attack on the city was made shortly afterwards by ‘Alī Mardān Khān Bakhtiyārī, who retired to Luristān. After collecting reinforcements and allying himself to the Zands, he marched a second time on Isfahan in 1164/1750. Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Khān, having failed to raise any money from the townspeople, was unable to muster an army to oppose him. ‘Alī Mardān Khān entered the city, which was thereupon looted by his troops. For a brief period, ‘Alī Mardān Khān, Karīm Khān Zand and Abu ‘l-Faṭḥ Khān ruled the city and its neighbourhood jointly. The latter was then killed by ‘Alī Mardān Khān who was, in turn, dispossessed in 1165/1751–2 by Karīm Khān, who then appointed his brother Šādiq Khān as governor. For the next few years Isfahan was fought over by marauding bands of Zands, Afghans and Qajars. Its miseries were added to by famine in 1170/1756–7, which carried off 40,000 persons. Finally, in 1172/1758–9, Karīm Khān took the city. A period of peace now began and under the government of Muḥammad Rinānī, a local man whom Karīm Khān appointed governor in 1173/1759, the city recovered somewhat from the ravages of the previous years. Isfahan, however, did not regain its former pre-eminence: Shiraz became the capital in 1180/1766–7.

On the death of Karīm Khān, anarchy broke out once more. In 1199/1774–5 Isfahan was looted for three days when Bāqir Khān, the *kadkhudā* of Khwūrāskān, who had made himself governor, lost control on the advance of Ja‘far Khān Zand. In the following year, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār appointed his brother Ja‘far Qulī Khān governor of Isfahan. Under the Qajars the capital was moved to Tehran. Isfahan for a time remained the chief commercial city of the empire (J. Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, London 1813, 113), but gave way to Tabriz in the second half of the 19th century (Curzon, ii, 41). The events of the 18th century had taken a heavy toll on Isfahan. Olivier, who visited the city in 1796, describes its ruined condition and states that its population did not exceed 50,000 (*Voyage dans l’Empire Othoman, l’Égypte et la Perse*, Paris 1807, iii, 101). Morier in 1811, revising his own earlier estimate, which had been much higher, put the population at probably about 60,000, on the basis of a daily slaughter of 300 sheep (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor*, London 1818, 141–2).

After the death of Āghā Muḥammad Khān, an abortive attempt was made in 1212/1797–8 by Muḥammad Khān Zand to seize the city. This was followed by the rebellion of Ḥusayn Qulī Khān Qājār, who, however, fled the city in 1216/1801–2 on the approach of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh. In 1219/1804–5 there was a further setback to the well-being of the city in the shape of a severe famine caused by the ravages of locusts. About this time (or possible earlier) Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Nāẓim al-Dawla was made governor. He was a native of Isfahan, a self-made man who acquired great riches, largely in land, some of which he constituted into *waqf*. Under him and his son, Amīn al-Dawla, who succeeded him when he became *ṣadr-i a‘zam*, Isfahan began once more to prosper. On the death of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān in 1239/1823–4, Āṣaf al-Dawla, who succeeded him as *ṣadr-i a‘zam*, demanded a large sum in arrears (which was later remitted) from Isfahan and Amīn al-Dawla was dismissed. In 1242/1826–7 he returned to favour and became vizier to Sayf al-Dawla, the new governor of Isfahan. He was made *ṣadr-i a‘zam* in the following year, but fell on the death of Faṭḥ ‘Alī, which took place in 1250/1834–5 in Isfahan when he was on his way to Fars. Farmān-Farmā, governor of the province, made a bid for the throne but was defeated near Isfahan.

Renewed outbreaks of rioting in 1252/1836–7, 1254/1838–9, and 1255/1839–40, during which much damage was done, forced Muḥammad Shāh to come to Isfahan in 1256/1840–1 to deal with the disturbances. About 150 *lūṭīs* were seized and order restored. Riots broke out again in 1265–6/1848–9 during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn. After his visit to the city in 1267/1859, conditions began to improve, but severe famine in 1288/1871–2 and 1289/1872–3 once more arrested its growth. The population declined steeply. Zill al-Sulṭān was appointed governor in 1874, and by 1881 had become the virtual ruler of most of southern Persia. His government was severe and autocratic. Disorders were not tolerated. The city again began to flourish and the population to increase. According to a census taken in 1882, it was 73,654. Eleven years later Houtum-Schindler considered it had risen, by natural increase and immigration, to close on 82,000 (119–20; Muḥammad Mīhdī and Shaykh Jābirī Anṣārī, however, give higher estimates). In 1888, when Zill al-Sulṭān fell from power, he was deprived of all his governments



except Isfahan. During the reign of Muzaffār al-Dīn, who succeeded in 1896, there were various outbreaks of violence in the city, including an attack on the Bābīs in 1903–4. Winds of change were meanwhile blowing in Isfahan as elsewhere. Discontent with the government and its policies was spreading, and when the Constitutional Revolution came, Isfahan played a prominent part.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Isfahan acquired an industrial quarter, with production of textiles, including carpet-weaving, cotton fabrics and silk. Given the city's plethora of splendid Islamic monuments, it has now become a major tourist centre. Isfahan also has a University. It is at the present time the administrative centre of a province of the same name. In 2005 the city, recently designated by UNESCO a World Heritage City, had an estimated population of 2,540,000.

## II. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of Isfahan today constitute one of the most significant and complete architectural complexes preserved at the heart of a modern city which owes them much of its prestige. Carefully restored, the most important amongst them dominate the developing urban landscape in the midst of which they stand, while the old quarters, both in the built-up area of Isfahan itself and in the many surrounding villages, still harbour numerous modest structures, often partially ruined, which remain insufficiently studied. Some idea of the richness of this complex may be gathered from the fact that more than fifty structures of various kinds figure in the brief archaeological inventory drawn up about forty years ago by André Godard, and that this figure is still minute compared with that of the 162 mosques, 48 colleges, 1802 caravanserais, and 273 baths enumerated at the end of the 11th/17th century by that trustworthy traveller and observer, Chardin.

All these various buildings, however, famous and less known alike, on account of their nature and especially their date, bear but incomplete witness to the past of a city which from the 1st/7th century onwards has played an important role in the Islamic history of Iran. Belonging for the most part to the 11th/17th century, which saw the installation at Isfahan of the Safavid Shāh 'Abbās I, and with the oldest parts not going back beyond that

5th/11th (Saljuq) century in which the imperial vocation of the city was established by Malik Shāh and his ministers, they are insufficient to allow us to retrace on the ground with any degree of certainty the stages of the city's development, which began soon after the Arab conquest and for which the literary sources provide most of the evidence. The general outline both of the plan of the twin cities of Jay and al-Yahūdiyya, between which from the beginning of the 'Abbasid period the population of an already prosperous trading centre was divided, and of the locality used as a residence by the Buyid princes, can be seen only in such indications as the permanence of the site of the Great Mosque and a mud-walled Citadel, itself completely rebuilt several times, and the recent discovery of a doorway which probably belonged to the mosque of the Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād. The evidence is almost as vague regarding the organisation of a Saljuq capital, in which we can locate with difficulty, apart from the Great Mosque and Citadel already mentioned, the situation of a few sanctuaries still marked by minarets, and the probable site of the great *maydān*, by which, in earlier times, the royal palace and the Nizāmiyya *madrasa* stood. This situation, so inimical to any methodical approach to the architectural school of Isfahan, can in fact be attributed to the very conditions in which the town has survived, partially ruined more than once, and then rebuilt according to the unchanged techniques of an impermanent method of building in mud- or baked brick, or even in puddled clay, which was traditional in that area, and dictated by geography. Thus either side-by-side or the one above the other, urban nuclei replaced each other, comparable in their evolution to the large villages also situated in the oasis, which were themselves from time to time the object of intense architectural activity. And similar difficulties of identification, due both to the paucity and the frailty of archaeological landmarks, hinder the study of the older districts of present-day Isfahan, as well as that of the settlements, thriving or half-ruined, around the city, such as Būzūn, Barsyān, Gār, Sīn, Ziyār, Linjān/Pir-i Bakrān or Ashtarjān, to mention but a few among the best known, where significant remains dating from the Saljuq and Il-Khanid periods survived until recently and in some cases are still preserved.

In the centre as a whole, we must give particular attention to the Great Mosque, which by its antiquity

and extent provides us with an archaeological document of exceptional value: the *Masjid-i Jum'ā*, where authentic traces of the period of Malik Shāh between 465/1072 and 485/1092 have survived in the midst of later constructions or modifications no less worthy of interest (Figs. 47, 48). Here are abundant inscriptions from the 5th/11th century onwards, and noteworthy decorative elements such as the brick ornamentation in the interior of two Saljuq domed halls, or the stucco *mihrāb* of the Mongol ruler Öljeytü, are preserved there behind the *iwāns* and façades entirely covered in faience which give the courtyard its Safavid appearance. But the very variety of the pieces of evidence found together in this venerable yet disparate building, where the necessary sondages and investigations have never been carried out, prevents us from reconstructing its history with any degree of certainty. For this history contradictory hypotheses suggest widely differing interpretations, and there have even been produced more general theories, such as that of the “kiosk-mosque”, resting on assumptions as impossible to prove as to refute.

In effect, then, it is the Safavid achievements, either in isolation or taken in conjunction with earlier buildings of secondary importance reworked in the Safavid period (numerous small more or less disguised Saljuq or Il-Khanid sanctuaries are in this position), which make up the architectural landscape of the monuments in Isfahan today. This landscape, whose uniformity so well conceals the achievements of earlier periods, gives but an inadequate impression of the totality of the grandiose design for an imperial city once conceived by Shāh ‘Abbās I. However, it retains enough of the earlier features to enable one still to distinguish the overall plan which made the Maydān-i Shāh – the royal square in front of the ruler’s palace – into the majestic centre of the city; this centre led on one side to the older thoroughfare linking the Great Mosque both with the Citadel and the Pül-i Khājū, or at least with the bridge which had preceded the present bridge-barrage built by Shāh ‘Abbās II; it was completed on the other side of the royal palace and gardens by the new Chahār Bāgh avenue which led from these gardens to the Allāhverdi Khān bridge, which like the Chahār Bāgh itself dates from the monarch’s first series of architectural undertakings in 1006/1598 (see figs. 49, 50).

The Maydān-i Shāh itself, 510 m/1,670 feet long by 165 m/550 feet wide, framed by a wall of blind

arcades concealing a trading street full of shops, was a monumental work of art, splendidly complemented by the imposing perspective of the tree-lined Chahār Bāgh bordered with canals of running water over more than one and a half km/one mile. But the buildings which surrounded this square towards the end of the reign of Shāh ‘Abbās I, to the south the majestic royal mosque of Masjid-i Shāh (probably begun in 1021/1612–13), to the east the Masjid-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh (begun 1012/1603), to the north of the royal bazaar with its monumental gateway (built in 1029/1620), could be seen above all as worthy companions to the ‘Alī Qapu palace which had been constructed by Shāh ‘Abbās I on the basis of a Timurid pavilion, and which gave the monarch a panoramic view of the esplanade and its surroundings from the raised terrace of its *tālār* (see Figs. 51–3). This latter place, together with the Chihil Sutun palace which was soon erected not far away and inside the same enclosure, and whose construction must also have been started in 1006/1598, thus formed the essential preliminary starting-point in Shāh ‘Abbās’ plan to convert Isfahan above all into a “jewel box city” for his own residence.

Moreover, the importance of this “royal city” situated between the Maydān-i Shāh and the Chahār Bāgh continued to be strengthened under succeeding monarchs by the building of other sumptuous pavilions. But one last Safavid building for religious purposes from the 12th/18th century remains to be noted with the construction between 1118/1706 and 1126/1714 of the Māder-i Shāh *madrasa* and the adjoining caravanserai, which has also survived until today (see Fig. 54). Mention must be made, too, of those Armenian churches of the New Julfā district, in which can still be seen the fundamental characteristics of the imperial style dominant at the time when they were founded by an emigré colony.

The various buildings briefly listed here in order to recreate a panorama of Safavid Isfahan all possess as their prime quality the ability to serve as living testimony to a refined art form which caused the city to be described, as the expression of Gobineau’s admiring critical appreciation, as “a triumph of elegance and model of prettiness”, but which in effect makes it above all a museum the size of a city. Travellers and writers to whom it owes its fame have served it well up to now; it is to be hoped that such a complex of Safavid monuments will henceforth give

rise to precise scientific and aesthetic studies which will provide a clearer view of a distinctive historical epoch sharply defined in time and in space.

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### 2. MONUMENTS

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ISTANBUL, older Byzantine form Constantinople, rendered in Arabic as Qusṭanṭīniyya, a form which continued to be used also in Ottoman times for this ancient city, which was in Classical times at the eastern extremity of the province of Thrace. It lies on the western, European shore of the Bosphorus, the strait connecting the Sea of Marmora with the Black Sea, in lat. 41° 01' N., long. 28° 58' E.

Constantinople was the capital of the Byzantine Empire for roughly a millennium and then the capital of the Ottoman empire after the Turkish conquest of the city from the Greeks in 1453, till October 1923, when the Turkish Nationalists under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (the later Atatürk) established themselves at Ankara in central Anatolia. It was only after this event, in 1926, that the Turkish Post Office officially changed the name of the city from Constantinople/Qusṭanṭīniyya. In strict Ottoman usage, the name was only applied to the area bounded by the Golden Horn on the north, the Sea of Marmora on the east, and the Wall of Theodocius on the west; districts like Eyyüb/Eyüb further up the Golden Horn, Ghalata/Galata on the north side of the Horn, and Üsküdār/Scutari on the opposite shore of the Bosphorus, were separate townships, each with its own *qādī* or judge; but occasionally, the name Istanbul was applied to the whole urban agglomeration.

- I. The name of the city.
- II. Constantinople before the Ottoman conquest and its relations with the Islamic lands.
- III. The Ottoman conquest: events up to 861/1457.

- IV. The principles observed in the development of the Ottoman capital.
- V. The formation of the principal urban installations.
- VI. The formation of districts (*nāhiyes*) and their component quarters (*maḥalles*) in the 9th/15th century.
  - 1. Maḥmūd Pasha district.
  - 2. Murād Pasha district.
  - 3. Ebu 'l-Wefā district.
  - 4. Sultān Bāyezīd district.
  - 5. 'Alī Pasha district.
  - 6. Ibrāhīm Pasha district.
  - 7. Dāwūd Pasha district.
  - 8. Khoja Muṣṭafā Pasha district.
- VII. Developments in the 10th/16th century.
- VIII. The structure of the *maḥalle* or quarter: highways; building regulations; domestic architecture; fires; earthquakes.
  - 1. The *maḥalle*.
  - 2. Streets.
  - 3. Building regulations.
  - 4. Domestic architecture:
    - maḥalle* houses.
    - houses with gardens, walled about.
    - palaces and villas (*qaṣr*).
  - 5. Fires.
  - 6. Earthquakes.
- IX. The inhabitants: repopulation, religious minorities, the court and military personnel; epidemics; population statistics.
  - 1. Repopulation.
  - 2. Non-Muslims.
  - 3. The court and military personnel (the *Askerīs*).
  - 4. Epidemics.
  - 5. Population statistics.
- X. Post-1950 developments.
- XI. Monuments.

# I. THE NAME OF THE CITY

In the period of the Saljuq sultanate of Anatolia and under the early Ottomans the spelling “İstinbol”, “İstanbol” or “İstanbul” was used; the pronunciation “İstimboli” is attested by J. Schiltberger (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Constantinopolis* [Oberhummer] for the end of the 8th/14th century (cf. for the 6th/12th century, the Armenian form Stampol: H. Dj. Siruni,

in *Studia et Acta Orientalia*, iii [1960], 164). The spelling “S(î)tinbol”, “S(î)tanbol” occurs in Ottoman poetry.

Al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbīh*, 136) mentions, as early as the 4th/10th century, that the Greeks called the city “Būlin” and “Stanbūlin”; towards the end of the 10th/16th century F. Moryson (*An itinerary...*, ii, 97) notes that the Greek inhabitants called the city “Stimboli”, but the Turks “Stambol”. It is no longer in question that the Turkish forms (Stinbol/Stanbol > İstin(m)bol/Istan(m)bol > İstan(m)bul) derive from the Greek εἰς τὴν πόλιν (for the arguments against the derivation Constantinopolis > Constandipol see Oberhummer, *loc. cit.*; D.J. Georgacas, *The name of Constantinople*, in *American Philological Association: Transactions*, lxxviii [1947], 347–67).

The punning name Islām-bol (“where Islam abounds”) was, according to a contemporary Armenian source (see Siruni, *op. cit.*, 173), given to the city by its conqueror Meḥammed II (for similar “meaningful” names invented by him, cf. Boghaz-Kesen, Elbasan, Bögür-delen); it is found in documents of the 9th/15th century; in the 11th/17th century, the educated classes regarded it as the “Ottoman” name of the city (Ewliyā Chelebî); and a firman of 1174/1760 decreed that it should be substituted for the mint name Qoṣṭāntīniyye on coins (text in A. Refik, *İstanbul hayatı 1100–1200*, 185). In popular usage, however, the forms Istanbul or Istambul prevailed. The present-day official spelling is İstanbul. The original name Byzantion, of Thracian origin, is occasionally mentioned in Ottoman texts as the former name of the city, in various Arabic and Armenian forms: Byzantia, Byzandia, Buzantiye, Puzanta, Buzantis. The names *Rūmiyya al-kubrā*, *Takht-i Rūm* (cf. Μεγαλόπολις) and *Ghulghule-i Rūm* found in Muslim literary works (e.g. Ewliyā Chelebî), derive from the early Byzantine names (Nova) Roma, (Nēa) Rhōme.

In Islamic chancery usage, cities, like human dignitaries, were accorded particular epithets and benedictory formulae (*du'ā*, *salutatio*). Those used for Istanbul by the Ottomans reflect old Persian and Muslim concepts of centralised authority: Pāytakht-i Salṭanat, Takhtgāh-i Salṭanat, Maqarr-i Salṭanat, Dār al-Salṭana, Dār al-Khilāfa; also, Dār Naṣr, Madīnat al-Muwaḥḥidīn (cf. Islām-bol). In continuation of the traditional notions that the ruler's authority and “fortune” are interlinked (cf. in Old Turkish titlature *Qut*, *Qutluḡ*) and that justice is dispensed at the gate or threshold of the palace, Istanbul is often

indicated by such names as *Der-i Sa'adet* (Der-saadet) *Āsitāne*. The usual benedictory formula for Istanbul is *al-maḥmiyya* or *al-maḥrūsa*, i.e., “the Well-Protected” (by God, against disaster; and also by the sultan, against injustice). A typical reference to Istanbul in chancery usage is: *Dār al-Khilāfa al-'aliyya ve maqarr-i saltanat-i seniyyem olan maḥmiyye-i Koṣṭanṭīniyye* (Refik, *op. cit.*, 110).

The Qur'ānic phrase *balda ṭayyiba* (XXXIV, 14/15), a chronogram for the date of the Ottoman conquest (857/1453), and the phrase *ḥaḍrat al-mulūk* (Ewliyā Chelebi, i, 33, 55) are used for Istanbul only as literary conceits. As in Greek, so in Ottoman usage Istanbul was frequently referred to simply as “The City” (*shehīr*).

## II. CONSTANTINOPLE BEFORE THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE ISLAMIC LANDS

The city, which Constantine the Great on 11 May 330 raised to be the capital of the Eastern Empire and which was called after him, was known to the Arabs as *al-Qusṭanṭīniyya* (in poetry also *al-Qusṭanṭīna*, with or without the article); the older name *Byzantion* (*Buzantiyā* and various spellings) was also known to them, as well as the fact that the later Greeks, as at the present day, used to call Constantinople simply ἡ πόλις as “the city” par excellence (Mas'ūdī, iii, 406 = § 1291 n.; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 235; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 431, tr. Gibb, ii, 508). From εἰς τὴν πόλιν arose the Turkish name “Istanbul”. *Qusṭanṭīniyya*, with the variant *Qusṭanṭīniyya*, remained the official designation on coins and firmans under the Ottomans.

The campaigns of the Arabs against Constantinople. It is said that the Prophet himself had foretold the conquest of Constantinople by the faithful. The Ottoman historians adduce the following *ḥadīth* “You shall conquer Constantinople; peace be upon the prince and the army to whom this shall be granted!” Al-Suyūṭī's *al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḡhīr* is given as authority; older references are wanting. As a matter of fact, the Umayyads set about this enterprise with the energy and valour that inspired the early warriors of Islam. In the year of the world 6146 (beginning 1 September 653), according to Theophanes, 345, a fleet was equipped in Tripolis “against Constantinople”, which under the leadership of Αβουλαθάρ (i.e. Busr b. Abī Arṭāt) defeated the Greek fleet at Phoenix (Finika)

on the Lycian coast (the battle of Dhāt al-Ṣawārī), but did not reach Constantinople; at the same time, Mu'āwiya had invaded Byzantine territory by land.

In the year 44/644 took place the campaign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Khālīd, who advanced as far as Pergamon; the admiral Busr b. Abī Arṭāt, according to Arabic sources, is said to have reached Constantinople.

In the course of the next years, Fuḍāla b. 'Ubayd advanced as far as Chalcedon, and Yazīd, son of Mu'āwiya, was sent after him (according to Theophanes, in the year 6159 of the world, beginning 1 September 666; according to Elias of Nisibis, Yazīd appeared before Constantinople in 51/672); a fleet commanded by Busr b. Abī Arṭāt supported this enterprise. In 672 a strong fleet cast anchor off the European coast of the Sea of Marmora under the walls of the city. The Arabs attacked the town from April to September; they spent the winter in Cyzicus and renewed their attacks in the following spring until they finally retired “after seven years' fighting”. A great part of the fleet was destroyed by Greek fire; many ships were wrecked on the return journey (Theophanes 353 ff.). There are difficulties in the chronological arrangement in Theophanes of the various phases of this seven years' blockade. The land army seems to have appeared before Constantinople in 47/667 and the fleet to have finally retired in 53/673. The Arab historians vary between the years 48, 49, 50 and 52 and place the death of Abū Ayyūb in the year 50, 51, 52 or even 55. As the fighting around Constantinople was spread over several years, the difference in the estimates is not so unaccountable.

This siege has acquired particular renown in the Arab world, as the Anṣārī Abū Ayyūb Khālīd b. Zayd fell in it and was buried before the walls of Constantinople; the finding of his tomb during the final siege by Meḥammed II was an event only comparable to the discovery of the holy lance by the early Crusaders at the siege of Antioch. (The grave of Abū Ayyūb is first mentioned by Ibn Qutayba, 140; according to al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2324, Ibn al-Athīr, iii, 381, the Byzantines respected it and made pilgrimages to it in times of drought to pray there for rain (*istisqā'*); the Turkish legend is given very fully in Leunclavius and in the painstaking monograph by Ḥājījī 'Abd Allāh, *al-Āthār al-maḥḍiyya fi 'l-manāqib al-khālidiyya*, Istanbul 1257.)

There was a truce for over 40 years between Byzantines and Arabs until in 97/715–16 Sulaymān

b. 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne. A *ḥadīth* was at this time current according to which a caliph who should bear the name of a prophet was to conquer Constantinople. Sulaymān took the prophecy to refer to himself and equipped a great expedition against Constantinople. His brother Maslama led the army which was equipped with siege artillery through Asia Minor, crossed the Dardanelles at Abydos and surrounded Constantinople. The Arab armada anchored partly near the walls on the coast of the Sea of Marmora and partly in the Bosphorus; the Golden Horn was barred by a chain. The siege began on 25 August 716 and lasted a whole year; Maslama then found himself forced to retire owing to the attacks of the Bulgars and the scarcity of provisions (Theophanes, 386–99; full details in Ibn Miskawayh, ed. de Goeje, 24–33; cf. also al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1314 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, iv, 17 ff. There are many references to Maslama's hazardous march among the later Arabs. Even several centuries later they knew of "Maslama's Well" at Abydos, where he had encamped and the mosque built by him there. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭayyib, the first Muslim to lead an attack on the "Gate of Qusṭanṭīniyya" was one of Maslama's comrades. Maslama is said to have made the building of a house near the Imperial palace for the Arab prisoners of war one of the conditions of the treaty of peace and to have built the first mosque in Constantinople (al-Maḡdisī, 147; Ibn al-Athīr, x, 18); finally, he is credited with building the Tower of Galata and the 'Arab Jāmi' in Galata. Ewliyā and his sources have made two sieges out of Maslama's campaign and embellished their narrative with incredible stories. Nergesī (d. 1044/1634) discusses Maslama's campaigns in the fourth section of his *Pentās*, following, so he says, Muḥyī 'l-Dīn al-'Arabī's *Musāmarāt*.

Only on one other occasion did an Arab host appear within sight of Constantinople, namely in 165/782. Hārūn, the son of the caliph al-Maḥdī, had marched through Asia Minor unopposed and encamped at Chrysopolis (Scutari). The Empress Irene, who was acting as Regent for her son Constantine, hastened to make peace and agreed to pay tribute (Theophanes, 455 ff. under the year 6274 of the world [781–2]; al-Balādhurī, 168; al-Ṭabarī, iii, 504 ff.; Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 44; year 165/781–2). Ewliyā and his authority (Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Jamālī, died 957/1550) have made no less than four regular sieges of

Constantinople out of the campaigns of the Arabs under al-Maḥdī and Hārūn against the Greeks. After the second, Hārūn gained a quarter in the city by a trick similar to that by which Dido gained the site of Carthage (Ewliyā, i, 81 = *Travels, etc.*, i/1, 25); the same story is given by Clavijo, of the settlement of the Genoese in Galata, and Ewliyā, of the building of Rumeli Hışār by Meḥmed II.

The Arab accounts of Constantinople date from the 3rd/9th century. They considered the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosphorus as a single "canal" (*khalīj*), connecting the Mediterranean with the Black Sea. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and others mention the great chain which prevented the entrance of Arab ships; this is probably the chain, which was stretched between Galata and Constantinople in time of war, that is referred to. The high double walls of the city with their towers and gateways, including the Golden Gate, the Aya Sofya, the Hippodrome with its monuments (notably the Egyptian obelisk), the four brazen horses at the entrance to the palace, and the great equestrian statue in bronze of "Constantine" (really of Justinian, the so-called Augustus) are described by them in greater or less detail. Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Maḡdisī devote particular attention to the Praetorium where their countrymen, prisoners of war, were kept under a mild custody and to the mosque attributed to Maslama (Yāqūt, i, 709, s.v. *Balāt*, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De ceremoniis*, i, 592, 767). The most detailed account is that of Ibn al-Wardī (8th/14th century); he mentions the bronze Obelisk of Porphyrogenitus, the Pillar of Arcadius and the Aqueduct of Valens and also knew that the Golden Gate was closed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ii, 431–44, tr. Gibb, ii, 506–14) described from his own observation the monastic life of his time; the latest notices are given by al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1415) in his dictionary the *Qāmūs*.

Apart from prisoners of war, numerous Muslim merchants and envoys from the caliphs and other Muslim rulers sojourned in Byzantium; the Mamluk sultans occasionally banished thither troublesome persons with their families; Saljuq sultans and pretenders (Qīlīj Arslān II, Kaykhusraw I, Kaykāwūs II) repeatedly spent long periods in Constantinople; remarkable details of their life in the capital are given by Byzantine writer and in the Saljuq historians.

No definite traces have as yet been discovered of the two sieges by the Arabs and the residence

of Arabs and other Muslims in Constantinople; in particular, the mosque of Maslama has not come to light; it is first mentioned by Const. Porphyrr., *De adm.*, ch. xxii; it was destroyed in a popular rising in 1200 and pillaged by the Crusaders in 1203. According to Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 381, cf. x, 18 (whence Abu 'l-Fidā derives his information), it was restored in 441/1049–50 by Constantine Monomachos at the request of the Saljuq Toghriġ Beg. According to al-Maqrīzī, Michael VIII Palaeologus built a mosque about 660/1261–2 which the Mamluk Sultan Baybars equipped in splendid style. The accounts of the 'Arab Jāmi' and other buildings by the Arabs in Constantinople belong to the domain of fable.

### III. THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST: EVENTS UP TO 801/1457

The future development of the city was determined by the circumstances of the Ottoman conquest. When Meĥmed II proclaimed the assault and promised his troops a three-day sack, he announced: "The stones and the land of the city and the city's appurtenances belong to me; all other goods and property, prisoners and foodstuffs are booty for the troops" (see H. İnalcık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii–xxiv [1969–70], 232–5). The result was that the city was denuded of its former inhabitants and the character which it had possessed in the Byzantine period was radically changed. The Ottoman troops entered the city through the breach opened in the walls at dawn, on 20 Jumādā I 857/29 May 1453, and fought their way towards Hagia Sophia (Aya Sofya), but some defenders continued to resist (the Cretan sailors in the towers of Alexius held out until after midday, and the fighting ended only towards the middle of the afternoon. Practically all the survivors were made prisoner and taken to the ships or to the Ottoman camp outside the walls. The sultan, wishing to prevent the further destruction of the city which he intended to be henceforth his capital, proclaimed that afternoon that the fighting was to cease and made a brief tour of the city (Ducas, ed. Grecu, 375; Sphrantzes records that the sack lasted for three days, but it is clear that from 30 May onwards there was no serious plundering or enslavement). On 30 May the sultan made his ceremonial entry; he toured the city to inspect its buildings and visited the harbour

district. Entering Aya Sofya, he proclaimed that it should be the Great Mosque (*jāmi'-i kebīr*), and announced that henceforwards Istanbul should be his capital (*takht*) (İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 233). His first and principal concern was to encourage the repopulation of the city, so that on the third day after the conquest he proclaimed *amān*: any fugitive who returned within a specified time should freely re-occupy his home and practise his religion, and the Greeks were invited to elect a Patriarch as religious head of their community.

Before returning to Edirne on 13 Jumādā II/21 June, the sultan appointed Qarışdırān Süleymān Beg as *subaşı* (military prefect) of the city, with a garrison of 1500 Janissaries, and Khiḍr Beg Chelebi as *qāḍī*, and ordered the repair of the walls, the building of a citadel (Yedi Qule) by the Golden Gate, and the construction of a palace for himself at the Forum Tauri in the centre of the city (later known as Eski Sarāy). To commence the repopulation of the city, he settled the fifth of the prisoners falling to him as ruler, with their families, "along the shores of the city harbour", i.e., along the Golden Horn. He gave them houses and "freed them from taxes for a specified time". Immediately after the conquest he had considered appointing the Megadux Lucas Notaras as city prefect and entrusting him with the task of repopulation, but his viziers dissuaded him; Notaras and the other Byzantine notables were executed. He permitted enslaved prisoners who had paid ransom or who undertook to pay ransom within a specified time to settle in the city, granting them houses and a temporary exemption from taxation; he encouraged such slaves to earn their ransoms by working on building projects. Before the siege began, many inhabitants had fled the city; others had managed to conceal themselves during the sack or had fled to Ghalata. These, with the ransomed prisoners, formed the first Greek population of the city; that they were numerically few is shown by the census (*taḥrīr*) of 860/1455 (for which, see below), which further confirms the tradition that some of these Greeks embraced Islam. (A great many of the prisoners had been sold, at Edirne, Bursa and Gelibolu.) The *amān* did not cover any Venetians: the *bailo* Girolamo Minotto and his son were executed; 29 other Venetian nobles were ransomed, but their male children were drafted into the corps of 'Ajemī oghlans. The Venetians received permission to settle and engage in commerce only

after the conclusion of the capitulations of 19 Rabīʿ II 858/18 April 1454.

The most effective measure taken to repopulate the city was certainly that of *sürgün*, the compulsory resettlement of people from various parts of the empire. Before leaving Istanbul, Meḥmed II issued firmans ordering the sending of Muslim, Christian and Jewish families from Rūmeli and Anatolia (Critoboulos and Ducas: 5,000 families by September; a document published by Jorga speaks of 4,000 families from Anatolia and 4,000 from Rūmeli). In the autumn of 1453, the sultan returned to Istanbul; finding that the repopulation was proceeding only slowly because of opposition to the deportations, he moved to Bursa and set severe measures in hand. It was at this time that he appointed George Scholarius patriarch (6 January 1454). In autumn 859/1455, when he again visited Istanbul, he was pleased to find the walls repaired and Yedi Qule and the palace completed; but upon learning that Muslim settlers had left the city, he sent orders to Anatolia and Rūmeli that *sürgün* families should again be sent without delay.

A fragment of a *taḥrīr defteri* for Istanbul and Ghalata, dated Muḥarram 860/December 1455, has survived, the extant leaves covering the Fātiḥ district, part of Aqsaray, and the areas along the land walls and the Marmara shore. In the 22 *maḥalles*, 918 *khāne* (here: "houses") are listed, and 291 of them are noted as "empty" or "ruinous". The houses are distinguished as one-storeyed (*süfti*), two-storeyed (*ulvi*) and "large", "the sumptuous (*mükellef*) houses called by the Greeks *drapez*". Some houses are noted as being split into three or four, or as inhabited by more than one family. One- or two-storeyed *chardaks* are noted, especially in the courtyards of monasteries (for such habitations within monasteries, see the plans of Buondelmonte and Vavassore). Of 26 monasteries listed, only one is still occupied by Greeks; the others are deserted or inhabited by Muslim immigrants. 42 churches are listed, many of them situated in monasteries. Only two still belong to the Greeks, but the Greeks of the *maḥalle* of Altı Mermer use a big house there as a church. Five churches are inhabited by Muslim immigrants, one has been converted to a mosque, most of the others, having no congregations, are ruinous.

The first Great Mosque of Istanbul was Aya Sofya and the first stages in the development of Istanbul as an Ottoman city are revealed by the study of its

*waqfs*. These include, besides the mosque and *medrese* of Aya Sofya, other Byzantine religious buildings now converted to Muslim use: the Zeyrek Jāmiʿi and its *medrese* (Pantocrator), the Ghalata Jāmiʿi/'Arab Jāmiʿi (St. Dominic), the mosque in the citadel at Silivri, the Eski 'Imāret Mesjidi (St. Saviour Pantepoptes), the Mevlevī convent Qalenderkhāne (under Bāyezīd II it was made a *medrese* and then a mosque). Meḥmed II's Great Mosque ("Fātiḥ") was completed only in 875/1471. The mosques constructed up to that date (Rūmeli Hışāri; the Yeñi Kerbānsarāy/Chukhaḫi Khānī mosque; the Debbāghlar Mesjidi at Yedi Qule; Yeñije Qal'e/Anadolu Hışāri) were all attached to the *waqfs* of Aya Sofya.

In 861/1457 Meḥmed II made over to the *waqfs* of Aya Sofya the Byzantine buildings still standing in the city; these are noted in the documents as *sultānī* and *muqāṭa'ālī*. In 898/1492, the total of these *muqāṭa'ālī* houses was 1428. (By this time many houses had of course fallen into ruin.) Since a survey of 895/1489 notes 1,093 *muqāṭa'ālī* houses in Istanbul and Ghalata "apart from the Byzantine houses occupied by *quls* of the Padishāh", these latter must have numbered 335; it was the practice that *muqāṭa'a* (in effect "rent") should not be levied on a house held by a *qul*, so long as the *qul* actually resided there. Similarly, in the reign of Bāyezīd II the attempt to levy *muqāṭa'a* on Byzantine houses granted as *mülk* ("freehold") before the *waqfiyya* for Aya Sofya was drawn up (i.e., before 861/1457) was finally abandoned; but under Meḥmed II it had been imposed and removed more than once. The 502 such houses in Istanbul itself were located in the *maḥalles* of Aya Sofya, Sirt Ḥammāmī (near the Bedestān), Ḥājjī 'Abdī, Ḥekīm Ya'qūb, Shāhīn Üskübī (between Un Qapanī and Jibālī), Edirne Qapısı, Üstād Ayās (at Sarraḫkhāne), Arslanlu Makhzen, and Top-Yiqighī (Top Qapı), a distribution which gives an indication of the pre-Ottoman centres of habitation.

Apart from these Byzantine buildings, Meḥmed II donated to the *waqfs* of Aya Sofya other revenue-producing establishments which would at the same time meet the economic and social needs of the population and encourage settlement, namely: the Bedestān, with the Büyük Charshī built round it (see below); the Bodrum Kerbānsarāyi; the Eski Kerbānsarāyi and Yemish Qapanī Kerbānsarāyi at Takhtaqal'e; the Yeñi Beg Kerbānsarāyi near the Bedestān; the Un Qapanī, Yemish Qapanī, Tuz



Anbārī, Mümkhāne, Sābūnkhāne, Jenderekhāne, Debbāghkhāne, Sellākhkhāne, Boyakhāne, and Mūy-tābān Kārkhānesi. There were furthermore two baths, 46 butchers' shops, 41 cookshops, 28 *boza-khānes*, and bakeries, and, in various parts of the city, some 2000 shops. Many of these shops were built in rectangular blocks or in facing rows (see the miniature in *IA*, art. *Istanbul*, facing p. 1214), each devoted to a single craft or industry.

#### IV. THE PRINCIPLES OBSERVED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OTTOMAN CAPITAL

The fundamental principle observed in the development of Ottoman Istanbul was that it should receive the character of a Muslim city, so that the Muslim community should be able to live in accordance with the prescriptions of their religion and enjoy the traditional facilities of Muslim city life. This principle was the continuance of the ancient Middle East tradition by which the city was created around a place of worship and the urban functions were harmonised with the religious obligations. Aya Sofya was the Great Mosque *par excellence*, where the ruler and the Muslim community met together at an accession and at every Friday prayer, where the ruler received petitions, and where the great religious ceremonies were held; and the social and economic institutions and establishments which fostered the life of the city and the well-being of its inhabitants came into existence first as *waqfs* of this Great Mosque (cf. *Middle Eastern Cities*, ed. I.M. Lapidus, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969).

This "Islamic" character is demonstrated by the city's topographic development: its first *nāhiye* is the *nāhiye* of Aya Sofya. The other *nāhiyes* grew up around the mosques (*jāmi'*) built later by sultans and viziers, whilst the smaller units, the *maḥalles*, constituting the *nāhiye* each grew up around a local mosque (*mesjid*). From the very first, also, attempts were made to give Istanbul the status of a sacred city of Islam. Immediately after the conquest, the holy region of Eyyüb (Eyüp) received its character with the building of the *türbe* of the Companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes* . . ., 70; its *waqfiyya* in *Fatih Mehmet II. vakfiyeleri*, Ankara 1938, 283–340. The profound Ottoman devotion to mystics and to dervish *sheykh*s led to the establishment of many

*maḥalles* in the name of a saint or around his *zāwiye* or tomb (already under Meḥammed II: Sheykh Ebu'l-Wefā; Sheykh Aq Shemseddin; Sheykh Sewindük Khalwetī, known as Qowājī Dede; Sheykh Maḥmūd Resmī; etc.). A further indication of the desire to "Islamise" the city is the occasional use, already under Meḥammed II, of the name "Islām-bol" (the city "full of Muslims") in official records (İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 246). Sporadically, under Meḥammed II and later sultans, Muslim fanaticism was aroused and pressure would be brought on the authorities to close the churches and synagogues on the grounds that the city had been taken "by force", so that the Shaykh al-Islām himself would cast round for "evidence" to protect the *dhimmi* status of the non-Muslim inhabitants. For security reasons, Meḥammed II's policy here, as in other conquered cities, seems to have been to ensure that the Muslims remained in the majority.

The Islamic ideal, as reflected in the tolerant outlook of Ottoman society, was easily reconciled with social and economic reality, so that from the very beginning Muslims and non-Muslims worked side by side in the commercial districts and even (at first) lived intermingled in residential areas; non-Muslims, in commercial dealings among themselves, would resort to the *qāḍī*, and a feeling of "fellow-citizenship" of the cosmopolitan capital transcended distinctions of religion and origin.

The "Ottoman" character of Istanbul sprang not only from the Muslim ideal but also from the traditional Middle Eastern view of state and society, a way of life characterised by the existence of a thriving class of merchants and craftsmen under the governance of a class of military administrators (see H. İnalçık, *Capital formation* . . ., in *J. Econ. Hist.*, xxix [1969], 98–140). Thus the same patterns, based on the institution of the *waqf*, which had been evident in all the cities of the Middle East began to appear in Istanbul. This tradition demanded the construction for the merchant class of a *bezzāzistān* (Ottoman: *bedestān*), near which were the caravansarais (*khān*) where the merchants lodged. The members of the principal crafts were gathered in the shops which constituted the great *charshī* around the *bedestān*, each craft being concentrated systematically in one *sūq* or *charshī* (as was easily ensured when blocks of shops were built together as *waqf*). Various central "markets" for basic commodities were established, in order to ensure the authorities' control of the

importation and distribution of the raw materials needed by the craftsmen and of the foodstuffs to provision the inhabitants, and in order to facilitate the collection of the tolls and taxes due to the state. These “markets” were called *qapan* (< Ar. *qabbān*, a public balance, a steelyard): the *yagh qapani*, *un qapani*, *bal qapani*, *yemish qapani* (for oil, flour, honey, fruit), etc., and in Istanbul these were situated in the harbour area (elsewhere, by the city gates). For goods imported by sea, there was in the harbour a customs’ post called *Gümrük Qapani* (later called, after the *gümrük emini*, *Emîn-öñü*), while goods imported overland paid duty at the *Qara Gümrüğü* near Edirne Qapısı. The tannery and the slaughterhouse were outside the walls, while dye-works, fulling-mills, oil-presses, etc. were built near the appropriate craft centres; all these were set up as *waqf* by members of the “ruling class”. Other provisions, usually also set up as *waqf* or forming part of elaborate *waqf* complexes (see below), had in view the welfare of the populace in general – water-supply, paving of roads, public security, hospitals, street-cleaning, the shelter and feeding of the poor and of travellers.

The interpretation that Istanbul’s development as an oriental city can be viewed as originating from a single nucleus (*Stadtkern*), consisting of the market-area, from which the main streets radiated and with the *mahalles* stretching out in concentric circles (R. Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinupolis, Istanbul*, Vienna 1943, 9, 20, 254) is true not of the city as a whole but only of each individual *nāhiye* growing up around a “foundation”. For in the Ottoman period, as in Byzantine days, the city’s development was controlled by the special characteristics of certain districts and by its geographical features. The two basic features of the Ottoman city (as in Bursa, Edirne, etc.) were a Great Mosque and a central market district, and these features appear in Istanbul at first with Aya Sofya and the Bedestān; later however come the Fātiḥ complex, with the Sulṭān Pāzārī and Sarrājkhāne nearby; and thereafter the city was to develop as a series of such “foundation complexes” created by sultans and by leading statesmen; whilst less prominent individuals brought into existence smaller complexes of the *meşjid* with its school which was to serve as the centre of a new *mahalle*. There was thus, as it were, a hierarchical gradation of complexes.

Nevertheless, whilst these complexes tended to make Istanbul a series of semi-independent communi-

ties, two features preserved its organic unity: (1) the harbour area on the Golden Horn, and (2) the main thoroughfare, the *Diwān Yolu*, along which armies and caravans passed; it was along this thoroughfare that the principal complexes were built, and the great commercial buildings and the main market area were situated between this thoroughfare and the harbour. It is evident that the location of the principal complexes did not arise from any plan drawn up in advance; hence, with the exception of the few main thoroughfares, the network of streets grew up haphazard, as a jumble of crooked alleys and culs-de-sac (this confusion was not the result of fires, as is sometimes suggested, but had existed from the beginning).

## V. THE FORMATION OF THE PRINCIPAL URBAN INSTALLATIONS

Before the building of the Fātiḥ complex and the Sulṭān Pāzārī, the two commercial centres of Istanbul were (A) the Bedestān and Büyük Charshī, and (B) Takhtaqaḷ’e and the harbour area.

### A. 1. *Markets.*

As early as 1456 it had been decided that a *bedestān* should be built in the *mahalle* of Chaqir Agha (a *subashī* of Istanbul). A *bedestān*, where valuable imported wares were sold and which was the centre for financial transactions, was the centre of a city’s economic life as being the place of business of the leading merchants (termed at this period *khwāja*). The Büyük Bedestān of Istanbul (*bezzāzistān*, *dār al-bazzāziyya*; later Jewāhir Bedestānī or Ich Bedestān) with its 15 domes, constructed with the strength of a fortress to protect merchants’ wares and wealthy citizens’ fortunes against theft, plunder and fire, is a supreme example of a genre of Ottoman architecture which had flourished since the building of the *bedestān* of Bursa at the end of the 8th/14th century. Neither its design nor the references to it in the sources give any hint to connect it with a Byzantine construction. In the Muslim world, as in the Byzantine, such a solid building for the storing and selling of valuable wares was a normal feature of the city (in the Byzantine Empire *basilike*; in the Arab lands *qaysariyya*, see Lapidus, *Muslim cities*, 59–60). In the flourishing period of Constantinople’s history, this area, between the

Forum Constantini and the Forum Tauri, had been a thriving commercial district with a *basilike* and the *artopoleia* of the bakers' guild; it was the central site of the city, the meeting place of the roads leading in from the city gates and the roads leading up from the commercial quays of the harbour (between Neorion/Baghche Qapı and Porta Droungariou/Zindān Qapı). The main road leading from here down to the Basilike quay in Byzantine times (probably the Vasiliko Qapısı frequently mentioned in Mehemmed II's *waqfiyya*, later Zindān Qapı), the Markos Embolos Maurianon, was in the Ottoman period, with the name Uzun Charshı, to be the busiest commercial district of the city.

The most detailed information on the Bedestān, the Qapalı Charshı, and the tradespeople working there is to be found in the registers of the *waqfs* of Aya Sofya. In the Bedestān there were originally 126 *şandūqs* (in 893/1488: 140; a *şandūq* is a shop with a store-room behind it and having a safe for valuables, cf. C. White, *Three years in Constantinople*, London 1845, i, 174: "strong fire-proof boxes sunken in a wall of masonry under the floor") and 14 "*köshe*" shops (the rent for the first was 20 *aqches* per month, for the second, 3, 5 or 15 *aqches*). In 898/1493 ten of the merchants in the Bedestān were Armenians, five Jews, three Greeks, and the rest Muslims.

Some time later, but before 878/1473, Mehemmed II built, at the south-east corner of the Büyük Charshı a "new" *bedestān* (*dār al-bazzāzīyya al-jadīda*) for silks, later called the Sandal Bedestānı (now the auction hall), which was to remain the largest *bedestān* of the Empire; it contained 124 *şandūqs* and there were 72 shops outside it, occupied by various craftsmen.

As in Ottoman cities created before the conquest of Constantinople, on each side of the four main roads (*shāhrāh*) leading away from the four gates of the Bedestān and of the streets parallel to them, rows of shops were built in a chequer-board pattern for merchants and craftsmen. In the 641 shops (*dükkān*) there were, according to the *waqf*-register of 894/1489, 33 shoemakers, 33 slipper-makers, 44 cap-makers, 50 workers in felt and tailors, 76 jewellers and other craftsmen (for the description of a *dükkān*, see Dernschwam, 93–4; White, i, 174). Shops of Muslims, Armenians, Jews and Greeks were not in separate streets but mixed up together; the majority however, not only of the craftsmen but of the jewellers and bankers (*şarrāf*), were Muslim Turks.

This Charshı was repeatedly extended, so that finally it contained about a thousand shops; it was roofed over, to become the Qapalı ("covered") Charshı, with 12 large and 20 small gates, and since the Bedestān regulations were enforced here too, it became in effect an extension of the Bedestān (S. Tekiner, *The Great Bazar of Istanbul*, in *Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu Belleteni*, no. 92).

The second great *charshı* in this region was the block of shops known as *Maḥmūd Pasha dükkānları*, constructed near the *imāret* of Maḥmūd Pasha and containing, with the shops around and behind it, 265 shops. It was annexed by Mehemmed II to the *waqfs* of Aya Sofya but returned by Bāyezīd II to the *waqfs* of Maḥmūd Pasha's foundation (Aya Sofya register for 894/1489).

## 2. *Khāns*

The *khān*, which served as a lodging for the merchant engaged in trade between different regions and provided him with safe storage for his goods in the upper rooms or in the store rooms on the ground floor, and where also bulk sales of merchandise were made, was an essential element in Ottoman commercial centres. Mehemmed II promoted the construction of four *khāns*, two in the commercial quarter of Takhtaqa'le, two near the Bedestān. The oldest is probably the so-called Bodrum Kerbānsarāyī near the Bedestān. With two storeys and 31 rooms, it had in its front wall 15 shops and 9 "*hüjre*" (i.e., a largish room used as a workshop or lodging). The annual income from the *khān* was 15,500 *aqches* and from the shops and "rooms" 3,108 *aqches*. The dealers engaged in the sale of cotton- and linen-cloths imported into Istanbul used this *khān* (Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1000–1100*, Istanbul 1940, doc. 77).

The *khān* called Süleymān Pasha Odaları (after the *beglerbegi* of Rūmeli, Khādim Süleymān) became in 894/1489 the *Kerbānsarāy-i üserā*, commonly known as Esir Pazarı. It contained 52 rooms on two floors, with an 8-room annex, a bath, and a large stable; it brought in an annual income of 19,500 *aqches* (about 400 gold ducats) (on the *Suyolu haritası* it is marked on Dīwān Yolu, by the 'Atıq 'Alī Pasha mosque; a good description in White, ii, 280).

The Beg Kerbānsarāyī east of the Büyük Charshı (called in the *waqfiyye* a *khān*, later Chukhajī Khānı) was constructed before 878/1473. It is a typical

Ottoman *khān* with 98 rooms on two storeys around a rectangular courtyard. There are 42 shops (in the *waqfiyya*: 44) against its wall, formerly occupied by druggists. The income was 40,000 *aqches* from the *khān* and 19,548 from the shops.

Before the creation of Meḥammed II's foundation, the leather-workers were congregated in this district, at the Eski At Pazari, whilst near the Eski Saray were the arrow- and bow-makers and the mint for silver *aqches*.

B. The second region where Meḥammed II's earliest constructions were built was Takhtaqaḷ'e, the harbour area on the Golden Horn. Before the Ottoman conquest, this area, between Porta Perama/Balıq Pazarı Qapısı and Porta Droungariou/Odun Qapısı, was controlled by Latin colonists, in the last years the Venetians; harbour activity extended even to the Neorion/Baghche Qapısı. In the negotiations following the Ottoman conquest, Venice endeavoured to recover the old palace of the *bailo*, the *lobia* where Venetian goods were stored, and the two Latin churches. By the capitulations of 858/1454 the new *bailo* Bartholomeo Marcello was apparently permitted to occupy the church and residence of the Anconans; the Aya Sofya register of 898 speaks of the "former" church of the Venetians (*al-kanīsa al-mansūba ila 'l-Wanadikiyyīn qadīman*) and the *bailo*'s palace, whilst the Arabic *waqfiyya* mentions a "Venedik Lonjası Maḥallesi" and the "Arslanlu Ew/Arslanlu Makhzen Maḥallesi".

The quay at the Perama/Balıq Pazarı gate continued to be the principal embarkation point for crossing to Ghalata, but later further landing-stages for transit were used (Yemish, Liman, Balat, etc.). All early views and plans of İstanbul show masses of shipping in this area. The slopes between this harbour area and the Bedestān were rapidly covered with commercial installations: Meḥammed II built here, as *waqf* property for Aya Sofya, two *khāns*, a *gümriük qapanı*, a *yemish qapanı*, a salt-depot, a *mūm-khāne*, three *boza-khānes*, 7 warehouses and 422 shops. The Khān-i Sultānı was a square, roofed building, with 361 shops around it, the whole constituting an important *charshı*. The synagogue and the *khān* of Murād Pasha were nearby. East of it was the Yemish Qapanı (later Bal Qapanı) *khān*, with 11 store-rooms below and 16 rooms above; its lower floor is probably Byzantine.

The principal *qapans* of İstanbul were located here – for wax, salt, and soap – and the customs'

house. Firewood and timber were brought to the Aghach Pazarı at Baghche Qapısı; this landing-place was still so used in the 19th century. The city prison was at Vasiliko Qapısı/Zindān Qapısı; it was later known as Baba Ja'fer Zindānı.

The Aya Sofya register of 898/1493 records, in İstanbul and Ghalata, 2350 shops, 4 *khāns*, 2 baths, 21 *boza-khāne*, 22 *bash-khāne* and 987 *muqāta'ālī*, houses, with an annual revenue of 718,421 *aqches* (some 14,000 ducats; in 894/1489 the revenue had been nearly a million *aqches*).

Elsewhere in the city, local *charshıs* were built: that of Aya Sofya (39 shops); the "Yeñi Dükānlar" at Kemer (17 shops); that of Dikilü Tash/Chenberli Tash on Dīwān Yolu (77 shops, with the mint for copper coins nearby) and of Khwāja Pır Meşjidi (26 shops; these two are perhaps rather extensions of the Bedestān area); at Tāvūq Pazarı, 24 shops of dyers (*waqf* of Maḥmūd Pasha). The first Janissary barracks ("Eski Odalar") were on the present Şehzadebaşı Caddesi (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu ocakları*, i, 238–42), with a *charshı* of ten shops nearby; west of this were a *charshı* of 35 shops in Ustād Ayās Maḥallesi, the Qāḍı 'Asker Dolabı Charshısı of 19 shops, and, by the Church of the Holy Apostles, the Qaramān Pazarı.

Another important commercial district occupied the area outside the wall between the modern Unkapanı and Cibali (the Byzantine Plateia). Meḥammed II built here the Un Qapanı and a *charshı* of 31 shops. Further up the Golden Horn were the city's first slaughterhouse and tannery, with the Debbāghlar Maḥallesi. Further still, towards the Kynegion (Kinikoz) Gate, were fishermen's houses and imperial gardens.

The year 863/1459 was important in the city's development, for according to Critoboulos, Meḥammed II called his notables together and commanded them each to choose an area which should be called after him, anywhere in the city, and build there a mosque, a *khān*, a bath and a market; he himself, selecting the site for the New Palace on Sarayburnu, also picked the finest area in the middle of the city for building a mosque "which should surpass Aya Sofya". Work on the mosque began only in the winter of 867/1462–3, the area (around the Church of the Holy Apostles) already having a large Muslim population. This construction encouraged the expansion of the city north-westwards towards the walls and north-east to the Golden Horn.

C. The mosque and *imāret* of Fātih and its district (875/1470). The mosque itself, begun in Jumādā II 867/February 1463, was completed in Rajab 875/January 1471 (inscription over the main door.) The ancillary buildings were of two types: (1) *khayrāt* around the mosque (*medrese*, hospital, *imāret* (hospice), school, library, etc.), and (2) buildings of public utility to provide the income for the upkeep of the foundation. Such complexes had formed the nuclei of all Ottoman cities since Orkhān's foundations at Bursa.

An area of about 100,000 m<sup>2</sup> is occupied by the following *khayrāt*: the mosque, with an extensive outer courtyard entered by eight gates; on two sides of it, 8 large and 8 small *medreses* (the Themāniyye and the Tetimme); to the east, in a separate court, a *tābkhāne*, a hospice and a *khān* (later Dewe Khānī); and in a further court, a hospital. Between the two front entrances to the mosque-court were two smaller buildings, a children's school (*dār al-ta'līm*) and a book-store. There were also residences for the 'ulemā' employed in the *medreses*. The buildings of the second category were, principally, a great *charshī* (Sultān Pāzārī), the Sarrājkhāne, and a bath (Chuqur Hammām or Irgatlar Hammāmī) north of the mosque. The Sultān Pāzārī, between the mosque and Sarrāj Khāne, on the site of the Jān-alijī Church comprised 280 shops (so the register of 898/1493; in the *waqfiyye* published by T. Öz: 286), and the Khidr Beg Chelebi Odalarī 32 workrooms and 4 storerooms. (On Vavassore's plan, the Sultān Pāzārī is shown surrounded by walls; in the registers it is called a *buq'a*.) Sarrājkhāne (also a *buq'a*) comprised 110 shops within a wall; against its west and south wall were 35 shops and 19 "rooms", referred to as *beglik dükkānlar ve odalar*. The register of 898/1493 lists 142 saddlers, all Muslims (some of them Janissaries), working here. The saddlers formerly working near the Bedestān were all brought here, henceforward the sole centre for that trade (*berāt* of 879/1475; renewal of 1119/1707 in Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100–1200*, 41). To the north were the horse-market and stables; round about were concentrated ancillary crafts – stirrup-makers, furriers, etc. In time of war this district was thronged with troops equipping their horses. (Schweigger, 129, comments that the Turks surpassed all nations in leatherwork.) Only in the 19th century, with the growing importation of European products, did this commercial centre decline (White, iii, 255 ff.).

South of Sarrājkhāne, towards Aqsaray, Mehemmed II built new barracks for the Janissaries, the Yeñi Odalar in the Et Meydānī (replacing the Eski Odalar built probably in 864/1460); these, though often rebuilt after fires, remained the Janissary barracks until the destruction of the corps in 1826 (see also Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu ocakları*, i, 241–3).

The following summary, for the Fātih complex, illustrates the financial position of such a foundation (after Barkan, in *İkt. Fak. Mecm.*, xxiii, 306–41). The income in 894/1489 and 895/1490 was about 1½ million *aqches* (30,000 ducats, far exceeding the income of the Aya Sofya *waqfs*), arising from 12 baths in Istanbul and Ghalata, the *jizya* of these two cities, the tax-income from over fifty villages in Thrace and various rents. The expenses for the *khayrāt* were:

stipends	869,280 <i>aqches</i>
food for the hospice	461,417
expenses of the hospital	72,000
repairs, etc.	18,522
	<hr/> 1,421,219

The personnel of the mosque numbered 102 in all, of the *medreses* 168, of the hospice 45, of the hospital 30. There were further agents and clerks to collect the revenues (21), and builders and workmen (17). Besides these 383 persons, regular payments were made to indigent 'ulemā' and their children and to disabled soldiers; these charities amounted to 202, 291 *aqches* per year. 3,300 loaves were distributed at the hospice each day and at least 1,117 persons received two meals. Besides being a religious and educational centre, therefore, this complex – drawing some half of its revenue from outside Istanbul – was a nucleus for the economic and social prosperity of this area of the city.

#### VI. THE FORMATION OF NĀHIYES AND MAHALLES IN THE 9TH/15TH CENTURY

In accordance with Mehemmed II's orders issued in 863/1459, the *pashas* constructed complexes of their own in the various quarters of the city, each of which served to encourage settlement and prosperity, so that within seventy years of the conquest 13 *nāhiyes* had come into existence and the Ottoman city had taken

its shape. The whole city constituted one *qadā'*; each *nāhiye* comprised a number of *maḥalles* (represented by the *imām* of its local mosque). The establishment of a *jāmi'*, or a *meşjid*, with its appurtenances, in a sparsely populated area served to encourage settlement and the

creation of a *maḥalle* (the process termed *şenlendirme*). The *meşjids*, like the *jāmi'*s, were supported by *waqfs*. The following table (after Ayverdi-Barkan, *Istanbul vakıfları tahrir defteri*, Istanbul 1970) shows the number of *waqfs* recorded for each *nāhiye*:

<i>nāhiye</i>	number of <i>maḥalles</i>	<i>waqfs</i> in 953/1546	<i>waqfs</i> in 1005/1596
1. Aya Sofya	17	191	345
2. Maḥmūd Pasha	9	96	115
3. 'Alī Pasha	5	44	76
4. Ibrāhīm Pasha	10	106	129
5. Sulṭān Bāyezīd	23	198	319
6. Ebu 'l-Wefā	12	165	306
7. Sulṭān Meḥemmed	41	372	681
8. Sulṭān Selīm	7	33	90
9. Murād Pasha	23	119	330
10. Dāwūd Pasha	13	84	264
11. Muṣṭafā Pasha	30	65	227
12. Top Qapı	7	13	39
13. 'Alī Pasha	22	108	259
Totals:	219	1,594	3,180

(These registers do not record *maḥalles* of non-Muslims: the total was probably between 250 and 300, see below.)

The first of these *nāhiyes* to be established were presumably nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 9, and 12. Of the *maḥalles* within the walls in the 10th/16th century, some 30% were established under Meḥemmed II, some 50% under Bāyezīd II, and some 15% between 1512 and 1546. This does not imply, however, that the population increase slackened in the 10th/16th century, for *maḥalles* founded earlier became more densely populated, as is apparent from 15th and 16th century plans: Vavassore's plan, derived ultimately from a plan of the period of Meḥemmed II (see Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten*, 5), shows the densest occupation east of a line drawn from the eastern side of the Langa Bostānlari to Un Qapanı: (and along the southern shore of the Golden Horn); and by Ayverdi's map (*Istanbul mahalleleri*, Ankara 1958), the area east of the line contains 92 *maḥalles*, and that to the west – twice as extensive – 98. But in plans of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries, the area within the walls is all inhabited, with the exception of a strip within the land-walls by Yedi Qule, Bayram Pasha Deresi, the

Yeñi Baghche area and the Langa Bostānlari. An increase in population density is to be deduced also from the increase in the number of *waqfs*, as under:

between:	<i>waqfs</i> established:
857 and 927/1521	1,163
927 and 953/1546–7	1,268
953 and 986/1578–9	1,193
986 and 1005/1596–7	407

In 1005/1596–7 3,180 *waqfs* were in existence (some having been extinguished). The first seventy years after the conquest saw the establishment of 1,163 *waqfs*, the next 78 years (927–1005) 2858; but most of these later *waqfs* are concerned not with the establishment of new *meşjids* and *maḥalles*, but with supplements to existing *meşjids*, the provision of prayers for founders, etc.

1. *Maḥmūd Pasha nāhiyesi* (II on the plan at fig. 55)

The Grand Vizier Maḥmūd Pasha (d. 879/1474) chose for his complex a very suitable site, on the road

linking the Bedestān to Takhtaqaḷ'e and the quays of Baghche Qapısı. The *khayrāt* are the mosque (inscription dated 867/1462), the *medrese* (only the *derskhāne* survives), a hospice (beside his *khān*), a school (no longer extant) and his own *türbe* (inscription dated 878/1473). Most of the buildings supporting these are on the busy road to the harbour: a *charshī* of 265 shops (see above); a *khān* (later the Kürkchü Khānī, still standing); a *ḥammām* (with a men's and a woman's side; inscription dated 871/1466); 14 dyers' shops at Tāwūq Pāzārī; in various districts 139 shops, 67 houses, 47 "rooms" and 2 gardens. Outside Istanbul were: a *bedestān* at Ankara for the sale of mohair (now the Hittite Museum) with a *khān* beside it; a *khān* (Fidan Khānī) and shops at Bursa; *ḥammāms* at Khāṣṣköy and Gügerjinlik; and 14 villages in Rūmeli (the *waqfs* were all consolidated in a single *waqfiyye* dated 878/1473). The total revenue was 606,513 *aqches* (over 13,000 ducats). The area where the *khayrāt* were built remained the most important commercial district until the 19th century. Maḥmūd Pasha also built here two *mesjids*, leading to the establishment of two *maḥalles*.

#### 2. Murād Pasha nāhiyesi (IX on the plan)

This consisted of 23 *maḥalles* around the mosque of Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha (the Palaeologue), d. 878/1473. The complex comprised the mosque at Aqsaray (inscription dated 876/1471), a *medrese* and a hospice, supported by 45 shops, 2 *bozakhāne*, a *bashkhāne*, and a bath at Aqsaray, a *khān* and a *bashkhāne* at Takhtaqaḷ'e, and 9 shops at Yeñi Bāghche. This *nāhiye*, which now covers the modern Aksaray, Lâleli, Cerrâh Paşa, Langa and Yeni Kapı, was at first sparsely populated, but under Bāyezīd II eleven further *maḥalles* were formed.

#### 3. Ebu 'l-Wefā nāhiyesi (VI on the plan)

Even in early days thickly populated, it was situated between the Eski Sarāy and the modern Unkapı Caddesi, extending to the Golden Horn. A mosque and *zāviye* were built by Meḥmed II for Sheykh Abu 'l-Wefā (d. Ramaḍān 896/July 1491). It was a residential area, with *mesjids* built especially by the '*ulemā*' of the day (Mollā Khusrew, the first *qāḍī* of Istanbul Khidr Beg, Mollā Gūrānī, etc.), but also by

wealthy merchants. Under Bāyezīd II many members of the '*askerī*' class established rich *waqfs* (among them Bāyezīd's daughter 'Ayshe Sulṭān and her husband Sinān Pasha).

The reign of Bāyezīd II saw much economic expansion, and the establishment of six further *nāhiyes* (nos. 3, 4, 5, 10, 11 and 13 in the list above). The areas of habitation stretched out from Fātiḥ and Aqsaray towards the landwalls, so that several Byzantine churches and monasteries in this region were now converted to mosques (see Plan).

#### 4. Sulṭān Bāyezīd nāhiyesi (V on the plan)

The mosque, on the Forum Tauri south of the Eski Sarāy, was built between 906/1501 and 911/1505; there was also a *medrese*, a school, and a hospice, together with a *ḥammām* and a *khān* in the same area (Vavassore's plan shows the area before this building work was undertaken). This complex was the centre of a *nāhiye* embracing 23 *maḥalles* and extending from the modern Bayezid Meydanı to Kum Kapı on the Marmara (the complex of Nishānji Meḥmed Pasha, nearer the sea had previously been a second nucleus in this area) and along Dīwān Yolu from the Büyük Charshī to Sarrajkhāne. In the reign of Meḥmed II, Bayezid Meydanı had been surrounded by the *mesjid/maḥalle* foundations of Chaqır Agha (*waqfiyye* dated 864/1459), Dīwāne 'Alī Beğ (866/1461) and Balaban Agha (888/1483), while to the south of the modern road to Lâleli were the *maḥalles* of Emīn Beg (868/1463), Segbān-bashī Ya'qūb and Mī'mār Kemāl. Many new *maḥalles* were established under Bāyezīd, mostly by members of the '*askerī*' class but some by craftsmen. The Eski Odalar (see above) were in this *nāhiye*, as was the shipyard for galleys (Qadīrga Tersānesi); the Byzantine port of Sophia was used as a naval base immediately after the conquest (used as a galley harbour in the days of the Palaeologues), and between 1459–61 Meḥmed II made a shipyard here. The *tahrīr* register of 860/1455 shows that '*azeb*s were living between Yeñi Qapı and Qum Qapı, a district originally called 'Azebler Maḥallesi. The shipyard, with its great gate, built around the enclosed harbour is clearly shown in the plans of Vavassore and of Welī-jān. Later, probably in the 18th century, the harbour silted up to become the modern Cündi Meydanı and Kadırga Bostanı.

A very important building, of the Conqueror's time, in this *nāhiye* was the mint or Dār al-Darb, in the *maḥalle* of Segbān-bashī Ya'qūb, the principal mint for silver and gold coins (later known as the Sirmakesh/Sīmkesh Khānī); a small *charshī* of 8 shops was built near it.

#### 5. 'Alī Pasha *nāhiyesi* (III on the plan)

Khādim ('Atīq) 'Alī Pasha, twice Grand Vizier and killed in 917/1511, founded on Dīwān Yōlu in part of the Forum Constantini a mosque (902/1496), a *medrese*, a school, a hospice and a *khānkāh*, with a *khān* and shops. The *nāhiye* (no. 3 above) contained 5 *maḥalles*.

The same 'Alī Pasha constructed a mosque (later Zinjirli Quyu Jāmī'i) near the Edirne Qapısı and converted the Khora monastery church into a mosque (Kilise Camii/Kariye Camii). This *nāhiye* (no. 13 above, VIII on the plan) embraced an extensive and sparsely populated area of 22 *maḥalles*. These *khayrāt* were supported by a large *khān* and a *kōshk* near his hospice at Chenberli Tash; in the early 10th/16th century this *khān* brought in a revenue of 13,000 *aqches* per year; a bath at Yeñi Baghche; 178 shops, 246 "rooms", one bakehouse and one breadstore in the commercial districts of Istanbul; 44 villages, 4 baths, 7 mills and various shops in Anatolia and Rūmeli; and a *bedestān* at Yanbolu. The annual revenue (mostly from outside Istanbul) was 471,998 *aqches* (over 8000 ducats) in 915/1509. Most of the *maḥalles* (15) in this *nāhiye* were established under Bāyezīd II in the modern Balat-Edirne Kapı-Bayram Paşa Deresi area.

#### 6. Ibrāhīm Pasha *nāhiyesi* (IV on the plan)

Chandarlı Ibrāhīm Pasha (*qāḍī* 'asker in 890/1485, Grand Vizier for one year from 904/1498) built at Uzun Charshī a mosque, a *medrese* and a school, supported by a bath, a slaughterhouse of 14 shops at Eyyūb, 5 shops, 28 houses and 40 "rooms" (together with 3 villages and 3 mills in Rūmeli and Anatolia, a *bedestān* at Serez, etc.). Although the foundation was relatively poor (annual revenue 135,880 *aqches*), the *nāhiye* included the busy commercial district between the Büyük Charshī and the harbour, and some of its *maḥalles* had been established by wealthy merchants in the reign of Meḥmed II.

#### 7. Dāwūd Pasha *nāhiyesi* (X on the plan)

Khoja Dāwūd Pasha (Grand Vizier from 887/1482 to 902/1497) built a mosque, a hospice, a *medrese*, a school and a public fountain (inscription dated 890/1485) near the Forum Arcadii, with an extensive *charshī* of 108 shops and 11 "rooms" around the mosque. He also brought into occupation the area now named after him on the Marmara coast (west of the former Port of Eleutherios), building there a palace, a bath, a *bozakhāne*, 11 shops and a landing-stage. Six Baths, in Istanbul and elsewhere, a *bedestān* at Manastır, shops at Üsküb and Bursa, and the revenue of 12 villages brought in an annual income of 378,886 *aqches* (ca. 7,500 ducats). Although some *maḥalles* had existed here before, it was particularly this foundation which promoted the growth of the area, 8 *maḥalles* being set up under Bāyezīd II.

#### 8. Khoja Muṣṭafā Pasha *nāhiyesi* (XI on the plan)

It is evident that, towards the end of Bāyezīd II's reign, the Muslim population was increasing in the region towards Siliwri Qapısı, and here, in 895/1489 (inscription), the later Grand Vizier Muṣṭafā Pasha converted the church of St. Andrew in Kriş into a mosque. According to the *waqfiyya*, the complex comprised also a hospice, a *medrese*, a *khānkāh*, a school, and houses for the *imām*, etc. (for his *khayrāt* at Eyyūb and elsewhere, see Ayverdi-Barkan, 366–9), supported by a large *ḥammām* (annual income 65,000 *aqches*) and 81 shops near the complex, by numerous shops and two *khāns* in various parts of Istanbul, and by 27 villages in Rūmeli. The annual income was over half a million *aqches*. No fewer than 17 *maḥalles* were formed under Bāyezīd II.

The *maḥalles* in the four *nāhiyes* bounded by the landwalls – Muṣṭafā Pasha, Dāwūd Pasha, 'Alī Pasha and Top Qapı – were relatively large but their *waqfs* were few, an indication that the population was sparse; and many of the *mesjids* had to be supported from the sultan's treasury. Most of the new *maḥalles* established under Süleymān were in this region – four in Top Qapı and three in 'Alī Pasha. The foundation in 973/1565 of the complex by Mihr-i Māh Sulṭāne at Edirne Qapı (mosque, *medrese*, school and fountain, supported by a *khān* and a *charshī*) promoted the settlement of the area (see below). The establishment of the mosques of Qara Aḥmed Pasha at Top



Qapı (ca. 961/1554) and Khādim Ibrāhīm Pasha at Siliwri Qapısı (958/1551) suggest a concentration of settlement near the city gates.

Nearly 90% of the *maḥalles* were named after the founder of the local mosque. The local people would make new endowments to ensure the repair of the mosque and the support of the mosque officials and teachers, but there are few cases where the local people clubbed together to build a mosque. Among the individuals who founded more than one *meşjid* in the years after the conquest are the *subaşı* Chaqır Agha, the *Qādī* 'asker Mollā Khusrew, and some merchants (Elvān-zāde Khwāja Sinān, Üsküblü Hājī Ibrāhīm, Khwāja Üweys, Khwāja Khaḥl). According to the *waqf* register of 953/1546, 65% of the founders of mosques belonged to the "ruling" 'askerī class (palace officials, army officers, 'ulemā and "bureaucrats"). The distribution is as follows:

'ulemā and <i>sheykh</i> s	46
merchants and bankers	32
tradesfolk	28
<i>aghas</i> of the Palace	18
<i>begs</i>	16
<i>pashas</i>	14
officers of the Qapı Qulu	12
"bureaucrats"	8
architects	6
others	39
Total	219

High-ranking members of the 'askerī class were, in fact, far richer than merchants and craftsmen, and were more inclined to found *waqfs*, partly perhaps for reasons of social and political prestige, but also as a means of retaining within the family's control capital derived originally as income from the Public Treasury (see İnalçık, *Capital formation*, 133–40).

#### VII. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 10TH/16TH CENTURY

The 10th/16th century sees a rapid increase in the population dwelling within the walls, so that old *maḥalles* become more densely populated, some *meşjids* are replaced by *jāmi*'s, new *meşjids* are built, and new complexes are erected and new *maḥalles* are created in formerly deserted areas, especially towards

the landwalls, along the Bayram Pasha Deresi (the Lycus) and even outside the walls; whilst around Ghalata the inhabited area extends up the Golden Horn and down the slopes to Topkhāne, and the new districts of Findiqli, Jihāngir and Qāsim Pasha come into being (see map of Istanbul in about 1500 A.D.). The demand for new buildings which this increase in population produced led to a period of great activity by the Palace department of *Khāṣṣa mi'mārları*, already directed by the great architect Sinān (in 932/1525 the department had 13 architects, all Muslim; in 1013/1604 there were 23 Muslims and 16 Christians), so that the finest monuments of Ottoman architecture and art belong to these years. The mosque of Rüstem Pasha, twice Grand Vizier, was erected over warehouses and shops on the site of the *meşjid* of Hājī Khaḥl. Pīr Mehmed Pasha (Grand Vizier 923–9/1517–23) established an extensive *waqf* with a mosque and *medrese* in the Zeyrek district, a mosque at Merjān, a mosque and a *khankāh* at Mollā Gūrānī, and a complex of mosque, *medrese* and hospice at Silivri, supported by the annual income of 6,000 ducats from a *khān* near the Bedestān, another *khān* in Ghalata and shops at Takhtaqa'le and (Baliq Pāzārī, while his garden north of the Golden Horn was the origin of the later quarter of Pīr Pasha.

In 946/1539 Sultan Süleymān built in the name of his wife Khürrem a complex of mosque, *medrese*, hospital, hospice and school at 'Awret Pāzārī (the "women's market") in Aqsaray, round the Column of Arcadius; a *khān*, a *ḥammām*, a wood-store, a slaughterhouse, and various shops and warehouses in different areas of Istanbul brought in an annual income of half a million *aqches* (8,400 ducats). In memory of his son Mehmed, the sultan built on Dīwān Yolu, between Wefā and Sarrājkhāne, a truly imperial complex (951/1544–955/1548; mosque, *medrese*, hospice, school, *türbe*; also a *kerbānsarāy*); whilst for his son Jihāngir he built at Findiqli the mosque and school which gave its name to the Jihāngir district.

Finally, exploiting an area cleared by a fire in the centre of the city, Süleymān entrusted to Sinān the construction, on a hill overlooking the harbour, of the most elaborate building-complex of the capital. This, the Süleymāniye (mosque begun Jumādā II 957/July 1550 and completed Dhu'l-Ḥijja 964/October 1557), is composed of no fewer than 18 elements. Within the court are the mosque, the tombs of Süleymān and of Khürrem Sulṭān and the house

of the *türbedār*; outside, on two sides of the mosque are four *medreses* and the *dār al-ḥadīth*, the highest institutes of learning of the Empire; the other large buildings are a hospital, a *dār al-ḍiyāfa* and a *tābkhāne*; smaller buildings are a college for *mülāzıms* (students preparing to enter a *medrese*), a library, a pharmacy, and a children's school. The complex is completed by several houses near the mosque for teachers and mosque-servants, a *khān*, and shops in front of the *medreses*, which constitute a *charshī*. According to Ewliyā Chelebi, the Palace of the Agha of the Janissaries (later the office of the Sheykh al-Islām) belonged also to this complex.

The registers of expenses for these constructions are valuable evidence for the procedures followed in such a major enterprise (see Ö.L. Barkan, *L'organisation du travail dans la chantier d'une grande mosquée à Istanbul au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Annales ESC* xvii [1962], 1093–1106). Materials and craftsmen were gathered from Istanbul and from other parts of the Empire, the workmen being kept under strict discipline. Of the craftsmen receiving pay over the whole period of 5 years and 7 months, 29% were from Istanbul, 14% from Rūmeli and the Islands, 13% from Anatolia (with no indication for 44%). 51% of the 3,523 craftsmen were Christians, 49% Muslims. The builders of walls, the ironworkers and the sewer-men were mainly Christian, the stone-carvers, carpenters, painters, glassworkers and leadworkers were mainly Muslim. Of the total workforce, 55% were free men receiving a wage, 40% were *‘ajemī oghlans* and 5% were galley-slaves.

All the *waqfs* of Süleymān (besides the foundations already mentioned, the *medrese* of Sultan Selīm and the *zāwiye* in the *maḥalle* of Fīl-damī) were consolidated in one *waqfiyye*. According to a *taḥrīr* made in the reign of Murād III, the annual income was then 5,277,759 *aqches* (88,000 ducats); it may be noted that 81% of this income arose from the taxes of 230 villages in Rūmeli. The whole complex had a staff of 748, whose stipends amounted to nearly one million *aqches* a year.

Foundations made during this century near the landwall gates and in the Lycus valley testify to an increase of population in these areas. In the region of Edirne Qapısı, besides the Mihr-i Māh Sulṭāne foundation (see above), there were the mosque-complex of Mesīḥ Pasha between this gate and Fātīḥ (inscription: 994/1586); the mosque of the dragoon Yūnus Beg at Balat (948/1541); the mosque

of Ferrukh Ketkhudā (970/1562); and the mosque of Qāḍī Sa‘dī.

At Top Qapı, the Qara Ahmed Pasha complex, the work of Sinān (962/1554: mosque, *medrese*, *dār al-qurrā*, school, fountain), was an important factor in promoting the district's prosperity. The Arpa Emīni (Defterdār) Muṣṭafā mosque should also be mentioned.

The district of Yeñi Baghche was evidently favoured by the ruling class, to judge from the foundation of the mosque and *medrese* of Sulṭān Selīm; the mosque of the Qāḍī ‘asker ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Chelebi; the mosque of Khürrem Chāwūsh; the mosque and *medrese* of the Qapudan Pasha Sinān Pasha; the mosque of Mi‘mār (Khoja) Sinān; the Yeñicheri Kātibi mosque; the mosque of the Grand Vizier (944–7/1537–40) Luṭfī Pasha, together with the palace, fountain, bath and tomb of his wife Shāh-i Khūbān. The Palace of Maḥmūd Agha was also here.

The Siliwri Qapısı district received the stimulus of the foundation of Khādīm Ibrāhīm Pasha, which comprised a mosque (958/1551), a *medrese*, a school, 3 *ḥammāms*, 4 large residences and 7 houses. The mosque and *ḥammām* of Hājji Ewḥad (by Sinān) were also founded near the walls, by Yedi Qule.

Along the Marmara walls and the Golden Horn walls, too, new foundations appeared: at Akhur Qapı, the mosque of Maḥmūd Agha; at Qum Qapı, the mosque of Ibrāhīm Pasha's wife; at Langa, the mosques of Bāzīrgānzāde and Sheykh Ferhād; at Qadīrga, the mosque, *medrese* and *zāwiye* of Soqollu Mehmed Pasha/Esmā Khātūn; at Un Qapanı, the mosques of Süleymān Subashī and of the Tüfenk-khāne are listed among the works of Sinān.

Indeed, the period from 947/1540 to 996/1588 may justly be called the “age of Sinān”, for he and his subordinates constructed in Istanbul, for the sultans and notables, 43 *jāmi*'s, 52 *mesjids*, 49 *medreses*, 7 *dār al-qurrā*, 40 *ḥammāms*, 28 palaces and *kōshks*, 3 hospices, 3 hospitals, and 6 *khāns*. Other important constructions attributed to Sinān in the outlying districts are: at Eyyüb, the mosque of Zāl-oghli Maḥmūd Pasha (fountain dated 958/1551), the mosque of Defterdār Maḥmūd Chelebi (948/1541) and the mosque of Shāh Sulṭān; at Topkhāne, the mosque of Qilich ‘Alī Pasha (988/1580), and the mosque of Muḥyieddīn Chelebi; at Fındıqlı, the mosque of Jihāngīr, and the mosque, school and *ḥammām* of the Qāḍī ‘asker

Mehmed Wuşulî (Mollâ Chelebi) (973/1565); at Beshiktash, the mosque of Sinân Pasha (963/1555); at Sütlüje, the Châwûsh-bashî mosque; at Üsküdar, the mosque of Mihr-i Mâh Sultâne (954/1548), the mosque of Shemsî Ahmed Pasha (988/1580) and the Eski Wâlide (Nûrbânû) Sultân mosque (991/1583); at Qâsim Pasha, the Qâsim Pasha complex of mosque and *medrese* (the value of the *waqf* being 2,630,000 *aqches* in cash and 117,000 *aqches* in real estate); and towards Oq Meydânî the Piyâle Pasha complex of mosque, *medrese*, school, *tekke*, fountain and *hammâm* (*waqfiyya* dated 981/1573).

The quarter of slaughterhouses and tanneries outside Yedi Qule grew considerably: originally consisting of 27 shops of tanners, 32 of butchers, and 5 of catgut-makers (*waqfiyyes* of Mehmed II and the Aya Sofya register of 898/1493), it was in the middle of the following century, according to Ewliyâ Chelebi, a “flourishing township” with one *jami*’, seven *mesjids*, 300 tanners’ shops, 50 glue shops and 70 catgut-makers. These tanners claimed the right to buy the hides of all animals slaughtered in Istanbul (for a list of the Istanbul slaughter-houses in 1016/1607, see Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000–1100*, 30–1).

In the second half of the 10th/16th century and the first half of the 11th/17th, the inhabited areas extended outside the landwalls towards Eyyüb (*mahalles* of Otaqchılar, Nishânjî Pasha and Chömlëkhiler, described by Ewliyâ Chelebi). In the same period, settlements grew up around mosques and convents built outside the principal gates: at Top Qapî, the mosque of Taqyeji İbrâhîm Agha (d. 1004/1595–6 foundation inscription dated 1000/1591) gave rise to the Taqyeji *mahallesî*; whilst at Yeñi Qapî the mosque and *zâwiye* of Merkez Efendi (d. 959/1551) and the great Mewlewîkhâne founded by the Yeñicheriler Kâtibi Malkoch Mehmed Efendi in 1006/1597 (later much enlarged) both fostered a growth in population.

The last great mosque-complexes to be constituted in the classical tradition of Ottoman architecture are those of Ahmed I on the Hippodrome and the Wâlide Jâmi’i (Yeñi Jâmi’) at Emîn-önü. The former, built between 1018/1609 and 1026/1617 at a cost of one million and a half gold pieces, comprised a mosque, a *medrese*, a hospital, a food-kitchen, a *dâr al-diyyâfa*, lodgings (*misâfirkhâne*), a school, a public fountain, and an *ârâsta*-type *charshî*. The *jizya* of the inhabitants of Ghalata was made over as *waqf* for this mosque.

The Yeñi Jâmi’ was begun in 1006/1597 by Şafiiye Sultân, but the work was suspended for many years and completed only in the years 1071–4/1660–3 by Turkhân Sultân, to comprise the mosque, a *dâr al-qurrâ*, a school, fountains, the tomb of Turkhân, and a market (*mişr charshîsi*) and shops.

The 12th/18th century saw the construction of the Nûr-i ‘Othmâniyye complex beside the Büyük Charshî (1161–9/1748–56); mosque, *medrese*, library, public water-point (*sebîl-khâne*); and of the Lâleli complex (1174–7/1760–4; mosque, *medrese*, fountain): these are in a hybrid style influenced by European baroque, and no longer belong to the classical Ottoman tradition.

It is not without significance that in this period of decline, hospices and hospitals, requiring a substantial annual expenditure, tend to be replaced as elements of a complex by libraries and fountains. This tendency is evident in the foundations of the Grand Viziers. Three viziers of the Köprülü family built complexes along Dîwân Yolu (Mehmed Pasha: tomb, *medrese*, library; Qara Muştafâ Pasha, 1101/1690: mosque, *medrese*, school, fountain; ‘Amjazâde Hüseyin Pasha, 1112/1700: mosque, *medrese*, library, fountains). Here too were the foundations of Chorlulu ‘Alî Pasha (1120/1708: mosque, *medrese*), of Dâmâd İbrâhîm Pasha (1132/1720: *dâr al-hadîth*, fountain), and of Seyyid Hasan Pasha (1158/1745: *medrese*, school, fountain, shops, bakehouse). Another characteristic of this period is the foundation of new complexes, on the model of the old, in sparsely populated areas of the city (e.g., that of Hekîm-oghlu ‘Alî Pasha in the *nâhiye* of Khoja Muştafâ Pasha, of 1146–7/1733–5) or in newly-settled districts of Üsküdar and along the Bosphorus.

The most important of such foundations are those of Kösem Wâlide Sultân (mosque, *medrese*, hospice, bath, *khân*) and of Gülnûsh Sultân (“Yeñi Wâlide”, of 1120–2/1708–10: mosque, fountains) in Üsküdar, the mosque of ‘Abd Hamîd I (1192/1778, with other properties in Istanbul at Baghche Qapî) at Beglerbegi, and the complex of Mihrishâh Sultân (1210/1795: hospice, fountain, school) at Eyyüb.

By and large, until the 17th century practically all the expansion of Istanbul took place within the walls (see Fig. 55). This area, of 17.2 km<sup>2</sup>, was not all built over even at the height of the Byzantine period. In 950/1543, in the middle of the reign of Süleymân I, there were numerous and extensive uninhabited tracts

(M. Lorichs shows the area between the Süleymaniyye and the Golden Horn as an open space). Although in the course of that century complexes and palaces of notables were built along the Lycus Valley and near the land gates, these sections of the city continued to be sparsely populated, with numerous pleasure-gardens and market-gardens: in the 11th/17th century, for example, Yeñi Baghche (to the southwest of Edirne Qapısı) is described as a vast meadow with ten thousand horses out at grass. So too (note the names) there were wide open spaces at Aghachayırı (between Siliwri Qapısı and Yedi Qule), in the extreme southern corner of the city around Yedi Qule, at Böstān-yeri on the Marmara shore between Samatya and Dāwūd Pasha Qapısı, and further east the Langa Bostānları, the Qadīrgha Bostānları, and the Jündi Meydānı. Near the landwalls were the enormous Byzantine open reservoirs (all called “Chuqur Bostānı”) at Altı Mermer, Edirne Qapısı and Sulṭān Selīm. Even in the thickly-populated areas of the city, the courts and gardens of the Old Palace and of the New Palace (0.67 km<sup>2</sup>), and the courtyards of the Great Mosques remained unoccupied (it was estimated that 100,000 people could be accommodated in the mosques).

These open spaces were not wasted. The mosque courtyards, with their attractive views and their shady trees, were favourite places of recreation (Ewliyā Chelebi), and were sometimes used for markets (e.g., Bāyezīd). Conversely, shops and houses progressively intruded on the *fora* of the Byzantine city, to the extent that some of them entirely disappeared (forum Constantini = Chenberli Tash meydānı, or Ṭāwūq Pāzārı Dikili-Tashı meydānı; forum Tauri = Bāyezīd meydānı; forum Arcadii = ‘Awret Pāzārı; Forum Bovis = Aqsaray). The Hippodrome (At Meydānı), however, though reduced in area, remained the most extensive and important public space of Istanbul; besides being a place of recreation, it was also a market and the scene of equestrian exercises. The ‘Awret Pāzārı (restricted, like similar markets in other Ottoman cities, to women only) gradually disappeared. Equestrianism and archery were practised not only in the Hippodrome but in Langa Meydānı and Jündi Meydānı, which were also places of recreation (Ewliyā Chelebi), where the building of houses or the laying out of gardens was forbidden (A. Refik, *op. cit.*, 112).

# VIII. STRUCTURE OF THE MAḤALLE; HIGHWAYS; BUILDING REGULATIONS; DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE; FIRES; EARTHQUAKES

## (a) *The maḥalle*

By the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II, Istanbul was reckoned to be composed of 182 *maḥalles*, a figure which had risen to 219 by 953/1546 (non-Muslim *maḥalles* being excluded). In 1044/1634 there was a total of 292 *maḥalles* and also 12 *jemā‘ats* (“communities”). By 1083/1672, there had been a decline to 253 Muslim and 24 non-Muslim *maḥalles*. In 1288/1871 the area within the walls contained 284 Muslims, 24 Greek, 14 Armenian and 9 Jewish *maḥalles*, with a further 256 *maḥalles* outside the walls, along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn, in Üsküdar and in Qāḍıköy.

The *maḥalle* was an organic unity, a community with its own identity, settled around a mosque, a church or a synagogue. The individuals of this community were linked not only by a common origin (in many cases), a common religion and a common culture, but also by external factors making for social solidarity. The meeting-place of the community and the symbol of its unity was the place of worship, the repair of which and the maintenance of whose staff were the joint responsibility of the inhabitants, and after which the *maḥalle* was named. Practically every *maḥalle* had also its own school and fountain, and the wealthier inhabitants aided these foundations by *waqf* endowments.

Similarly, too, the authorities treated the *maḥalle* as a unity having joint responsibility for the maintenance of order, the payment of taxes, and other obligations to the state. The ‘*awāriḍ*’ tax demonstrates this clearly, being collected from each *maḥalle* according to the pre-determined number of its ‘*awāriḍ khāneleri*’; many *maḥalles* had a joint “‘*awāriḍ* fund”, supported by *waqfs*, from which the ‘*awāriḍ*’ of the poor or of absconders were paid and from which loans, at a light interest, were made to applicants from the *maḥalle*. Again, the *ketkhudās* of guilds and the *mütevellīs* of *waqfs* were, like the *imām* of the mosque, officially recognised as intermediaries between the government on the one hand and the artisans and *waqf* staff on the other.

Finally, the inhabitants of a *maḥalle* bore a joint responsibility for the maintenance of order. It was not easy for an outsider to be recognised as belonging to a *maḥalle*: the usual view was that four years' uninterrupted residence was necessary; the period for Istanbul was fixed at five years (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553–1591*, 145). In 987/1579 the inhabitants of each *maḥalle* were declared to be *kefils* (sureties) for one another, with the intention of preventing criminals of unknown antecedents from finding refuge from the law; for the same reason, in 986/1578 the idea of erecting gates between the *maḥalles* was considered (Refik, *op. cit.*, 144). Each *maḥalle* had its night-watchman, the inhabitants performing the duty in rotation in the 10th/16th century, while later a salaried night-watchman (*pāsbān*) was paid by the inhabitants. By a decree of 1107/1695, each *maḥalle* was to support two watchmen, guaranteed by sureties, who were to patrol the *maḥalle* with lanterns in their hands and to arrest any strangers found there after the bed-time prayer. The *bekchi*, so important in the life of the *maḥalle*, became a characteristic figure in the folklore of Istanbul. Similarly, too, each *maḥalle* was obliged to pay two or three street-cleaners (firman of 1131/1718). In 1285/1868 certain *maḥalles* were obliged to maintain fire-fighting equipment, and some of the young men of each *maḥalle* were appointed as *ṭulumbajīs* to create a new “type” in the life of Istanbul, the colourful *ṭulumbajī*.

The *imām* of its mosque was the representative of the *maḥalle* in all dealings with the authorities. The sultan's decrees were passed on to the *imāms* in the *qāḍī*'s court or proclaimed by criers (*münāḍī*) in the streets, and the *imām* was responsible for seeing that the *maḥalle* fulfilled all its obligations to the government: he could appeal to the authorities, particularly to the *qāḍī*, for assistance in dealing with refractory members of the community. The election of a *mukhtār* for each *maḥalle* in 1242/1826 was the first step towards the “secularisation” of the local authorities.

As time went on, the tendency increased for co-religionists and co-sectarians to settle together in separate *maḥalles*, and for these *maḥalles* to form distinct districts (for clashes between Muslims and Christians in a “mixed” *maḥalle*, see Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000–1100*, doc. 100; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553–1591*, 53; for the formation of distinct Greek, Armenian and Jewish districts, see below). This

tendency was encouraged by government action. Thus when the Church of the Pammakaristos was converted into a mosque in 999/1591, attempts were made to create a Muslim *maḥalle* around it, by selling the vacant site in lots, each sufficient for building a house, exclusively to Muslims (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1000–1100*, 14).

The tendency for each district to have its own traditions, occupation, even style of pronunciation, is reflected for the 11th/17th century by Ewliyā Chelebi and Eremya Chelebi, and in the 19th century by such novelists as A. Midḥat, Meḥmed Tewfiq and Hüseyin Raḥmī.

## 2. Streets

Vavassore's plan shows quite broad streets leading to each region of the city, but these have disappeared in plans of the next (10th/16th) century (the street plan is shown clearly only in the map by the dragoman Konstantin of 1228/1813: Topkapı Sarayı no. 1858). Indeed, in the 19th century, *Diwān Yolu*, the most important street of the city, was only 3.5–5.5 m wide.

The streets of Istanbul were typically those of a mediaeval Eastern city, twisting and full of blind alleys, so that the delimitation of the *maḥalles*, far from being planned in advance, was a matter of pure chance. A study of the detailed city map of 1293/1876 (Ayverdi, *19. asırda İstanbul haritası*, Istanbul 1958) shows that streets still preserve the alignment they had had under Meḥmed II, for the *mi'mār bāshī*, during rebuilding operations after fires, would try to preserve the old street-plan. Occupants of property on a street, however, persistently attempted to incorporate areas of the highway into their properties and would, by erecting upper storeys projecting far over the street, cut down the light and air at ground-level. These difficulties of communication in the narrow streets meant that goods were usually transported by sea, from the various gates and landing-places on the Golden Horn.

Documents of the 10th/16th century attest that streets were paved (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553–1591*, 67), and Ewliyā Chelebi claims that the streets of Istanbul, Eyyüb, Topkhāne and Qāsim Pasha were all completely paved in the middle of the 11th/17th century. The construction and repair of the paving was carried out by contract with the *kethudā* of the

guild of paviours (Refik, *op. cit.*, 66), the work being supervised by the *shehr emîni*, the *mi'mâr bashî* or the *su yolu nâzîrî*. For main roads, the cost was met by the government, for side roads, by the householders, shop-keepers and *mütevellîs* whose properties benefited (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı*, 1100–1200, 30).

The cleaning of the principal squares and streets was carried out by the '*ajemî oghlanlarî*' and other military units under the authority of the Yeñicheri Aghası, while each property-owner in a side-street was responsible for keeping the area in front of his property clean; street-sweepers (*süprüntijü*) were later employed in the *maḥalles*. The removal of rubbish was the responsibility of the *choplık subashîsî* (also termed *tāhir subashîsî*), who let out the work on contract to a group known as *arayjî* ("searchers", 500 in number; Ewliya Chelebi, i, 514). These would collect rubbish in baskets and throw it into the sea, after sifting through it for anything worth keeping; the usual area for the disposal of rubbish and rubble was Langa, or, on the Takhtaqaḷ'e side, at the place near Odun Qapısı known as Boqluq. Firmans repeatedly forbade the throwing of filth into the streets, the breaking-up of paving and the building of steps or stairways in front of houses (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı*, 1000–1100, docs. 25–38).

Except during Ramaḍān, everybody had to be within doors after the bed-time prayer. There were no arrangements for lighting the streets, and anyone obliged to be out had to carry a lantern (White, iii, 250). The first street to be lit by gas was Beyoghlu Jādesi in 1273/1856, the main streets of Istanbul being lit by gas in 1879.

Inhabitants of Istanbul and foreign observers unite in reporting the neglected and dirty state of the streets in spite of the stringent decrees periodically issued. In 1839, for the first time, various plans were drawn up for modernising the city by e.g., opening up blind alleys and creating broad intersecting streets and squares, but such measures began to be carried out only after the great "Khoja Pasha" fire of 1865.

### 3. Building regulations

Regulations issued to control building styles, the streets, and the city's cleanliness had their effect on the appearance and plan of Ottoman Istanbul. Such regulations were issued by the *shehr emîni* and

his subordinates the *khāṣṣa mi'mâr bashî* and the *su yolu nâzîrî*, and put into effect through the *qāḍî* and the *subashî*. In 1831 these duties passed to the *ebniye-i khāṣṣa müdürliğü*.

In the first place, all building was under the control of the state. Before building could begin, the right to the site had to be acquired by an approach either to the public treasury (*mîrî*) or to the appropriate *waqf* and by the payment of the *îyâre-i mü'ejjele*. If the freehold was held by a *waqf*, the consent of the state authorities was necessary. The *mi'mâr bashî* would grant permission for construction of the building according to the current regulations and the permitted dimensions, and check that these were observed. In 1196/1782 it was decreed that builders who erected buildings for non-Muslims without obtaining a firman of permission should be put to death.

The government intervened in these matters for various reasons: to regulate land-tenure, to prevent fires, to avert water-shortage, and to protect the walls, mosques, and other public buildings. According to building regulations of 966/1559 (the time of Sinān), houses were not to be more than two storeys high, the upper storey was not to project over the street, and balconies and eaves were not to be made (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı*, 1553–1591, 58–9). That these prohibitions had to be repeated so often shows clearly that they were not observed. After great fires it was ordered that houses, especially those adjacent to public buildings and *khāns*, should be constructed of stone or brick (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı*, 1100–1200, doc. 34) (yet after earthquakes construction in wood was decreed). Thanks to its cheapness, most of the houses of Istanbul were always built of wood. To limit the danger of fire and to facilitate approach to the city's gates and landing-stages, orders were issued in 966/1558 to demolish all houses and shops abutting on the walls (an order later re-issued), leaving a clear space of 4 *dhirā's* (in 1131/1718, five *dhirā's*, i.e., 3.25 m). To conserve water, the construction of new palaces and baths needed the sultan's permission; sometimes, indeed, the building of baths was forbidden. To prevent overcrowding, the building of "bachelors' quarters" (*bekār odalari*) (see below) where newcomers would stay was strictly controlled and sometimes forbidden.

These regulations were rarely followed. The increase in population from the second half of the 10th/16th century onwards meant an increased

demand for housing, so that palaces with extensive gardens were pulled down to be built over with contiguous wooden houses and shanties (Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100–1200*, 67–8).

Non-Muslims were subject to more severe regulations: they could not build or occupy houses near a Muslim place of worship; their houses were not to be more than nine *dhirā*'s high or built of freestone, and they could not construct baths; it was forbidden to Muslims to sell houses or building-sites to *dhimmīs* or to non-Muslim foreign residents (but a legal device, *hīla*, could usually be found to circumvent this). By the code of regulations of 1233/1817, the permitted height of houses for non-Muslims was increased to 12 *dhirā*'s, and for Muslims to 14 (in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. the maximum height permitted in Constantinople had been about 33 m). The old ban on building more than two storeys led to the construction of all sorts of extensions upwards – *chardaq*, *bālākhāne*, *takhtapūsh*, *jihānnümā*, *chatī-ara*. After the *Tanzīmāt* reforms of the mid-19th century, the height limitations were abolished, for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

It is very probable that these building restrictions – together with fear of plague – were the principal cause for the settlement of non-Muslims outside the walls, on the northern side of the Golden Horn and along the Bosphorus: as their houses grew in number, in 1160/1747 it was forbidden that non-Muslims should build on empty sites in these areas (Refik, *op. cit.*, 213).

#### 4. Domestic architecture

The types of houses in Istanbul can be considered under five heads:

(1) “Rooms” (*oda*, *hujra*). Houses of one room only were built either detached, in rows, around a court (*muḥawwaṭa*), or in the style of a *khān*; they were often built over a shop. Such houses were usually built by a *waqf*, to be rented out, and since they were generally occupied by unmarried men who had come to Istanbul in search of employment they were termed *bekār odaları*. Such “bachelors’ quarters” were not encouraged in a *maḥalle*, where only married households were permitted (see, e.g., firman of 1044/1634). Unmarried workmen frequently used a single room in a *khān* or a caravanserai both as a workshop and as living-quarters, a *khān* occupied

only by such residents being called *mijerredler khānī*. In 950/1543 a “room” brought in an annual rent of about 100 *aqches*. In 1083/1672 there were reckoned to be 12,000 *bekār odaları* in Istanbul.

(2) *Maḥalle* houses. Poor craftsmen and people in humble circumstances usually occupied primitive one- or two-storeyed houses of wood or mud-bricks. In less densely populated areas, the typical house, as in the towns of Anatolia, was a small wood and brick building, with a courtyard and garden shut off by a wall from the street; such a house covered about 400 square *arshīns* and in the middle of the 10th/16th century cost about 100 gold pieces.

(3) Houses with gardens, walled about. The court of some of such houses was divided into two, an inner and an outer court; the residence comprised one house, or more than one, and also perhaps a “room” or more than one; there might also be a belvedere, a privy, a stable, a bakehouse, a bath, a shed, an arbour, a storehouse, a “cool room” (*serdāb*), a mill, quarters for servants or slaves, a hen-coop, a pleasure garden, a well, a fountain, and a *cherāghliq* (a fire kept constantly burning); most houses had at least a garden, a stable, a bakehouse, a well and a privy. Larger houses known as *khāne-i kebīr* are less common: an example is the house of Mīmār Sinān (description of a 19th-century *qonaq* in White, iii, 176).

(4) Palaces and villas (*qasr*). The palaces of statesmen and rich merchants consisted of a large mansion in an extensive court with numerous subsidiary buildings; they are therefore merely a grander version of type (3) above. They usually had two courts, the whole site being surrounded by a high wall (Sinān Pasha bought up and demolished 300 houses to build his palace). The mansion, divided into *harem* and *selāmlīq*, was usually built of wood and contained numerous rooms (there were 300 rooms in the famous palace of Siyāwush Pasha). In the courts of such palaces there would be, beside kitchens, bakehouses, baths and stables, also a school for the dignitary’s *ich oghlanları*, workshops for the craftsmen employed to supply the numerous household, and even shops. The villas (*kōshk*, *qasr*) in such a palace’s gardens were monumental specimens of architecture (S. Eldem, *Kōşkler*, Istanbul 1969). Palaces built by viziers usually passed on death into the ownership of the sultan, who would present them to princesses or to other dignitaries. It was estimated in the middle of the 11th/17th century that the palaces of members

of the royal house and of viziers numbered about 120 and those of other notables and of merchants about 1,000. The greatest and most famous palaces were built under Süleymân in the Ayasofya and Süleymaniyye districts.

The villas and *yalı*s of sultans and dignitaries, built outside the land walls of Istanbul (at Khalqalı, Florya, Dāwūd Pasha), on the northern side of the Golden Horn (at Qara Aghach, Pīr Pasha, Qāsim Pasha, Kāghidkhāne), along the Bosphorus and at Üsküdār, situated in extensive and well-tended gardens and woods, became very numerous, and later formed the nuclei of select residential *maḥalles*. They served for recreation, as hunting lodges, and as summer residences, and also as alternative accommodation after a fire or during an epidemic (details in the registers of the *bostānjī bashī*. In the 12th/18th century, sultans created new *maḥalles* by giving or selling sections of their gardens and woods as building sites (e.g., Muṣṭafā III, at İhsāniyye and Beglerbegi).

### 5. Fires

The frequent conflagrations in this thickly populated city, with its narrow streets of houses mostly built of wood, had as great an effect on social and economic life as they did on the physical configuration (for fires in the Byzantine period, see F.W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinische Kunstgeschichte*, i, Vienna 1879, 74 ff.). The number of fires was indeed abnormally high: Ergin calculated that in the 53 years between 1853 and 1906 there were 229 fires, with the destruction of 36,000 houses. The dates of the greatest fires are: Rajab 977/1569, 27 Şafar 1043/2 September 1633, 16 Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1070/24 July 1660, 3 Shawwāl 1104/7 June 1693, 18 Sha'bān 1130/17 July 1718, 13 Ramaḍān 1196/22 August 1782, 27 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1241/2 September 1826, 14 Rabī' II 1249/31 August 1833, 27 Rabī' II 1282/19 September 1865 and 1 Ramaḍān 1336/10 June 1918 (see A.M. Schneider, *Brände in Konstantinopel*, in *BZ*, xli [1941], 382–403; M. Cezar, *İstanbul yangınları*, in *Türk Sanatı Tarihi Araştırmaları ve İncelemeleri*, i [1963], 327–414).

Many of the worst fires began in the Jibali (Jübbe 'Alī) district, burning the whole centre of the city and reaching to the Marmara coast at Qum Qapı, Yeñi Qapı or Langa. Jibali was particularly prone to the risk of fire because of the trades – such as caulking – carried

out there, the exposure of the Jibali-Un Qapanı valley to the north-east wind and the density of the housing on the slopes up to Fātiḥ. Fires starting here often swept in two lines, via Fātiḥ and Aqsaray to Langa, and via Wefā, Shehzāde-bashī and Lāleli to Yeñi Qapı. Fires breaking out in the Jewish quarter (Chufut Qapısı) on the Golden Horn and liable, for the same reasons, to spread, would extend in one direction to the walls of the palace and, in another, over Chaghaloghlu, destroying all the houses on the slope up to the Büyük Charshī. Other districts frequently burnt down were Takhtaqa'l'e, the Büyük Charshī area, and the Fener-Balat region.

Although the reports of the damage caused are frequently exaggerated, yet they do indicate that there was very substantial damage. It was said that 20,000 houses were destroyed in the fire of 1043/1633 (both Kātib Chelebi in his *Fedhleke* and Knolles, *Generall Historie*, London 1631, 47, speak of “a third of the city”); two-thirds of the city in 1070/1660, with 4,000 deaths; 18 *jāmi*'s, 19 *mesjids*, 2,547 houses and 1,146 shops in 1104/1693; one eighth of the city in 1142/1729; two-thirds of the city in 1169/1756; 20,000 houses in 1196/1782; and half the city in 1249/1833. More reliable figures are available for the second half of the 19th century: in the 30 odd years between 1854 and 1885 fires – minor as well as major – destroyed 27,000 houses, and the single Fātiḥ fire of 1918 destroyed 7,500.

In the fires at Takhtaqa'l'e and round the Charshī, stock and goods of great value were often lost. It was estimated that the goods lost in the Mīşr Charshisi alone in the fire of 1102/1690 were worth three million *ghurush* (ca. 2 million gold pieces); after a fire in the Bedestān in 922/1516, many merchants went bankrupt.

Fires caused various political, social and economic crises in the life of Istanbul. Many fires were deliberately started by dissident Janissaries and *'ajemī oghlanları*, abetted by the riffraff of the city. In palace circles, fires caused considerable anxiety as being a sign of unrest in the soldiery and in the lower classes, and might be a factor in the dismissal of leading government figures. It was often reported that the Janissaries, among whose duties was fire-fighting, had in fact encouraged the spread of fires (e.g. in 977/1569); and the Grand Vizier, the Agha of the Janissaries, the *bostānjī bashī* and the *jebeji bashī* would in person direct operations in fighting a large



fire, while the sultan often felt it necessary to put in an appearance in order to sustain discipline and morale. Looting by troops and the mob could not be prevented. Those made homeless would take refuge, with the goods they had managed to save, in mosque-courtyards, *medreses*, and open spaces such as Langa Bostānī, but even here sometimes they could not escape. After a fire there would be shortages both of food and of building materials, with consequent rises in prices, compelling numbers of people to move away to neighbouring towns (e.g., after the fire of 1196/1782, to Chorlu, Edirne, Izmiḍ, etc.; see Cezar, 365). Even buildings of stone, though not destroyed, would be made uninhabitable, involving the government in heavy expenditure and obliging *waqfs* to draw on their reserve funds. A sultan would often instruct notables and wealthy individuals to undertake the repair of public buildings. In the period of decline, the poor could not be prevented from erecting shanties on the site of a fire, which thus was never restored to its former order; this, and the principle of *waqfs* with “two rents” (*ijāratayn*), which led to the erection of tumble-down booths around a *waqf*, meant that in the 19th century Istanbul looked more ramshackle and neglected than it had ever done.

Fire-fighting was the responsibility of the Janissaries, the *bostānjīs*, the *jebējīs*, and also, in return for exemption from certain taxes, the city’s water-carriers and the guild of *baltajīs*. After 1130/1718, fire-engines with pumps, introduced by a French convert named David, were recognized to be of great value (Rāshid, v, 306, Küçük Chelebi-zāde Āṣim, 255), and “fire-brigades” were formed: a unit of *tulumbajīs* attached to the Janissaries in 1132/1719, *tulumbajīs* for each *maḥalle* in 1285/1868, and a regular fire brigade in 1290/1873; fire insurance began only in 1890.

#### 6. Earthquakes

Earthquakes, too, had their effect on the city’s general appearance (Istanbul is one of the cities most subject to earthquake in the world, suffering 66 shocks between 1711 and 1894). Besides the great earthquakes of 1099/1688, 1180/1766 and 1894, there was the major disaster beginning on 6 Jumādā I 915/22 August 1509, called by the chroniclers “Küçük Qiyāmet”, when the shocks continued for weeks. The walls were seriously damaged, all the minarets collapsed, and 109 mosques

and 1,070 houses were destroyed; estimates of the killed range from 5,000 to 13,000. Many Byzantine buildings (e.g., Īsā Qapısı) were badly damaged. The authorities took emergency action to carry out the re-building, one person and an *‘awāriḍ* of 22 *aqches* being levied from each household in Istanbul, and workmen being conscripted from outside (37,000 from Anadolu and 29,000 from Rūmeli), so that the work was quickly completed.

### IX. THE INHABITANTS: REPOPULATION; RELIGIOUS MINORITIES; THE COURT AND MILITARY PERSONNEL; EPIDEMICS; POPULATION STATISTICS

#### 1. Repopulation

Throughout his reign, one of Meḥemmed II’s main preoccupations was to re-populate Istanbul. Various methods were employed, particularly and especially in the early years, the deportation of households from every part of his dominions; later, the useful elements of newly-conquered cities – the nobility, craftsmen and merchants – were transferred to Istanbul; and, always, immigrants of whatever religion or race were encouraged to come from anywhere in the world (see İnalçık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii–xxiv, 237–49).

The census of 860/1455 shows that many of the Muslim immigrants brought from Qoja-eli, Sarukhan, Aydin, Balıkesir, etc. had fled *en masse*, to be replaced, e.g., in the *maḥalles* of Kir Nikola and Kir Martas by immigrants from Tekirdagh and Chorlu. One of the reasons for this “flight”, besides the general difficulty of making a living in a ruined city, is certainly the sultan’s attempt to levy *muqāṭa‘a* on the immigrants’ houses, as related by Āshiqpashazāde. In about 860/1455 a numerous group of Jewish deportees from Rūmeli was settled in the city: 42 families from Izdin (Lamia) in houses at Samatya abandoned by Muslims from Balıkesir; 38 families from Filibe in houses in the *maḥalle* of Top Yıqughī abandoned by immigrants from Paphlagonia and Tekirdagh; others came from Edirne, Niğbolu, Trikkala, etc.

Among the Muslim immigrants there were trades-folk (tailors, blacksmiths, etc.) and many men of religion, including adherents of dervish orders. Soldiers (Janissaries, Doghanjīs, etc.) often became householders in various *maḥalles*; the *‘azefs* of the navy settled

together in an *Azebler mahalle*. Groups of immigrants usually settled together in one *mahalle* or monastery (though occasionally Greeks. Jews and Muslims are found living in the same building; and in 860/1455 there were at Samatya 42 Jewish, 14 Greek, and 13 Muslim families). The register shows that at this date the *mahalles* which it covers were sparsely populated, with only a few shops, the churches and monasteries deserted, and the houses empty and ruined. Soon afterwards, it seems, the sultan took up permanent residence in the now-completed palace and began the active promotion of building activity, of economic prosperity, and of new settlement. In 863/1459 he commanded all the Greeks who had left the city before or after the conquest to return. It was in these years, too, that, with the aim of making his capital the centre of a world-wide empire, he appointed an Orthodox patriarch (6 January 1454), an Armenian patriarch (865/1461) and a chief rabbi (see below); and in line with old Islamic tradition, he encouraged the settlement of craftsmen and merchants.

Enslaved peasants were settled, as the sultan's serfs (*khāṣṣ*, *qul*, *ortaqchī qul*), in the villages round about in order to restore their prosperity. In the 10th/16th century, by now being ordinary *re'āyā*, they would form an important element of the population of the so-called *khāṣṣ köys*. In 904/1498, of the 163 villages in the *qadā'* of Eyyūb (which was known as *khāṣṣlar qadā'si*), 110 contained about 2,000 adult *khāṣṣ qul* (the rest of the inhabitants being ordinary *re'āyā* or *sürgün*). The *khāṣṣ köys* covered the area from the two Chekmejes and Baqirköy to the Black Sea coast and to the Bosphorus and Beshiktash (but there were no *khāṣṣ köys* actually in Istanbul).

The deportations from conquered cities are shown in the following list (see İnalcık, *op. cit.*, 237–8; Jorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest 1972, 48–62):

863/1459	Armenian and Greek merchants from the two Fočas and Amasra
864/1460	Greeks from the Morea, Thasos, Lemnos, Imbros, Samothrace
865/1461	Greeks from Trebizond
866/1462	Greeks from Mytilene
867/1463	Greeks from Argos
873–9/1468–74	Muslims, Greeks and Armenians from Konya, Larenda, Aqsaray, Ereğli
875/1470	Greeks from Euboea
880/1475	Armenians, Greeks and Latins from Kaffa.

The 1,542 Greek households whose *jizya* was made over by Mehemmed II to his *waqfs* are listed in *jemā'ats* (of “people from Foča”, “from Midilli”, etc.), the most numerous of these being *jemā'at-i Rūmīyān-i Midilliyān*. By the middle of the 10th/16th century, these *jemā'ats* were scattered over the various Greek *mahalles* of Istanbul and Ghalata. The same register shows 777 households of Armenians in 24 *jemā'ats* (from Larende, Konya, Sivas, Aqshehir, etc.) and 1490 Jewish households (from Lamia, Salonica, Euboea, etc.).

*Waqfiyyes* of Mehemmed II show the Baghche Qapı to Emīn-önü region almost exclusively inhabited by Jews, the *mahalle* of Fil-damī inhabited by Greeks, Jews and Muslims, and *mahalles* along the harbour (Khalīl Pasha Burghosī, ‘Ajemoghlu, Hājī Khalīl) mainly inhabited by Jews. They give also the names of Muslim immigrants from Qaramān, Ankara, İzniq, etc., and of Greeks from Trebizond and Mytilene.

Intense voluntary settlement in Istanbul began later, when the first measures of recovery had been taken and the city started to prosper. In spite of the deaths by plague in 871/1466, a census of 882/1477 shows that Istanbul was already then as populous as any other Mediterranean city:

i. Istanbul		
	households	= %
Muslims	8,951	60
Greek Orthodox	3,151	21.5
Jews	1,647	11
Kaffans	267	2
Armenians of Istanbul	372	2.6
Armenians and Greeks from Karaman	384	2.7
Gypsies	31	.2
	14,803	
ii. Ghalata		
	households	= %
Muslims	535	35
Greek Orthodox	592	39
Europeans	332	22
Armenians	62	4
	1,521	
Grand total: 16,324		

This total does not include soldiers, *medrese* students or slaves. Barkan, estimating these to amount to one-fifth of the population and taking five persons

to the household, considers the total population to have numbered about 100,000 (*JESHO*, i/1, 21; Schneider estimates 60–70,000; Ayverdi's estimate is 167–175,000).

Later sultans continued the policy of settling deportees from newly conquered regions. Bāyezīd II settled 500 households from Akkerman at Siliwri Qapısı (the *jizya* – registers of 894/1489 show the settlers from Akkerman as 670 households). The Ottomans' readiness to welcome Jews expelled from Spain, Portugal and Southern Italy in 1492 and the following years led to an increase in the Jewish population of the city (estimated at 36,000 by von Harff, 244). Selīm I brought 200 households of merchants and craftsmen from Tabrīz and 500 from Cairo (some of whom were permitted to return by Süleymān). After his capture of Belgrade, Süleymān settled Christians and Jews near Samatya Qapısı (later Belghrad Qapısı) to form the Belghrad Mahallesi. One other immigration deserving notice is that of the Moriscos from Spain after 978/1570 (referred to in Ottoman records as *Endülüslü* or *Müdejjel* (read *müdejjen*) *Arablari* (see A. Hess, *The Moriscos*, in *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, lxxxiv/1); these settled together in Ghalata around the Church of S. Paolo and S. Domenico (later called 'Arab Jāmi'i); they stirred up much anti-Christian feeling in Istanbul.

The Ottoman authorities seem to have taken little account of the damage suffered by the cities subjected to deportations; the importance attached to centralisation, and the conscious determination to make Istanbul the principal city not merely of the empire but of the world and the centre of world commerce overrode other considerations (see T. Stoianovich, *The conquering Balkan Orthodox merchant*, in *Jnal. Econ. Hist.*, xx, 239).

The deportees enjoyed a special status. They were exempt from *'awāriḍ* for a certain period, but could not leave the city without the permission of the *subashī*. For some time after their arrival – either because of their own inclinations or because of their special status – each group was treated as a distinct *jemā'at*, living together and named after their native region. Hence in the various censuses of the city new arrivals are separately listed as *jemā'ats*, not included in the residents of *maḥalles*. Thus the immigrants from Kaffā and Qaramān are *jemā'ats* in the census of 882/1477, but have been absorbed in the general Christian population by 1489/894; in that year only the immigrants from Akkerman are listed as a *jemā'at*.

In the 11th/17th century there are listed besides 292 *maḥalles*, 12 Muslim *jemā'ats*, referred to as "of Tokat, of Ankara, of Bursa", who are presumably arrivals from those places. The *jemā'at* is either absorbed into *maḥalles* of its co-religionists or forms a new *maḥalle* under a different name (usually that of the founder of the *maḥalle*'s mosque). This process of assimilation worked most quickly on the Muslims, and most slowly on the Jews (U. Heyd, in *Oriens*, vi, 305–14).

In the first half of the 10th/16th century, the population increased considerably, mainly for economic reasons. Registers of *waqfs* show that many merchants and craftsmen immigrated from Edirne, Bursa, Ankara, Konya, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo and even (though they were not numerous) from Persia; but the chief increase was caused by the immigration of young men or of whole peasant families (termed *ev göçhü*) from the poorer regions of the empire who had left their holdings to work in the city. Coming from central and eastern Anatolia, and from Rūmeli (especially Albania), they worked as porters, water-carriers, boatmen, bath-attendants, hawkers and labourers. Some returned home after saving a little money, but the majority stayed on.

In the 16th century the population of Ottoman cities in general increased by 80%, and Istanbul probably showed a still higher percentage. The authorities began to be aware of the problem of over-population in the middle of the century (yet as late as 935/1528 the laws encouraging immigration and granting exemptions to Christian settlers were still in force). The reasons they found for the movement from the countryside into Istanbul were these (see Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1553–1591*, 145; idem, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100–1200*, 110, 131, 199) (1) the better facilities for making a living; (2) the absence of *ra'yyet* taxes; and (3) freedom from exposure to the illegal *tekālif-i shāqqa* and other exactions levied at all periods by soldiers and officials and in later times by *a'yān* and *derebegis*. These peasant immigrants built houses for themselves in the outlying areas of the city (chiefly Qāsim Pasha and Eyyüb) or lodged within the city in *bekār odaları* or *bekār khānlari* (see above). When the provinces were suffering abnormal dearth or disorder, the extent of the movement into Istanbul seriously alarmed the authorities. During the Jelālī disturbances of 1005–19/1596–1610, many thousands of families fled to Istanbul (40,000 (?) families of Armenians alone; most or many of these were later sent back to their homes).

Not only was life more secure in Istanbul, but no one had to starve. The religious foundations naturally attracted immigrants, and thousands lived on doles of food from a hospice (the hospice of Fātiḥ alone fed a thousand people a day) or on a minute income from a *waqf* as a *medrese* student or as a “bedesman” in a mosque or at a tomb. A foreign visitor observed that if it were not for the hospices, the inhabitants would be eating one another (Dernschwam). When in 1026/1617, as a result of the disturbances created by *medrese* students (*sukhte*) in Anatolia, it was decreed that *medrese* education should cease except in a few principal cities and the provincial hospices were closed, the students flocked to Istanbul, where they offered a fertile soil for the incitements of fanatical preachers (the number of these students ranged at different times from 5,000 to 8,000). Beggars and dervishes were always a problem: particularly in Ramaḍān, thousands of them came to Istanbul to throng the streets; and under Süleymān, measures of control were taken at Alexandria and Damietta to prevent Egyptian beggars from travelling to Istanbul.

Among the floating population of the city were, for example, *ʿazeb* troops coming from the provinces to serve in the fleet, deputations from various districts come to carry out local business, to lodge complaints about their local authorities or to appeal against taxes, and bodies of workmen brought in to build ships or do construction work for the state.

The authorities considered that this over-population caused three principal problems: (1) the water-supply was becoming inadequate, it was more difficult to ensure the supply of food, and the cost of living was rising; (2) security was breaking down, with an increase in robbery and murder, and frequent fires and lootings; (3) as the number of unemployed vagrants increased in Istanbul, tax revenue from the provinces declined. From time-to-time therefore, and especially after the crisis of a riot, a fire or a food-shortage, the authorities would take such measures as these: (1) Since unmarried labourers were the chief cause of the troubles, all those who had come to Istanbul within a prescribed period (five years, ten years) were rounded up and expelled; similarly, beggars were occasionally rounded up and set to work in nearby towns. Since Albanian vagrants had played a main part in the rebellion of Patrona Khalil in 1143/1730, stringent repressive measures were taken against them. In 1829, during a food shortage, it was decided to expel unmarried men who had come to

the city within the past ten years, and 4,000 were removed. (2) Anyone proposing to come to Istanbul for a court case had to receive first a certificate of permission from his local *qāḍī*, and deputations were not to be too numerous. (3) Check points on immigrants, particularly on the *ew göçüis*, were set up on the roads and at the entrances to the city. (4) The inhabitants of a *maḥalle* were ordered to stand surety for one another and *imāms* were instructed to keep strangers out. (5) No one was admitted to a *khān* or to a *bekār odası* unless he had a surety. (6) The construction of new “bachelors’ quarters” was forbidden.

But it was all in vain, as effective control was impossible; and in later years the defeats and losses of territory in Europe brought new waves of refugees to Istanbul, the last being the great migration of 1912 during the Balkan Wars.

## 2. *Non-Muslims*

The non-Muslims of Istanbul were in 1001/1592 classified in six groups: Greeks (*Rūm*), Armenians, Jews, Qaramānlis, Franks of Ghalāṭa and Greeks of Ghalāṭa. Only the Orthodox and the Armenian churches and the Jewish rabbinate were officially recognised. The only Roman Catholic group within the walls were those families brought from Kaffā in 880/1475 (numbering, with the Armenians, 267), who were granted the churches of St. Nicholas and St. Mary at Edirne Qapısı. Over the years, they dispersed or moved to Ghalāṭa, and the churches were converted to mosques, to be called Kefeli Jāmi’i (in 1038/1629) and Odalar Jāmi’i (in 1050/1640) respectively. Thereafter, Catholic churches were found only in Ghalāṭa, protected by the capitulations, and “Franks” were permitted to live only in Ghalāṭa: when some of them set up in business as doctors and drapers at Baghche Qapı and on Dīwān Yolu in the early 19th century, the sultan ordered their premises to be closed.

The areas particularly inhabited by Greeks and Armenians were the Marmara coast of the city, the Fener-Balat district, and the Rūmeli side of the Bosphorus. Non-Muslims usually formed distinct *maḥalles*, each with its own church or synagogue; Muslims were reluctant to allow non-Muslims to settle among them, finding it repugnant to have to observe their practices.

Occasionally, popular feeling among the Muslim

populace would show that it wanted Istanbul to be an exclusively Muslim city, and the sultans were obliged to re-proclaim and to enforce the various regulations and restrictions imposed on *dhimmīs* (distinctive dress; not to ride horses or employ slaves; demolition of churches improperly built; not to sell wine). Mistrust of and hostility to non-Muslims was brought to the surface by various incidents: the question of the occupation of *mīrī* houses under Mehemmed II (İnalçık, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii–xxiv [1969–70], 240–9), fear of an attack by a Christian fleet (in 944/1537, 979/1571, 1066/1655), Austrian and Russian attacks after 1094/1683, and the Greek Revolt of 1821. Such tensions, together with fires and the building of mosques near non-Muslim *maḥalles*, encouraged non-Muslims to move away and settle in the outlying *maḥalles* along the Marmara Coast and the Golden Horn and near the walls.

On the other hand, Muslims and non-Muslim tradesmen and artisans, whose activities were controlled by the same *ḥisba* regulations, worked side-by-side in the bazaars; protection of non-Muslims was in the financial interest of the treasury and of the state dignitaries. The government would therefore intervene to prevent attacks on non-Muslims by *medrese* students, *‘ajemī oghlanları* or the mob. The non-Muslims, particularly the Armenians from Anatolia, were strongly influenced by Turkish culture. Although each community used its own language, the common language of Istanbul was Turkish, and for motives of political or social prestige non-Muslims would try to live and dress like Turks. Conversely, however, the Turkish of Istanbul and its folklore were influenced by the minorities (see F.W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, Oxford 1929; M. Halit Bayrı, *İstanbul folklore*, repr. Istanbul 1972).

The Greek Orthodox, the Armenians and the Jews were regarded as separate *millets* or *tā’ifēs*, under the authority of the Greek Patriarch, the Armenian Patriarch and the Chief Rabbi respectively, and enjoyed autonomy in their internal affairs. The Greek Patriarch and the *Rūm milleti ru’ēsāsī* took precedence over the two other groups of dignitaries. The three religious leaders were elected by their communities, but their authority derived from their *berāts* (which had to be obtained, by payment of a *pīshkesh* or present) granted by the sultan. The community could petition the sultan to dismiss its leader and the leader could ask the sultan to give effect to his commands (for the Greek patriarchate, see S. Runci-

man, *The Great Church in captivity*, Cambridge 1968).

Until the 12th/18th century there were some 40 Greek churches in Istanbul, only three of which had existed before the conquest (listed in Schneider, *Byzanz*, 38–49). When the question was raised how it was possible for these churches to exist in a city taken by force, the fiction of a willing surrender was accepted to legalise the situation (see İnalçık, *op. cit.*, 233; Runciman, *The fall of Constantinople*, 1453, 153, 157, 199, 204; for the Jews, see Refik, *İstanbul hayatı, 1100–1200*, 13).

The Patriarchate was obliged to make itself responsible for various civil matters relating to the Greeks of the city, and its duties increased as the treasury resorted more and more to the collection of taxes from the community *en bloc* (*maqtū’*). The Patriarchate’s bureaucracy therefore became increasingly influential.

Economically, the Greeks were far better off than they had been in the last decades of the Byzantine Empire, and were satisfied with their lot (Runciman, 180, 394). They held an important share of *iltizām* state contracts, they had supplanted the Italians in maritime trade in the Black Sea and the Aegean, and they controlled a large part of the city’s food trade. In Fener, the new seat of the Patriarchate, there grew up a genuine Greek aristocracy of eleven families made rich by trade and by *iltizām* contracts, who claimed descent from the great families of the Byzantine Empire; they increased their power and influence by supplying the sultans with personal physicians and commercial agents and by filling the posts of Chief Interpreter of the *Dīwān* and of the Fleet in the 11th/17th century; and from them later the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were chosen. In the census of 1833, the *Rūm millet* numbered 50,343 males in Greater Istanbul.

A group of Orthodox Christians deported from Qaramān, Turkish-speaking and ignorant of Greek, were under the authority of the Greek Patriarch but preserved the character of a separate *jemā‘at*. In the middle of the 10th/16th century, they were settled near Yedi Qule, but a century or more later Eremya Chelebi reported them as living at Narlı Qapı, inside and outside the city wall. They were skilled goldsmiths and embroiderers, and were rich.

The Armenians first elected a Patriarch, on the sultan’s orders, in 1461. He made his residence the Church of Surp Kevork at Samatya, where the most important Armenian community then dwelt (and where later Eremya Chelebi mentions over a

thousand Armenian families living alongside Greeks). In the 11th/17th century, the Armenians were most numerous at Qum Qapı, and in 1051/1641 the seat of the Patriarchate was transferred here, to the Church of Surp Asduadzadzin. The Armenians were concentrated particularly at Yeñi Qapı, Qum Qapı, Balat and Top Qapı. Many of the Armenian families of Ghalaṭa had been settled there since Genoese times. There were Armenians living among Jews at Beshiktāsh, Qurucheshme and Ortaköy. In the 11th/17th century, the Armenians controlled the silk trade between Persia, Turkey and Italy, and many of them made fortunes from *iltizām* contracts and banking. From the early 19th century, they ran the mint and came to control the state finances (see Jewdet, xi, 28; White, iii, 188, 287). Attempts by the banking families to control the Patriarchate and the Armenian tradesfolk led to dissensions in the community (H.G.O. Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, London 1854, 131–2). Earlier, the activity of Catholic missionaries had aroused dissensions, which prompted vigorous action by the Porte after 1696/1108 yet later, a Catholic (Uniate) community was established composed particularly of the wealthier and educated Armenians: according to the census of 1826, they numbered about a thousand (L. Arpee, *The Armenian awakening... 1820–1860*, Chicago 1909). In the census of 1833 the Armenian *millet* in Greater Istanbul numbered 48,099 males.

The Jews of Istanbul, numbering 1,647 households at the end of the reign of Meḥemmed II (see above), consisted of the following main groups: those that had survived the conquest; Karaites brought from Edirne and settled in the harbour area; Rabbanite and Karaite communities later brought, usually by force, from various towns of Anatolia and Rūmeli where they had been living, known as Romaniots, since Byzantine times; the *jizya* registers for the *waqfs* of Meḥemmed II give the numbers and original homes of each. It seems that Meḥemmed II granted *amān* to the Jews living in Istanbul at the conquest and left them in their homes. A *jizya* register notes them as numbering 116 families. As a result of Rabbi Isaac Sarfati's letter urging the Jews of Europe to settle in Ottoman territory, some families migrated from Germany, Austria and Hungary (H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, Leipzig 1881, viii, 214); but the register just cited notes the *jemā'at-i Eskinas-i Alaman* as numbering only 26 families. By 894/1489 the number of Jewish

households had risen to a total of 2,027.

Jews settling in Istanbul were organised in *jemā'ats*, each with its own synagogue, as a spiritual and administrative unit (A. Galanté, i, 75, 99–101). In the middle of the 10th/16th century there were 40 to 44 synagogues and *jemā'ats*, and 42 schools; total Jewish population, 15,035. In 959/1552 the Marranos settled in Istanbul under the sultan's protection, and the Marrano banking family of Mendēs acquired a dominating position in the state finances and in commerce with Europe. Jews from Spain and Italy brought various new techniques with them.

The Romaniot, Sephardic and Karaite communities retained their separate identities until the 11th/17th century; but as a result of the changes of residence caused by the fires of 1043/1633 and 1071/1660 the communities became mixed and finally there was only a single community; the Sephardim, being economically much the strongest, assumed responsibility first for the Ashkenazim and then for the Romaniots. Already in 990/1582 the three communities made a joint application to the sultan to open a new cemetery at Khāṣṣköy. The Jews of Khāṣṣköy became very numerous. In 1044/1634 there were in Istanbul 1255 Jewish '*awāriḍ khānesi*' and at the end of that century 5,000 Jews paying *jizya* for their *maḥalles*.

When construction of the Wālide Jāmi'i was begun (1006/1597), the Jews of Emīn-öñü (about 100 houses) were transferred to Khāṣṣköy. In 1139/1727 Jews living outside the Baliq Pāzārī gate near the mosque were ordered to sell their properties to Muslims and move to other Jewish *maḥalles*. Khāṣṣköy became hereafter the main residential centre for the Jews of Istanbul (Galanté, 54). In the 19th century, the Jews were estimated to number 39,000, in 12,000 households (White, ii, 230; official figures in 1833, 1,413 males; cf. L.A. Frankl, *Nach Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1858–60, 194–5, whose estimates are supported by the 1927 census figure of 39,199).

Individual conversions to Islam were frequent, new converts being particularly zealous to promote conversion. The Dīwān supplied funds (*new-muslim aqchesi*) to provide the convert with new clothes, and he was paraded on horseback through the streets. But the principle of abstaining from forced conversion was carefully observed, and the authorities appear to have taken little interest in promoting conversions. One example of a mass conversion is that of the Armenian gipsies at Top Qapı. Muslim men often

married non-Muslim wives (this was regarded as commendable), and this led to much conversion. Slaves usually embraced Islam. Not only were there, as a result of the *ghulām* or military slave system, numerous slaves in the palace and in the houses of great men; anyone of any means owned one or several slaves for various domestic duties. To own slaves was a profitable investment: slaves or freedmen (*āzādlu*, *‘atīq*, *mu‘taq*) were used also as commercial agents or as an industrial work-force, and were often hired out. The principle of *mukātaba* or manumission by purchase was common (for the treatment of slaves).

### 3. The court and military personnel (the *‘Askerīs*)

Since they paid no taxes, the personnel of the palace and the *Qapı Qulu* troops do not figure in the various registers providing statistics for the population of Istanbul; but in numbers and in view of their duties, they played an important part in the life of the city.

The figures below show that the number of *Qapı Qulu* increased in the century after 920/1514 by about five times: this increase was mainly in the members of the Janissaries, and occurred particularly between 1001/1593 and 1015/1606 with the demand for infantrymen; only 15,000 Janissaries took part in the campaign of 1006/1597, but there were 37,000 Janissaries by 1018/1609. Some of the Janissaries lived in Istanbul, some were stationed in provincial towns and on the frontiers, of 49,500 Janissaries, 20,468 were in Istanbul in 1076/1665 and 37,094 in 1080/1669. The Köprülü attempted to reduce their number, so that in 1083/1672 the Janissaries numbered only 18,150 and the total *Qapı Qulu* force only 34,825. In the 12th/18th century, the Janissaries numbered 40,000, but it was estimated

that throughout the empire 160,000 men were, or claimed to be, Janissaries (the distinction must be borne in mind, for many individuals who entered the corps to obtain its privileges were not effective troops). Conversely, as early as the reign of Mehemmed II some Janissaries had been absorbed in the general population as tradesmen and artisans, and the numbers of these increased, for with depreciation a Janissary's daily pay, never more than eight *aqches*, became practically worthless, so that more and more of them became *eşnāf*. At the end of the 10th/16th century, the authorities had great difficulty in mobilising these "trading" Janissaries for service. In the 11th/17th century, we encounter in Istanbul (as elsewhere) many individuals called Janissary (*rājil*, *beshe*) or *sipāhī* (*jündī*) who were in fact very wealthy and influential. The penetration of Janissaries and other *Qapı Qulu* into the economic life of the city was to have important effects, especially since they regarded themselves as outside the *hisba* jurisdiction.

Janissaries were widely used to supply the police forces of the city, with the duties of maintaining order and of providing guards in the markets, at the quays and in other public places, and this authority enabled them to impose various illegal exactions and even sometimes attempt to corner a commodity; the lives and property of non-Muslims were in effect at their mercy. During the ever more frequent Janissary mutinies after 1600, the city was in complete anarchy with the populace terrified, the shops shut, and the ever-present fear of fires and looting. With so many nominal Janissaries engaged in trade, some of these disturbances may be regarded as popular risings against the state authorities.

The *‘Ajemī Oghlanları* also had a significant place in Istanbul social life. Those in the Istanbul barracks numbered at first 3,000 (Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu ocakları*, i, 79), 7,000 in 1555 (Dernschwam, 65). They were

Date	Palace personnel	<i>Qapı Qulu</i> troops	Fleet and arsenal	Total
880/1475 <sup>(1)</sup>	12,800		?	12,800
920/1514 <sup>(2)</sup>	3,742	16,643	?	20,385
933/1526 <sup>(3)</sup>	11,457	12,689	?	24,146
1018/1609 <sup>(4)</sup>	12,971	77,523	2,364	92,858
1080/1669 <sup>(5)</sup>	c. 19,000	c. 80,000	1,003	c. 100,000

(Sources: (1) Iacopo de Promontorio-de Campis, ed. Babinger, Munich 1957, 48; (2) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 312; (3) Barkan, *IFM*, xv, 300; (4) ‘Aynī ‘Alī, *Risāle*, Istanbul 1280, 82–98; (5) Barkan, *IFM* xvii, 216, 227).

an important labour force, employed in public works (Barkan, *L'organisation du travail...*, in *Annales ESC*, xvii, 1094) and in the sultan's gardens. Their daily pay was very small (1/2–2 *aqches* in 1555). Since they enjoyed the immunities of the sultan's slaves, they were a turbulent element in the population, over-bearing and always ready to make trouble.

Practically the whole palace and *Qapı Qulu* establishment accompanied the sultan on campaign. At such a time, the life of the markets was completely disorganised: prices rose, commodities were cornered and shortages appeared. Janissaries engaged in trade were obliged to close their businesses; a proportion of the members of various guilds were conscripted to accompany the army as *orduju*, so that a fair proportion of the townsfolk too left the city. This, of course, occurred practically every year until the reign of Selīm II; and the consequent disruption was one of the reasons why the statesmen became reluctant that the sultan should campaign in person.

#### 4. Epidemics

Just as fires repeatedly destroyed habitations, so too great numbers of the inhabitants were frequently carried off by epidemics of plague, cholera and smallpox. In the plague of 871/1466, 600 people died each day, and many fled the city for good: “the

City was emptied of its inhabitants” (Critoboulos, tr. Riggs, 220–2), and four years later plague again put a halt to trade. Later, serious epidemics occurred in 917/1511, 932/1526, 969/1561, 992/1584, 994/1586, 998/1590, 1000/1592, 1008/1599, 1034/1625, 1047/1637, 1058/1648, 1063/1653, 1084/1673, 1179/1765, 1207/1792, 1812, 1837, 1845–7, and 1865. These outbreaks lasted for months and sometimes, becoming endemic, for years, giving rise to thousands of deaths: 1,000 a day in 1592 and 1648, 3,000 a day in 1792. The total deaths in the 1812 outbreak are recorded as 150,000, and in another account even 200,000 to 300,000. In 1837, according to von Moltke (letter 26) a twentieth of the population (25,000 people) perished. The principle of quarantine was adopted in 1838 (with a *Qarantina Nāzirliḡhī* set up in 1839), but with little effect. The plague helped in the decline of Istanbul's commerce, English quarantine regulations having the effect of diverting an important proportion of its trade to Leghorn in the 18th century.

#### 5. Population Statistics

The most reliable sources for estimates of the city's total population at different periods are certainly the various Ottoman registers, but even these, being compiled for taxation purposes, do not cover

Year	Unit	Muslims	Christians	Jews	Total
882/1477 <sup>(1)</sup>	<i>khāne</i>	9,517	5,162	1,647	16,326
894/1489 <sup>(2)</sup>	<i>khāne</i>	[ ]	5,462	2,491	
c. 942/1535 <sup>(3)</sup>	<i>khāne</i>	46,635	25,295	8,070	80,000
1044/1634	<i>'awāriḡ</i> <i>khānesi</i>	1,525	[ ]	1,255	
1102/1690 <sup>(4)</sup>	<i>khāne</i>	[ ]	14,231	9,642	
1102/1690 <sup>(5)</sup>	poll-tax payers	[ ]	45,112	8,236	
1242/1826 <sup>(6)</sup>	males	45,000	50,000	[ ]	
1245/1829 <sup>(7)</sup>	individuals				359,890
1249/1833 <sup>(8)</sup>	males	73,496	102,649	11,413	
1273/1856	{ <i>khāne</i> individuals	29,383 73,093	19,015 62,383		
1918 <sup>(9)</sup>	individuals				700,000
1927/ <sup>(10)</sup>	individuals	447,851	243,060		690,911

(Notes: (1) See above, p. 202; (2) Barkan, *Belgeler*, i, 39; 447 mixed Jewish and Christian *khānes* are included in the total for Christians; (3) Barkan's estimate in *JESHO*, i/1, 20; (4) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 4007, suburbs included; (5) Mantran, *Istanbul*, 46–7: a further 14,653 persons are exempt; Mantran estimates 62,000 *khānes* in all; (6) Luṭfi, i, 279; (7) Luṭfi, ii, 62; (8) Topkapı Sarayı Archives no. 750; (9) *Istanbul rehberi*, 1934, 163, foreigners excluded; (10) the first census).



all the inhabitants (women and children, the *‘askerī* class, students and others exempt from taxes do not appear), and the unit they employ is often the *khāne* “household”; the *jizya* registers list only the adult males, and the *‘awāriḍ* taxes are levied on the basis of another, fictitious *khāne* comprising several households. Nineteenth-century figures (see table above) indicate that a household rarely numbered more than 3–4 persons on average (in Byzantine times, 2.6–5.2), and this figure is probably valid for earlier times, in a city where many of the inhabitants lived in miserable conditions of nutrition and hygiene, where the average expectation of life was only 25 years, and where unmarried men were so numerous (45,000 in 1856: workmen and *medrese* students).

In the present state of research, the figures below must be taken as the basis for comparison. Thus the 1477 population (Ghalaṭa included) of 16,326 *khānes* had increased nearly five times by about 1535. In about 1550 C. de Villalón estimated the population of Istanbul and its environs at about 120,000 households, which would represent an increase of 50% over 15 years. In fact, Barkan has shown that there was an increase of over 80% in Ottoman cities generally in the 10th/16th century. Modern authors estimate the total population in the 16th century at about 700,000 (Lybyer, *Constantinople as capital...*, see *Bibl.*, 377; Braudel, *La Méditerranée*, 272. Mantran’s estimate for the next century (*Istanbul*, 44–7) is 650,000 to 750,000, or 700,000 to 800,000 with the suburbs included. Other estimates tend to bear out these figures: Sanderson, 1,231,000; G. Moro, 800,000 (but the bailo Garzoni says only “piu di trecento mila persone”).

However, these figures for Ottoman Istanbul *intra muros* seem to be exaggerated. The population of Istanbul and Ghalaṭa together never exceeded 400,000 in the Byzantine period. The reliable figures of the mid-20th century decades are:

1927	245,000
1940	272,000
1950	350,000
1960	433,000
1965	482,000

and it is difficult to accept that the total for pre-19th-century Istanbul was higher than these (given that

most houses consisted of a single storey, and there were such wide areas of garden and open space; building upwards, with several storeys, began slowly after the Crimean War). The 1927 figures (covering 17.2 km<sup>2</sup>) give a density of 145 persons per hectare (the pre-15th century density for European cities being under 200). Garzoni’s estimate of over 300,000 for 1573 and the 1829 count of 360,000 seem more probable. (Other estimates for Istanbul *intra muros*: J.E. Dekay (1833): 250,000; Hoffman: 380,000; Visquenel (1848): 321,000; Verrolot (1848): 360,000). The relative proportions for the population of Istanbul *intra* and *extra muros* can be seen approximately from these figures for bakeries:

	1083/1672	1169/1755	1182/1768
Istanbul	84	141	297
Ghalaṭa	25	61	116
Usküḍār	14	22	65
Eyyüb	11	7	28

and for chandlers’ premises (1083/1672):

Istanbul	24	
Ghalaṭa	5	
Usküḍār	4	
Eyyüb	9	(high, in view of the slaughterhouses at Yedi Qule).

Of imported groceries, in 1018/1609 three-fifths went to Istanbul and only two-fifths to the three “townships”, who consequently complained (see Refik, *Istanbul hayatı, 1000–1100*, doc. 74) One-eighth of imported fruit went to Ghalaṭa at the end of the 9th/15th century (*ih̄tisāb* regulation). Although the population increase was greater in Ghalaṭa in the 17th and 18th centuries, and Topkhāne, Beyoghlu and Qāsim Pasha expanded greatly, yet up to about 1840 “Istanbul” meant Istanbul *intra muros*.

Until 1945, the distribution of population between Istanbul *intra muros* and “Greater” Istanbul was similar to the 19th-century distribution. Since that date there has been some redistribution, as is shown by

Year	Population of Turkey	Istanbul <i>intra muros</i>	“Greater” Istanbul (including Beyoğlu, Beşiktaş, Şişli, Kadıköy and Eyüp)
1927	13,648,000	245,982	694,292
1940	17,821,000	266,272	841,611
1950	20,947,000	349,909	1,035,202
1960	27,755,000	433,629	1,466,435
1965	31,391,000	482,451	1,541,695

these figures:

While, therefore, the increase in the population of Greater Istanbul is proportional to that in the whole country, the increase for Istanbul *intra muros* is relatively less.

#### X. POST-1950 DEVELOPMENTS

The recent decades of Istanbul’s history have been characterised, from the demographic point of view, by a massive influx of peasants and others from rural Anatolia. The present population was estimated at nearly ten million in 2003, and the annual growth rate is 3.45%. Already in the 1960s it was estimated that 21% of the population lived in shanty towns, called *gecekondus* (lit. “set down by night”) with no water provision or sanitation facilities. Water supply to the city as a whole is in any case a continuing problem, especially in summer.

The municipality (*belediye*) of Istanbul is divided into twelve *kazas* or arrondissements, four of these being on the Anatolian side of the Bosphorus or in the Princes’ Islands. As well as being Turkey’s most populous city, it is also the country’s largest port and its greatest industrial centre. The city’s road system has been improved; in the 1970s a third bridge was completed over the Golden Horn, linking the old city with the newer, ever-expanding northern areas, and a 1,585 m/5,200 feet suspension bridge now crosses the Bosphorus to link Europe and Asia. Istanbul continues to be the dominant cultural and educational centre of Turkey also. As well as the Istanbul University which arose out of the 19th century Dār ül-Fünūn, there is a Technical University north of the Golden Horn, whilst the former Robert College at Bebek on the Bosphorus shore has been erected into Boğazıcı University.

Istanbul is the administrative centre of an *il* or

province of the same name which extends over both the European and the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus.

#### XI. MONUMENTS

The first and most important of the Ottoman monuments of Istanbul is Saint Sophia. The only church to be transformed into a mosque immediately after the conquest of the city (others followed later, mostly in the reign of Bāyezīd II), it remained symbolically the model of imperial religious architecture. From the reign of Selīm II onwards, it became a place of burial reserved exclusively for the Ottoman royal family, and was restored on numerous occasions between 1572–3 and 1847–9.

Ottoman building activity dates from 1458, when Meḥemmed II built the mosque of Eyyüb and decided to construct his own imperial complex (Fātiḥ) at the square of the Holy Apostles, and the Top Qapı Palace on the site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium. This plan, added to other decisions taken in the course of the same reign – building of the *bezistān* (1456), of the first palace on the site of the Theodosian forum (1453–5), of the barracks of the Janissaries (Eski Odalar), of the saddlers’ market (Sarrāj Khāne, 1475), the markets of the major and the minor Qaramān (after 1467) – led to the formation of a monumental axis which, while initially retracing the route of the Byzantine Mesus (Dīwān Yolu) from Saint Sophia to the Old Palace, from this point follows a northerly direction, across the complex of Fātiḥ and extending as far as the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Qapısı).

This activity also corresponded with the choice of architects of non-Muslim origin, apparently in contrast to what is known of the builders of the first period of Ottoman architecture, that of Bursa and of

Edirne. This practice could also be linked with the policy of recruiting from among all the peoples of the Empire and even beyond, implemented broadly by Meḥemmed II in almost all sectors of public life, but also with the search for new stylistic and technical solutions. This appears to have been the case in choice of Sinān the Elder (ʿAtīq), a freedman of Byzantine origin, supposed to have built the Fātiḥ mosque on the model of Saint Sophia. This was also the time of the introduction into Ottoman architecture of the demi-cupola, as is mentioned in a passage from Tursun Beg, who applauds the stripping out of Saint Sophia, and another from the Anonymous Giese, who denounces the latter as sacrilege, inviting comparison with the imperial Byzantine model.

Parallel with the founding of these imperial edifices, Meḥemmed II encouraged his entourage to follow his example. This injunction was implemented to varying degrees: individuals such as Maḥmūd Pasha or Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha, of Byzantine origin and graduates of the Palace school, built some important mosques, their architecture, paradoxically, mirroring that of the first Ottoman mosques of Bursa; others like Gedik Aḥmed Pasha or Ishāq Pasha, contented themselves with constructing secondary buildings in the capital and established their major projects in the towns of Anatolia.

The accession of Bāyezīd II in 1481 marks a halt in monumental construction in Istanbul. The sovereign initially built mosques and large religious complexes at Tokat, at Amasya and at Edirne, while other leading figures of the regime confined themselves to converting the churches of the capital into mosques. Seventeen of them are known to have been adapted for Muslim worship, as opposed to four during the reign of Meḥemmed II. The only monumental project completed during the last twenty years of the 15th century was the mosque built by Dāwūd Pasha (1485). It conforms to the model inaugurated by Bāyezīd II in the provinces, with a single cupola resting on a cube. With a diameter in excess of 18 m, this remains the largest cupola of all the vizieral mosques of the capital.

Deciding, at the opening of the 16th century (in 1500–4), to build a religious complex in the capital, Bāyezīd II borrowed the system of roofing of Saint Sophia, with two demi-cupolas flanking the central cupola, but also followed the model of the mosques of Bursa in adding *tāb-khānes* (lodgings for dervishes)

on both sides of the prayer hall. The complex was built on land reclaimed in its entirety from the Old Palace and situated at the strategic point where Dīwān Yolu joins the Great Bazaar and Uzun Charshī, the Makros Embolos of the Byzantines, linking the central axis of the city to the port. As is the case with the Fātiḥ mosque, this axis traverses the complex passing between the mosque and the *medrese*, thus accentuating its role as a triumphal thoroughfare. Other dignitaries of the period were to follow this example: thus ʿAtīq ʿAlī Pasha built a complex on both sides of Dīwān Yolu (1506) on the site of the forum of Constantine, around the Burnt Column (Jemberli Tash).

The great earthquake of 1509, followed by the unrest in the latter part of Bāyezīd's reign, resulted in another interruption in the monumental construction of the capital. Similarly, Selīm I (1512–20) and his administration, too occupied in waging war, left no architectural vestiges, and it was Süleymān I who, on his accession in 1520, built a mosque in memory of his father. It was situated in a place chosen more for the view that it offers of the Golden Horn, overlooking the Greek quarter of Fener, than for its centrality, but the effect of monumental edifices on the panorama of the city, for purposes of seeing and being seen, seems henceforward to have been a decisive factor; it was to find its most absolute expression with the Süleymāniyye. The mosque known as that of Sultan Selīm (1522) is also the last imperial edifice to reprise the model of a single cupola resting on a cube; it is inspired directly by that of Bāyezīd II at Edirne.

This monument to filial piety apart, the first two decades of the reign of Süleymān I (1520–66) were niggardly in monumental constructions of religious character. On the contrary, the sovereign and his entourage were competing in the construction of palaces. Süleymān renovated the *Top Qapı* Palace and built a palace on the hippodrome for his Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha. Monumental building activity was resumed with the appointment of Sinān to the post of chief architect in 1538 and was to continue without intermission during the half-century of his activity.

The sovereign gave the signal for the start of this activity in 1539, ordering the construction of a complex for his wife Khürrem Sultāne, built on the site known as ʿAwret Pāzārī (“women’s market”), in

the vicinity of the column of Arcadius. It consists of a mosque, progressively complemented by an *imāret* and a hospital (*dār ül-shifā*). It is probable that Süleymān subsequently decided, on his return from the Hungarian campaign in 1541, to begin a monumental assemblage situated on the triumphal axis, on the site of the Janissaries' barracks (Eski Odalar) which he intended to appropriate. On the death of the prince Meḥmed, in 1543, this mosque was dedicated to him, and the complex probably remained incomplete since it was situated exclusively on the northern part of the axis, the barracks situated to the south being retained. In this mosque, his first monumental project, Sinān took to the very limit the process in which Ottoman architecture had been engaged since 1453, proposing a system of roofing in perfect symmetry, with four demi-cupolas. But after the peace treaty concluded in 1547 with the Emperor Charles V, Süleymān decided to commission a new imperial complex, returning to the model of Saint Sophia and also attempting to attain its dimensions. This was to be the Süleymāniyye (1550–7), overlooking the Golden Horn and likewise built on land reclaimed from the Old Palace, competing with its rival for prominence in the vista of Istanbul (see plan at Fig. 56 and Fig. 57). Similarly, the totality of religious and social institutions which surrounded it stole primacy from the Fātiḥ complex, since henceforward the *medrese* of the Süleymāniyye constituted the highest level of religious education in the Ottoman empire.

Members of the Ottoman royal family and their entourage shared in this construction frenzy. Mihr-i Māh Sulṭāne, daughter of Süleymān and Khürrem, had her first complex, consisting of a mosque, a *medrese* and a caravanserai, built at the quay of Üsküdār, on the Asiatic bank, the place where the Bosphorus was crossed (1548). Twenty years later Sinān completed, again on behalf of Mihr-i Māh, a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at Edirne Qapı, at the point where the triumphal axis joins the land wall. In experimenting with the cupola on pendentives, which frees interior space entirely, Sinān here definitively outstripped the model of Saint Sophia, achieving the absolute unity and disengagement of interior space, more in accordance with the Muslim tradition.

The Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (in office 1544–53, 1555–61), husband of Mihr-i Māh, chose for his buildings the most densely populated areas of the

city and found himself obliged, no doubt for this reason, to disperse them (see Fig. 58). He built a *khān* (ca. 1550) at Ghalāṭa on the site of the former Genoese cathedral dedicated to Saint Michael, a *medrese* with octagonal courtyard enclosed within a square, situated below the mosque of Maḥmūd Pasha (1550) and a mosque facing the *ḥammām* of Taḥt al-qal'a, completed after his death in 1562. This mosque, built on the site of that of 'Aṭṭār Khālīl, the most ancient attested in the city (1457), had interior surfaces entirely covered with magnificent ceramics from Iznik, used here on a massive scale for the first time. Sinān Pasha, brother of Rüstem, Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1550–4), built in his turn a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at Beshiktāsh, embarkation point of the fleet.

Qara Aḥmed Pasha, Grand Vizier 1553–5, drew up shortly before his execution in the latter year a *waqfiyye* in which he gave instructions for the construction of a mosque with the sums bequeathed. His steward, Ferrukh Ketkhudā, undertook the search for a site and acquired a piece of land close to the land walls inside the gate of Top Qapı, where in 1560 Sinān completed a mosque with a courtyard *medrese*.

While the successors of Süleymān, Selīm II (1566–74) and Murād III (1574–95) built their mosques respectively at Edirne and at Maghnisa, Istanbul continued to be endowed with monumental constructions under the long vizierate of Şoqollu Meḥmed Pasha (1565–79), benefiting from the energy of Sinān's workforce. Şoqollu's first project in the capital was a funeral monument, built in 1568–9 at Eyyüb. This consisted of a mausoleum accompanied by a *medrese*, a combination which became standard from the end of the century onward, contributing to the transformation of the suburb of Eyyüb into a necropolis for the military and religious dignitaries of the empire. Şoqollu subsequently built below the hippodrome, near the docks used by galleys (Qadīrgha), a complex situated in proximity to his palace. This consisted of a mosque with courtyard *medrese*, completed in 1572, to which a *zāwiya* was added. Another mosque was built by the same Grand Vizier in 1577–8, outside the walls of Ghalāṭa, beside the Arsenal, to commemorate his service at the head of the Admiralty (1546–50). Piyale Pasha, High Admiral 1554–68, commissioned from Sinān a mosque situated behind the arsenal, in an area populated by sailors and

workers in the naval dockyards. For this building, completed in 1572, where solemn prayers were to be offered before the departure of the fleet, Sinān reverted to the hypostyle model with six cupolas, combined with open-air spaces for prayer capable of accommodating entire ships crews. It was without doubt the same problem of capacity which induced the architect to adopt for the mosque of the High Admiral Qılıj 'Alī Pasha (1571–87), built in 1581 at Topkhāne, a revival of the model of Saint Sophia with lateral galleries.

In the mid-1570s, Nūr Bānū Sultāne, mother of Murād III, undertook the construction of an important complex above Üsküdar a transit depot for caravans arriving from Anatolia. A caravanserai and a *zāwiya* enclosed a mosque and courtyard, with a *medrese* lower down. The whole was completed in 1583. In the meantime, Sinān also constructed a little architectural jewel for Shemsī Pasha, on the banks of the Bosphorus at Üsküdar (1581), as well as a mosque accompanied by two *medreses* on different levels for Zal Maḥmūd Pasha at Eyyüb (1580–81). Finally, among the last works of this architect, completed by his successor Dāwūd Agha, attention should be drawn to the mosque of Mesīḥ Meḥmed Pasha (1586) at Qara Gümrük and that of Nishānī Meḥmed Pasha (1588) on the main axis between Fātih and Edirne Qapı.

To complete the monumental landscape of Istanbul and its environs, also worth mentioning is the system of water supply completed between 1554 and 1563, comprising four monumental aqueducts upstream of the Golden Horn, as well as the bridge of Büyük Chekmeje on the Edirne road.

The death of Sinān, in 1588, also coincided with the beginning of the exhaustion of the financial resources of the empire, embroiled in a protracted war against Persia and, before long, against Austria. Prestige constructions were to become more modest and their functions modified. A surfeit of mosques was to be succeeded by complexes composed of a mausoleum and a *medrese*, the latter accommodating a large number of rural immigrants drawn by the functions of religious education and the judiciary – virtually the only professions open to persons of Muslim birth.

In 1593–4 Jerrāh Meḥmed Pasha built the last vizieral mosque to be completed before the 18th century. The density of the city seems not to have

permitted monumental constructions without costly expropriations. Thus in order to build her own mosque, on her acquisition of the title of queen-mother with the accession of her son Meḥmed III in 1595, Şafiyye Sultāne made inroads on the Jewish quarters of the city's port. Hampered by the death of the architect Dāwūd Agha in 1598, by technical problems arising from the digging of foundations at a site close to the water, and by the death of Meḥmed III in 1603, relegating Şafiyye Sultāne to the Old Palace, construction remained incomplete and was only to be resumed sixty years later by Khadije Turkhān Sultāne, the mother of Meḥmed IV, being completed in 1663 (the Wālide Jāmi').

The new sultan, Aḥmed I (1603–17), was the first since Süleymān to undertake the construction of an imperial complex. The latter, situated above the hippodrome, necessitated a massive expropriation of the vizieral residences which were situated there. The manner in which the buildings of the complex are dispersed is testimony to the difficulties of expropriation. The complex of the Blue Mosque, the name given to the mosque of Aḥmed I on account of its extensive decoration in ceramics of this colour, marks the end of the first period of monumental edifices of Istanbul (see Fig. 59).

Ghaḍanfer Agha, senior eunuch of the palace, introduced into the capital the combination of a *medrese*, a mausoleum and a fountain. The latter, built in 1590–1 at the foot of the aqueduct of Valens (Bozdoghān kemeri) rapidly started a trend. These more modest combinations were more easily integrated into the dense urban fabric and contributed to the vitality of the principal axes of the city. Thus the combinations of this type built by Sinān Pasha (1592–3), Quyuju Murād Pasha (1610), Köprülü Meḥmed Pasha (1660–1), Merzifonlu Qara Muṣṭafā Pasha (1681–90), Amja-zāde Hüseyn Pasha (1700–1) and Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (1719–20) were situated on the triumphal axis of the city, while that of Ekmekji-zadē Aḥmed Pasha (before 1618) was located on the street joining this axis to Wefā and beyond to the Golden Horn. A more complete complex, also containing a *zāwiya*, was that of Bayram Pasha (1634–5) situated in the vicinity of the complex of Khürrem Sultāne.

These combinations were virtually the sole markers of the 17th century, when new imperial constructions – with the exception of the completion of the

Wālide mosque and the small mosque built by Kösem Sultāne on the heights of Üsküdar – were non-existent. The return of the sultans to Istanbul after a period of residence at Edirne, with the accession of Aḥmed III in 1703, marked the start of a new phase of architectural activity, responding to new needs and new styles. The needs resulted from the development of the city, where density of population led to increasingly frequent fires and epidemics. These induced the prosperous classes to take refuge in the periphery, such as at Eyyüb, the northern shore and the Bosphorus, where new residences were to be constructed, soon to be followed by new mosques. At the same time, the need to protect collections of precious manuscripts from fire required the construction of libraries as independent buildings, while the shortage of water resulting from overpopulation led to new projects of water provision, including monumental fountains. These secular buildings, less hampered by the weight of tradition, also gave opportunities for new stylistic experiments, often described as Ottoman baroque art, first coming to prominence in the “Tulip Period” (1718–30).

The fountains and the *sebīl* (places for the distribution of water) regularly accompanied combinations of a *medrese* and a mausoleum, but it was to them that the first stylistic innovations were applied. These were already perceptible in the *sebīl* of Amjazāde Hüseyn Pasha, at the turn of the 18th century and were developed in that of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha twenty years later. In another arrangement, where *sebīl* and fountain became the principal elements in a small complex also containing a mausoleum, as well as a school no longer in existence, built at Dolma Baghche by Hājī Meḥmed Emīn Agha (1741), the baroque elements attained their fullest expression. The *sebīl* or fountain was also to be found in association with a primary school (*ṣibīyān mektebi*) situated on the upper level (fountain school of Reʿīs ül-Kuttāb Ismāʿīl Efendi at Qaraköy [1742] and *sebīl* school of Rejāʿī Meḥmed Efendi at Wefā [1775]), but this combination, frequently encountered in Ottoman Cairo, remained exceptional in Istanbul.

The monumental fountain standing alone in a covered space was first seen at the very end of the Tulip Period, the first five known examples being virtually contemporaneous. Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha, responsible for the drawing of water from Üsküdar, built the first of these four-faced monumental fountains beside the harbour of this suburb in 1728–9. The

same year, Aḥmed III built the monumental fountain before the main entrance of the Top Qapı Palace. His successor, Maḥmūd I (1730–54) undertook the conveyance of water from the northern shore of the Golden Horn (waters of Taqīm) and three other monumental fountains were built in 1732–3 on this network: that of ṭopkhāne by the sovereign himself, that of ‘Azap Qapı (in front of the Arsenal) by the queen-mother Şaliḥa Sultāne and that of Kaʿba Taş by the Grand Vizier Hekīm-oghlu ‘Alī Pasha.

The first independent library was built by Köprülü Faḍīl Aḥmed Pasha as an extension of the familial complex on Dīwān Yolu (before 1676), and Sheḥīd ‘Alī Pasha also built a free-standing library behind the mosque of Shāh-zāde in 1715. This type of building nevertheless acquired a monumental nature – while retaining modest dimensions – with the library built in 1719–20 by Aḥmed III in the third courtyard of the Top Qapı Palace. New architectural experiments were evident in that of ‘Āṭif Efendi at Wefā (1741) and were to be most fully expressed in the library of the Nūr-u ‘Othmāniyye complex (1755). Among later buildings, those of Rāghīb Pasha (1762) at Lāleli and of Dāmād-zāde Meḥmed Murād Efendi – known as Murād Mollā – (1775) at Charshamba are worth mentioning.

A new type of building linked with projects for the provision of water consisted of dams, reservoirs placed in the Belgrade forest to the north-west of the city, a happy combination of utility and ornament. The oldest, a straight wall supported by four buttresses, is known by the name of the Dark Dam (Qaranlıq Bend); dating from 1620, it was located on the network set up by Sinān. The Topluzu Bend, built in 1750 on the network of Taqīm, introduced cut-off corners, more resistant to the pressure of water. By way of the Aywad Bendi (1765) and the Wālide Bend (1797), progress was made towards the vaulted dam, realised in 1839 with the dam of Maḥmūd II.

The 18th century also marked a renewal in the construction of religious buildings, but the first phase was slow and hesitant. The mosque built by Aḥmed III for his mother Emetüllāh Gülnüş Sultāne at Üsküdar (1708–10) – a place apparently reserved for the wives of the imperial family – revived the models of the 16th century, albeit with some adjustments to the lines of the *sebīl* typical of the Tulip Period. Similarly, it was again the *sebīl*, as well as the school placed above the entry-gate, rather than the mosque, which

represented innovation in the monumental complex built by Hekīm-oghlu 'Alī Pasha in 1734–5. This makes even more surprising the full-scale renewal of architectural motifs in the Nūr-u 'Othmāniyye complex, begun in 1748 by Maḥmūd I and completed in 1755 under 'Othmān III. Even though the daring solutions, such as the horseshoe-shaped courtyard, were not to be repeated in subsequent centuries, the Nūr-u 'Othmāniyye marked a new phase in imperial building activity which was not to be discredited for as long as the empire lasted.

Muṣṭafā III (1757–74) built no fewer than three imperial mosques: that of Ayazma at Üsküdar, named after his mother, in 1758–61, that of Lāleli in 1760–3, and that of Fātiḥ, rebuilt in 1766–71 after the earthquake of 1765. His successor, 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd I (1774–89) dedicated to the memory of his mother Rab'ā Sulṭāne the mosque of Beylerbey on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and to the memory of his wife Hümāshāh Qadīn that of Emīrgān on the European shore. He also built near the port his own funeral monument, consisting of a *medrese*, an *'imāret*, a *sebil* and a mausoleum. In this complex, constructed in stages between 1775 and 1789, what is observed is the transition from baroque in the *sebil* to Ottoman neo-classicism in the mausoleum.

The reign of Selīm III (1789–1807) marked the zenith of a flamboyant baroque which was expressed essentially through funereal monuments: the complex composed of an *'imāret*, a *sebil* and a mausoleum of the queen-mother Miḥr-i Shāh Sulṭāne, built at Eyyüb in 1792–5, and the mausoleum was accompanied by a school and a *sebil* of the sovereign's sister Shāh Sulṭāne, also at Eyyüb (1800). The tendency continued beyond the reign with the mausoleum and *sebil* of Nakshidil Sulṭāne built by Maḥmūd II in memory of his mother in the cemetery of Fātiḥ in 1818. Finally, baroque and rococo decoration, abundantly present in those parts of the Top Qapı Palace dating from the second half of the 18th century, also infiltrated the *zāwiya*, but it was only in the mosque-*zāwiya* of Küçük Efendi, completed in 1825, that the oval form of the plan supplemented the decorative effects. Selīm III also built in 1802–5 a mosque in the proximity of the barracks designed to accommodate the new army which was to replace that of the Janissaries. Built in the centre of a chequer-shaped plot, it perpetuated the model of the Nūr-u 'Othmāniyye while developing in the form of an annexe the imperial pavilion which seems

henceforward to have corresponded to new formal functions, the sovereign receiving dignitaries here after the Friday prayer.

During the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808–39), baroque was maintained but attempts were made to adopt a more imperial style. This was manifested particularly in imperial edifices: a pavilion of ceremonies (Alāy Köşkü) in the angle of the wall of the Top Qapı Palace (1810), a school of Jewri Kalfa on Dīwān Yolu (1819) and, above all, the sovereign's mausoleum on the same axis (1839). However, in the second half of his reign the ascendancy of the Balyan family imprinted on monumental Ottoman architecture a style that, despite its boundless eclecticism, remained deeply original in its capacity for syntheses and infinitely varied interpretations of the historical forms of Ottoman architecture.

The first work that can be attributed with confidence to the Balyans is the Nuṣratiyye mosque, situated in the quarter of Topkhāne, to the north of the Golden Horn, whither architectural activity was progressively transferred. Thus the mosque of Khırqa-yi Sherif, built in 1851 to accommodate the mantle of the Prophet, and that of Pertew Niyāl Sulṭāne, built in 1869–72 at the crossroads of Aq Sarāy, could be considered the last *intra-muros* religious monuments of the city.

The activity of the Balyans was manifested essentially through the imperial palaces built on the shores of the Bosphorus: Dolma Baghche (1846–55), Küçük Su (1856), Beylerbey (1863–65), and Chirāghān (1864–72), as well as the pavilion of İhlamur (1855) in the valley of the same name. The mosques erected during this period beside the Bosphorus (Dolma Baghche, 1855, Ortaköy, 1853), or in the vicinity (Mejdiyye, 1848), belonged to same aesthetic movement, with interiors reminiscent of ballrooms. The first buildings of the palace of Yıldız on the heights of the Bosphorus and the mosque built close by (1877) are the last manifestations of this architecture.

New functions resulting from the reforms of the *Tanzīmāt* or Reform period (1839 onwards) entailed new architectural forms most often undertaken by foreign or Levantine architects. The Swiss brothers Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati, sent from St. Petersburg to build the new Russian embassy, also worked for the Ottoman administration; Alexandre Vallaur, son of a French émigré, constructed a number of public buildings, from the Archeological

Museum, in neo-classical style (1891–1907), to the office of the Ottoman National Debt (1897) and that of the Ottoman Bank (1890–2). Finally, the Italian Raimondo d'Aronco was invited by 'Abd ül-Ḥamīd II to become the quasi-official architect of the reign, constructing the last buildings of the palace of Yıldız, and introducing the Viennese Secessionist style to the Ottoman capital with the astonishing mausoleum of Sheykh Zāfir at Beshiktāsh. The Young Turk Revolution of 1908 put an end to the activity of these architects, and a national style was imposed. The latter is manifested in modern buildings such as the main Post Office or the office building built for the benefit of *waqfs* (the fourth Wāqif Khān) as much as it is in mosques seeking classical inspiration from the 16th century (mosque of Bebek, 1913).

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### 2. THE OTTOMAN AND REPUBLICAN PERIODS

(a) Indigenous sources include, as well as the Ottoman and early modern historical chronicles and travel material like Ewliyā Chelebi's *Seyāhat-nāme*, very extensive archival material, mainly conserved in Istanbul and Ankara but also in the archives of Balkan countries. It includes *waqf* documents (*waqfiyyes*), both those for public buildings like for the building of new mosques, *medreses*, etc. and the conversion of churches into mosques; registers of inspection (*teftiş*) and rent-collecting (*jibāyet*); and registers of annual accounts showing summary balances (*ijmāl*); documents relating to *hisba* or *ihtisāb*, such as regulations, lists of fixed prices, registers of *rüstām-i ihtisābiyye* and registers of gild

members; the *mühimme defteri* collections; registers of *qādīs*; etc. A further source for the later history of the city is that of the official.

For town plans of Istanbul, see *inter alia* that of Juan Andea Vavassore (Valvassor), in E. Oberhummer (ed.), *Konstantinopel unter Sultan Suleyman dem Grossen, aufgenommen im Jahre 1559 durch Melchior Lorichs*, Munich 1902, 21, and F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten*, Vienna 1959, 5; for F. Kauffer's plan of 1776, see Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque*, ii, 115, and J.-B. Lechevalier, *Voyage*, plan; for the plans of H. von Moltke and C. Stolpe, see R. Mayer, *Byzantion, Konstantinopolis, Istanbul*, Vienna 1943, 387–9.

For views, see J.F. Lewis, *Lewis's illustrations of Constantinople during a residence in that city in the years 1835–1836*, London 1838; A.D. Mordtmann, *Historische Bilder vom Bosphoros, Constantinople 1907*; F. Babinger, *Drei Stadtansichten von Konstantinopel-Galata (Pera) und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 1959.

Of guide books, see Murray, *Handbook for travellers in Constantinople, Brisa, and the Troad*, London 1898, Baedeker, *Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern*<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig 1914; E. Mamboury, *The tourist's Istanbul*, Galata, Istanbul 1953; S. Eyice, *Istanbul, petit guide à travers les monuments byzantins et turcs*, Istanbul 1955.

Of the very numerous travellers, see Pietro della Valle, *Viaggi*, Rome 1650, Fr. tr. Paris 1661–4; J. de Thévenot, *Relation d'un voyage fait en Levant*, Paris 1664; Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*, Frankfurt-am-Main 1674; J.-B. Tavernier, *Nouvelle relation de l'intérieur du Sérail du Grand Seigneur*, Cologne 1675; *Les six voyages de J.-B. Tavernier en Turquie, en Perse et aux Indes*, Paris 1677; Cornelius Le Bruyn (Brun), *Voyage au Levant*, Rouen and Paris 1728; Sir Thomas Roe, *The negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his embassy to the Ottoman Porte from the year 1621 to 1628*, London 1740; Chevalier M. d'Ohsson, *Tableau générale de l'Empire ottoman*, Paris 1787–1824; F.C.H.L. Pouqueville, *Voyage en Morée à Constantinople*, Paris 1805; C. White, *Three years in Constantinople, or domestic manners of the Turks*, London 1845; J.H.A. Ubicini, *Lettere sulla Turchia*, Milan 1853, Eng. tr. Lady Easthope, *Letters on Turkey*, London 1856; C.T. Forster and F.H.B. Daniels (eds.), *The life and letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, London 1881; *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople, 1672–1673*, ed. Ch. Schefer, Paris 1881; Peter Mundy, *Travels, 1608–1667*, ed. Sir R.C. Temple, Cambridge 1907; Hans Dernschwam, *Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich-Leipzig 1923. See also the yearbooks (*sālnāme*) and various publications of the municipal authority (*belediyye*) (1847–1918).

(b) Studies. An immense body of material here includes works by European travellers and visitors to the city, and historical studies on various aspects of the development of Istanbul. Of historical studies may be cited E. Oberhummer, art. *Konstantinopolis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, vii, cols. 963–1013; W. Kubitschek, art. *Byzantion*, in *ibid.*, v, cols. 1115–58; Djelal Essad, *Constantinople, de Byzance à Stamboul*, Paris 1909; W. Beneschewitsh, *Die türkischen Namen der Tore von Konstantinopel*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxiii (1914–19); A.H. Lybyer, *Istanbul as capital of the Ottoman Empire*, in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1916; W.H. Hutton, *Constantinople, the story of the Old Capital of the Empire*, revised ed. London 1925; Besim Darkot, *Istanbul coğrafyası*, Istanbul 1938; A.H. Schneider, *Die Bevölkerung Konstantinopels*



in *XV. Jahrh.*, in *Nachrichten der Akad. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. (1949); P.G. Inciyan, *XVIII. asırda İstanbul*, İstanbul 1956; R. Mantran, *İstanbul dans le deuxième moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1962; A.B. Schneider, *XV. yüzyılda İstanbul nüfusi*, in *Belleten* (1962), 1–39; B. Lewis, *İstanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman Empire*, Norman, Okla. 1963, <sup>2</sup>1972; Mantran, *La vie quotidienne à Constantinople*, Paris 1965; Sir Steven Runciman, *The fall of Constantinople 1453*, Cambridge 1965; A.S. Soyar, *İstanbul, Geschichte und Entwicklung der Stadt*, in K. Bachteler (ed.), *Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Kurt Albrecht*, Ludwigsburg 1967; R.E. Koça, *İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul 1968; H. Inalcik, *The policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek population of İstanbul and the Byzantine buildings of the city*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, xxiii–xxiv (1969–70), 213–49; N. Iorga, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucharest 1971; P. Oberling, *The İstanbul Tünel*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, iv (1972), 217–63; S. Shaw, *The population of İstanbul in the nineteenth century*, in *IJMES*, x (1979), 265–77; S. Rosenthal, *The politics of dependency. Urban reform in İstanbul*, Westport, Conn. 1980; B. Lewis, *İstanbul and the civilization of the Ottoman empire*, Norman, Okla. 1982; Zeynep Çeylik, *The remaking of İstanbul. Portrait of an Ottoman city in the nineteenth century*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1986; Mantran, *Histoire d'İstanbul*, Paris 1996; P. Mansel, *Constantinople, city of the world's desire, 1453–1924*, London 1997; E. Eldem, D. Goffman and B. Masters, *The Ottoman city between East and West: Aleppo, İzmir and İstanbul*, Cambridge 1999; E. Zendes and P.M. In, *The last Ottoman capital, İstanbul. A photographic history*, İstanbul 1999; S. Yerasimos, *Constantinople, capital d'empires*, Paris 2000.

**İZMİR**, older name Smyrna, one of the great mercantile cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. The modern Turkish rendering İzmir is in fact a version of the original Greek Smyrna; in mediaeval times, Westerners used forms like Smire, Zmirra. Esmira, Ismira (this last by the traveller Schiltberger). The city lies in western Anatolia, in lat. 38° 25' N., long. 27° 10' E. at the head of the Gulf of İzmir, which runs down to the deeply-indented eastern coast of the Aegean Sea. The pre-modern city lay mainly on the small delta plain of the Kızılçullu (classical Melas) river.

İzmir has a history going back five millennia, archaeological excavations having revealed the earliest level of occupation as contemporary with the first city of Troy at the beginning of the Bronze Age (ca. 3,000 B.C.). Greek settlement is indicated from ca. 1,000 B.C., and Herodotus says that the city was founded by Aeolians but then seized by Ionians. It became a fine city, possibly re-founded by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. Under the Romans it was the centre of a civil diocese of the province of Asia, and was one of the early seats of Christianity. In Byzan-

tine times it continued as a metropolitan see and was the capital of the naval theme of Samos.

With the invasions of Turkmens across Anatolia towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkish chief Chaqa/Tzachas established himself at Smyrna in 1081 and from there raided the Aegean islands. But after the Turks were driven out of Nicaea in 1097, Smyrna reverted to Byzantine rule in 1098. It was over two centuries before it passed under Turkish control again, when it was conquered by the Aydınoğulları (716–17/1317: Qadife Qal'e; 729–30/1329: Ashaghi Qal'e) (Tuncer Baykara, *İzmir şehri ve tarihi*, Bornova-İzmir 1974, 28; for slightly variant dates, see Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destân d'Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954, 40). On his visit in ca. 731/1331, Ibn Battûta found a largely ruinous place, whose upper fortress was held by the Aydınoğulları and which possessed at least one *zâwiye* (*Rihla*, ii, 310–12, tr. Gibb, ii, 445–7). The city was captured by the Knights of Rhodes on 28 October 1344, although the Aydınoğulları and later the Ottomans held on to the citadel or upper fortress. The Knights were finally expelled by Tîmür in 804–5/1402, when he took the lower fortress, and the Aydınoğulları briefly reinstated.

However, in 817/1414–15, İzmir became an Ottoman possession, after the last Aydınoğlu to rule, Jüneyd, known as İzmir-oghlu, had been defeated by Sultan Mehmed I (Himmet Akin, *Aydınoğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*, Ankara 1968, 80; for a later date of the final Ottoman conquest, namely 828–9/1425, see D. Goffman, *İzmir. From village to colonial port city*, in Ethem Eldem, Goffman and B. Masters, *The Ottoman city between East and West*, Cambridge 1999, 86). As the new governor, an Islamised son of the former Bulghar Tsar Shishman, was appointed, but the first extant *tahrîr* describing the town only dates from 935/1528–9.

In the 9th–10th/15th–16th centuries, İzmir was a small settlement; in 937/1530, 304 adult males, both tax-paying and tax-exempt, were on record; 42 of these were Christians. There were no more than five urban wards, one of them situated in the immediate vicinity of the port, rather active in spite of the town's small size. By 983/1575–6, İzmir had grown to house 492 taxpayers in eight urban wards; in addition, a group of former İzmirli had settled in the nearby village of Boynuzsekisi, but continued to pay their taxes with the town's population. One of

the port's major functions was the supply of Istanbul with grain, raisins, cotton and other agricultural products (Zeki Arıkan, *A Mediterranean port. Izmir in the 15th and 16th centuries*, in *Three ages of Izmir, palimpsest of cultures*, ed. Enis Batur, tr. Virginia T. Saçhoğlu, Istanbul 1993, 59–70).

But Izmir's remarkable growth really begins in the later 10th/16th century, when the cotton, cotton yarn and other products of the region began to attract French, English, Dutch and Venetian traders. Izmir thus took over the role of mediaeval Ayatholugh (Ephesus, Altiluogo), which was losing its commercial significance due to the silting up of its port (D. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine world, 1550–1650*, Seattle and London 1990). At first illegal, the exportation of cotton was legalised in 1033/1623 (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*, Cambridge 1984, 136–7). In the 11th/17th century, Izmir and the surrounding region were settled by numerous migrants from other provinces, including Jews from Salonika who fled the mounting exactions and diminishing rewards of the Macedonian woollen industry (Goffman, *op. cit.*, 97–102). Toward the century's end, J.-B. Tavernier estimated the population at about 90,000 (*Les six voyages en Turquie & en Perse*, ed. St. Yérasimos, Paris 1981, i, 138; for a general overview of the descriptions of Izmir by 17th-century Europeans, see Sonia Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, Oxford 1989, 1–18). Turks formed the vast majority (about 60,000), while there were also 15,000 Greeks, 8,000 Armenians and 6,000 to 7,000 Jews. A major earthquake destroyed the city in 1099/1688, with the heaviest damage in the seaside quarter, but it was soon rebuilt (N.N. Ambraseys and C.F. Finkel, *The seismicity of Turkey and adjacent areas: a historical review 1500–1800*, Istanbul 1995, 90–1). To a large extent, the exportation of Persian raw silk to Europe passed through Izmir; thus this port had entered into a successful competition with the much older mart of Aleppo (Necmi Ülker, *The emergence of Izmir as a Mediterranean commercial center for French and English interests, 1698–1740*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, i [1987], 1–37). However the regular passage of caravans through a plague-infested mountain area on the Ottoman-Persian border meant that the city was exposed to contagion not only through ships' crews and cargoes, but also on account of overland trade (D. Panzac, *La peste à Smyrne*, in *Annales ESC*, xxviii [1973], 1071–93).

In the early 18th century, Persian silk was less frequently seen in Izmir, as wars accompanying the decay of the Safavids impeded cultivation; moreover, English traders gained access to alternative sources in Bengal and China. While English merchants, specialised in the commercialisation of silk, largely gave up trading in the Levant, French merchants, in particular, continued their activities. At the beginning of the 17th century, Izmir and Iskenderun constituted the major exporting centres as far as the Marseilles trade was concerned, while at the century's end, Iskenderun had fallen far behind, and Izmir uncontestedly handled the vast majority of French exports (Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna in the eighteenth century (1700–1820)*, Athens 1992, 257–9). In certain years, over 45% of all Ottoman goods shipped to Marseilles passed through Izmir. Exports included mohair yarn from Ankara, silk, cotton, both spun and raw, and wool. Among imports, the only manufactured item were Languedoc woollen fabrics, produced exclusively for the Ottoman market (Cl. Marquié, *L'industrie textile carcassonnaise au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle...*, Carcassonne 1993). In addition, Izmir imported coffee from the Caribbean, sugar and indigo.

Of the numerous public buildings of Ottoman Izmir, very little survives. Ewliyā Chelebi, who visited the town in 1081–2/1671 and admired the relief of a female face at the entrance to the seaside fortress, praises the Biyiklioghlu Jāmi'i, later destroyed in the earthquake of 1099/1688, and also mentions the Fa'iḳ Pasha Jāmi'i, one of the oldest mosques in town (*Seyahatnamesi*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 88–100). His descriptions in part reflect the data collected by the officials who, in 1068/1657–8, put together a *tahrir* under the orders of a certain Ismā'il Pasha (for further information on this document, see Faroqhi, *Towns*, 276). At different times in Izmir's history, 25 *medreses* were active (Münir Aktepe, *Ottoman medreses in Izmir*, in *Three ages of Izmir*, 85–99). Ewliyā also mentioned the multitude of *khāns* (Aktepe, *İzmir hanları ve çarşıları hakkında ön bilgi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxv [1971], 105–54; W. Müller-Wiener, *Der Bazar von Izmir*, in *Mitteilungen der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*, xxvii–xxviii, [1980–1], 420–54). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, certain Izmir buildings were decorated with elaborate reliefs, featuring slightly stylised views of local mosques and other buildings. The popularity of this decoration may indicate the donors' pride in the

prosperity of their city (Ayda Arel, *Image architecturale et image urbaine dans une série de bas-reliefs ottomans de la région égéenne*, in *Turcica*, xviii [1986], 83–118).

An active trade resulted in the residence of foreign consuls, with the English historian Paul Rycout officiating as Charles II's representative between 1077–8/1667 and 1089/1678 (Anderson, *An English consul, passim*). By contrast, the Ottoman central administration was merely represented by the *qādī* and the tax farmers collecting customs and other dues. Unlike in many other Ottoman commercial centres, foreign traders were not obliged to reside in the *khāns* but could inhabit houses by the seashore, many of them with landing stages of their own. Houses for rent, known as *frenk khāne*, were built by Ottoman notables as an investment and sometimes passed on to pious foundations. Thus the seaside quarter became known as the “street of the Franks”. The latter also were permitted their own churches, the French worshipping at St. Polycarpe, whose parish registers survive from the 18th century onwards (Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Colonies européennes et communautés ethnico-confessionnelles à Smyrne: coexistence et réseaux de sociabilité*, in *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. F. Georgeon and P. Dumont, Paris 1997, 173, 194). Entertainments might take on a semi-public character, with plays performed in the French consulate even in the 11th/17th century, while a hundred years later, the Jewish community also staged plays (Eftal Sevinçli, *Theater in Izmir*, in *Three ages of Izmir*, 370). Officially speaking, neither French nor English merchants were expected to bring their wives, much less marry local Christian women, for this would have made them subjects of the Sultan; sojourn in the Ottoman Empire was expected to be a temporary affair. In practice, certain French and English families lived in the city for generations, and marriages of Frenchmen to Roman Catholics of Greek or Armenian background were common enough. (On the Morier family, of Swiss origin, in Izmir, see H. McKenzie Johnston, *Ottoman and Persian. Odysseys. James Morier, creator of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, and his brother*, London and New York 1998, 21–5.)

Ewliyā Chelebi vaunted the enormous revenues which the *qādī* of Izmir enjoyed in his own time, partly due to regular emoluments and partly due to the presents which he could expect (ix, 89). But in the 18th century, the major Ottoman presence in the area was not the *qādīs* but a family of tax farmers and dues collectors acting for absentee governors and known as the Qara ‘Othmānoghullarī. The

economic power of these personages derived from the fact that they marketed the cotton and other agricultural produce they collected from local peasants to foreign exporters (G. Veinstein, “*Ayân*” de la région d'Izmir et le commerce du Levant (deuxième moitié du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle), in *ROMM*, xx [1975], 131–46; for a contrary position, emphasising the role of the family as actual landholders, see Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte ayânlar, Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, Ankara 1997, 89–142). Political power and status allowed the Qara ‘Othmānoghullarī to drive hard bargains, so that peasants also entrusted them with the goods they wished to sell on their own behalf. Socio-political status also was documented by the numerous pious foundations this family established in the region, for which the two *khāns* constructed in Izmir by different Qara ‘Othmānoghullarī were meant to produce revenue.

In the 19th century, Izmir continued to function as a city specialising in foreign trade. However with the Ottoman Empire's increasing integration into a transcontinental economy dominated by Europe, the character of this trade changed, while its volume continuously expanded. Grain, sesame, figs, raisins (at the end of the century by far the single most valuable crop), the tanning agents sumach and valonia, and opium, all arrived in the depots of Izmir's “gentlemen traders”, many but not all of them non-Muslims. Ottoman merchants operated as middlemen, dependent on exporting European merchants (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgıl, citing a passage from *Kırk yıl*, 5 vols., Istanbul 1936, cited in English tr. in C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey 1800–1914*, Chicago and London, 1980, 72–3; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892–4, iii, 362 ff.).

Izmir's role as a centre of export trade encouraged investment in the construction of railways; thus one of the first Anatolian railways linked Izmir to Turgutlu, then known as Kasaba, and another line connected Aydın and Izmir. However, the orientation of these railways according to the needs of import and export merchants limited their overall economic usefulness. Between 1867 and 1875, the port of Izmir was modernised, with quays and a breakwater constructed. A few industrial enterprises served the preparation of agricultural goods for export. While most of the olive, sesame and other vegetable oils were still pressed in old-style mills, there were a few ventures, undertaken by members of the Ottoman minorities but also by the occasional Englishman, to found modern-style

factories. In the import sector, textiles assumed a greater importance after about 1840. At that time, the output of English cotton factories began to flood the Izmir market, unimpeded by any protective duty since the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty fixed custom dues at a low level and prohibited monopolies. This did not, however, prevent the emergence of a flourishing textile industry specialising in home furnishings (Cuinet, iii, 429).

Moreover, rising standards of living among the European middle classes, as well as the stylistic preferences of the Victorian age, led to an increased demand for carpets. What had previously been a luxury trade expanded to cater for mass markets which around 1900, came to include the more affluent sectors of the working class. While these carpets were manufactured in small towns of the Aegean region, notably Uşak, they became known as Smyrna rugs in Europe, not only because they came out through the city's port but also because the merchants organising this venture, British traders occupying a prominent position, were frequently based in Izmir (D. Quataert, *Machine breaking and the changing carpet industry of western Anatolia 1860–1908*, repr. in *Workers, peasants and economic change in the Ottoman Empire 1730–1914*, Istanbul 1993, 117–36).

Trade and an active public administration had by the end of the 19th century stimulated urban growth, the population of Izmir proper reaching the 200,000 mark. About 89,000 were Muslim Turks and 59,000 Orthodox Greeks, while over 36,000 inhabitants carried foreign passports (Cuinet, iii, 440; for further statistical information, largely culled from the *sālnāmes*, see the anonymous art. *İzmir*, in *Yurt ansiklopedisi, Türkiye il il, dünü, bugünü, yarını*, 4271–87). There were substantial communities of Jews and Armenians also. Steamboat lines and a tram assured intra-urban communication and, in 1905, electricity was introduced. The city became an educational centre, with nine state schools on the secondary level. For the Greeks, there was the “Evangelical School” famed for its high level of instruction, in addition to numerous foreign, especially French educational establishments.

Izmir was not directly affected during World War I, although many young men were drafted into the army or into labour battalions. But in 1919, with the Ottoman Empire defeated and Istanbul occupied by the Allies, the Greek government, with the backing of the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, landed

troops in Izmir and occupied the city until 1922, when the invaders were driven out by the Nationalist army under the command of Muştafa Kemāl [Atatürk]. Both the Greek occupation and the later withdrawal of the Greek forces were accompanied by large-scale flights from Izmir, which in September 1922 was moreover destroyed by a major conflagration (M.L. Smith, *Ionian vision, Greece in Asia Minor 1919–1922*, rev. ed. London 1998). The exchange of populations decided upon in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) involved the exodus of the remaining Greek population, whose places were taken by Turks who had been forced to vacate Greek territory.

In the 1960s, Izmir began to add new functions to its traditional role as an export-import centre serving an agricultural hinterland. Small-scale industry developed, and in automotive transportation, numerous minute undercapitalised entrepreneurs were also active. As in all large Turkish cities, migration from rural areas led to the hasty construction of shantytown housing and the emergence of a large “informal sector”. By 1980, Izmir had developed into a city of over half a million inhabitants, surrounded by highly urbanised suburbs. Apart from the beginnings of an investment goods industry, factories processing tobacco, olives and fruits continue to be a local speciality, and tourism also plays an important role in the urban economy.

As well as being Turkey's third largest city and its second port after Istanbul, Izmir is second only to Istanbul as a manufacturing centre, with an international trade fair held there annually. It has two universities, and is the administrative centre of an *il* or province of the same name, which has a particularly high population density. The population of Izmir city is 2,736,000 (2005 estimate).

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# J

**JEDDAH**, in Arabic, Judda, Jidda, a port of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia on the Red Sea coast of the Hijaz, situated in lat. 21° 29' N., long. 39° 11' E. Its climate is notoriously poor, with great heat and high humidity. The town, flanked by a lagoon on the north-west and salt flats on the south-east, faces a bay on the west which is so encumbered by reefs that it can only be entered through narrow channels. By paved road, Jeddah, is 72 km/45 miles from Mecca and 419 km/260 miles from Medina.

Most Arab geographers and scholars maintain that Jeddah, signifying a road, is the correct spelling of the name of the town, rather than Jidda or Jadda ("grandmother") as claimed by Gautier, Philby and others on account of the existence (until 1928), of the "tomb of Eve" not far from the city (for description and photographs, see E.F. Gautier, *Mœurs et coutumes des Musulmans*, Paris 1931, 64–6). The town dates from pre-Islamic times. Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī in his *Book of idols* claims that 'Amr b. Luhayy of the Khuzā'a introduced idols from Jeddah into Mecca several centuries before Islam. According to Yāqūt, Judda b. Ḥazm b. Rabbān b. Ḥulwān of the Quḍā'a took his name from the town which was part of the territory of the Quḍā'a. The foundations of Jeddah's importance were laid in 26/646 by the caliph 'Uthmān, who chose it as the port of Mecca in place of the older port of al-Shu'ayba a little to the south. As the focus of the Muslim world, Mecca became a great importing centre, its supplies coming from Egypt and India via Jeddah.

By the 4th/10th century Jeddah was a prosperous commercial town and its customs were a consider-

able source of revenue to the rulers of the Hijāz. In addition, taxes were levied on pilgrims at Jeddah, for it was here that those who came by sea landed on Arabian soil. Nāṣir-i Khusraw *Safar-nāma*, ed. Schefer, 65, tr. 181–3, describes the city in the 5th/11th century as an unwallled town, with a male population estimated at 5,000, governed by a slave of the *sharīf* of Mecca, whose chief duty was the collection of the revenues. A century later Ibn Jubayr (ed. de Goeje, 75 ff.) gives a picture of the town with its reed huts, stone *khāns*, and mosques, and he praises Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn or Saladin for having abolished the taxes levied by the *sharīfs*.

With the decline of the 'Abbasid caliphate, much of the trade formerly going to Basra was diverted to Jeddah, where ships from Egypt, carrying gold, metals, and woollens from Europe, met those from India carrying spices, dyes, rice, sugar, tea, grain, and precious stones. Jeddah exacted about ten percent *ad valorem* on these goods. After 828/1425, the Mamluk sultans of Egypt, whose cupidity had been aroused by Jeddah's prosperity, took the collection of customs at Jeddah into their own hands (although they shared it with the *sharīfs* from time to time), thus making Jeddah politically as well as economically dependent on Egypt.

The coming of the Portuguese to eastern waters, and their attacks on Muslim shipping from 1502 onward, brought a new threat to Jeddah, which the Mamluks and after them the Ottomans made determined efforts to meet. Ḥusayn al-Kurdī, the governor of Jeddah, appointed by the Mamluk sultan Qānṣawh al-Ghawrī, built a formidable wall around

the town in 917/1511 (al-Batanūnī erroneously states that it was in 915/1509) and made Jeddah a base for attacks against the Portuguese fleet. Lopo Soares de Albergaria sailed into its harbour in 923/1517 in pursuit of the Mamluk fleet commanded by Salmān Re'īs, but declined to attack the city because of its powerful fortifications (Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, London 1894, 335). In 945/1538 the Ottoman naval expedition, on its way to India, called there, and collected masts and guns (Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*<sup>2</sup>, ii, 156–8). In 948/1541 the Portuguese made their last unsuccessful attempt to take the city, which was defended by the Sharīf Abū Numayy. The Sultan Süleymān repaid him for his successful resistance by granting him half of the fees collected at Jeddah. The trade of the Red Sea did not, as was at one time thought, end with the Portuguese circumnavigation of Africa, but continued under Ottoman protection, right through the 10th/16th century. Ottoman sources of this period refer to the regular appearance at Jeddah of ships from India, and a Venetian consul in Cairo, in May 1565, speaks of the arrival of 20,000 quintals of pepper at Jeddah. It was not until the late 16th and early 17th centuries that the transit trade through the Red Sea began to come to an end (F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris 1949, 423–37).

Little of importance occurred in the port's history during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries. The Hījāz, under the suzerainty of the Sultan, was ruled locally by the Ḥasanid family of the *sharīfs*, who intrigued to their own advantage against the declining power of the Turks. The town of Jeddah was a *sanjaq*, for a while the centre of the *eyālet* of Ḥabesh, later part of the *wilāyet* of Hījāz. According to Ottoman sources, the Grand Vizier Qara Muṣṭafā Pasha (held office 1087–94/1676–83), endowed it with a mosque, *khān*, *ḥammām*, and water supply.

During the 19th century, Jeddah passed through a number of vicissitudes. In 1217/1803 the Wāhhābīs besieged the *sharīf* Ghālīb there but were unable to take the town, which began to boast of itself as a Gibraltar. Ghālīb later surrendered, and Jeddah was subject to the rule of the Wāhhābīs until 1226/1811, when Muḥammad 'Alī restored nominal Ottoman sovereignty. In 1229/1814 Burkhardt described Jeddah as a town with 12,000 to 15,000 inhabitants, among whom indigenous elements were scantily

represented, while strangers from the Yemen and Ḥaḍramawt appeared to be numerous. Both Burton and al-Batanūnī mention the coral and the mother-of-pearl taken from the Red Sea at Jeddah and made into prayer beads at Mecca and crucifixes at Jerusalem. In 1256/1840 Egyptian rule was replaced by the direct rule of the Porte, represented by a *wālī* in Jeddah.

On 15 June 1858 Jeddah was the scene of a massacre, instigated, it is thought, by a former Jeddah police chief, and several dissatisfied Jeddah merchants, in which about 25 Christians were killed, including the British and French Consuls and a group of wealthy Greek merchants. The British steamship *Cyclops*, anchored in the harbour, bombarded the city for two days and restored order without much damage (Isabel Burton, *The life of Captain Sir Richard Burton*, ii, 513 ff.).

Jeddah was the first Hījāzī city to fall into Sharīfian hands after Sharīf al-Ḥusayn's proclamation of Arab independence in 1916. The Turks surrendered the city on 17 June after a combined land attack by Sharīf al-Ḥusayn's army and a six-day bombardment by the British navy. The port then became the major supply depot for the Sharīfian forces operating behind Turkish lines during the Arab revolt.

Under the short-lived Kingdom of the Hījāz, Jeddah was a focal point in the struggle between the Wāhhābīs and the *sharīfs* for control of the Hījāz. After the Su'ūdī occupation of Mecca in October 1924, Jeddah became the capital of the government of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn. The city was under siege by the Wāhhābī forces, situated in the coastal hills ten miles from the town, for almost an entire year from January 1925 until its submission in December 1925. Defence of the city was hindered by the inadequacy of the Sharīfian army, estimated by Philby (*Forty Years*, 114) at 1,000 regulars augmented by Bedouin recruits, and by internal divisions among the citizens, a party of whom, led by the Qā'immaqām, favoured negotiation with the Su'ūdīs and the deposition of 'Alī. Details of the town's history during this year are contained in the newspaper *Barīd al-Hījāz*, ed. Muḥammad Naṣīf. In May 1927 'Abd al-'Azīz Ibn Su'ūd and Gilbert Clayton met in Jeddah and concluded the Treaty of Jeddah in which Britain recognised the "complete and absolute" independence of the Āl Su'ūd's territories.

Nallino, describing the town in 1938, mentions the site of the tomb of Eve, quietly demolished by the

Su'ūdis in 1928, the so-called European cemetery, which is thought to date from 1820 and which contains the remains of some Jews and Asians, and the villages beyond the wall. These included al-Hindawiyya to the south, al-Nuzla to the south-west, al-Baghdādiyya and al-Ruways to the north, and Nākatū, a reed hut settlement inhabited by Takārīr (sing. Takrūrī), i.e. West African black immigrants, all of which have become part of the enlarged city.

After World War II, Jeddah enjoyed an economic and commercial boom. The old city walls were demolished in 1946–7, and the city expanded northwards and southwards along the coast and eastwards towards Mecca. The economy, once dependent on the Pilgrimage traffic and fishing, now includes a considerable amount of manufacturing. The port area has been expanded and deepened to accommodate large cargo ships, the city's water supply has been supplemented by a desalination plant and an international airport developed. In 1967 the King 'Abd al-'Azīz private university was inaugurated. The population of Jeddah has long been a mixed one, with colonies settled in separate quarters, many of them the descendants of pilgrims who have come from as far away as Indonesia and Central Asia and have settled down there. The population was in 2005 estimated at 2,800,000.

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**JERUSALEM**, in Hebrew, Yerushalayim, in Arabic al-Quds or Bayt al-Maqdis, the historic capital of Judaea and then of Palestine, a city sacred for the three faiths of Judaism, Christianity and Islam: for Jews as the focus for age-old yearning and

national revival, the site of the Solomonic Temple; for Christians as the place of Christ's Crucifixion and Resurrection; and for Muslims as the goal, according to the traditional exegesis of the relevant Qur'ānic passage, of a miraculous Night-Journey and Ascension of the Prophet. Hence it has been a place of pilgrimage for adherents of all three faiths. It is situated in lat. 31° 46' N., long. 35° 13' E., at an altitude of *ca.* 780 m/2,560 feet, on the limestone watershed of the Palestinian hill country, with ancient agricultural terraces and recent afforestation to the north and west, and the barren hills of the Judaeian wilderness to the east and south. Economically and geographically, its significance has been essentially that of a small market town, but its place in history has arisen from its religious and political role.

#### I. HISTORY

The Islamic history of Jerusalem clearly falls into three periods. During the first six hundred years, the possession of the city was contested between Islam and Christianity and between many Islamic princes and factions. After the bloodless and poorly-recorded delivery of the town into the hands of an inconspicuous tribal commander, the history of the period was solemnly inaugurated by the erection of the marvellous Dome of the Rock, the majestic testimony to the Islamic presence in the Holy City; it culminated in the vicissitudes of the Crusades and was concluded by the devastations of the first half of the 7th/13th century, which, with the exclusion of the buildings on the Temple area and the Holy Sepulchre, left Jerusalem a heap of ruins.

The subsequent six hundred years were comparatively uneventful. Jerusalem mostly lived the life of an out-of-the-way provincial town, delivered to the exactions of rapacious officials and notables, often also to tribulations at the hands of seditious *fellaḥīn* or nomads. But, in conformity with the religious policy of the Mamluks and Ottomans, and with the general spirit of the age, Jerusalem greatly benefited by its holy character. The many Mamluk buildings still decorating the old city and Sultan Süleymān's wall encircling it manifest this trend to the present-day visitor.

The modern history of Jerusalem begins with its conquest by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1831. The reforms started by the son of Muḥammad 'Alī could not

be ignored by the Ottomans, to whose control the city reverted in 1840. The restrictions imposed on the non-Muslims were alleviated. Many important Christian buildings and institutions were erected both inside and outside the old city. The improved living conditions (albeit still very hard) induced many religious persons to settle in Jerusalem. By about 1880 Jews formed the majority of the population. Jerusalem became the capital of a *mutaṣarrıflik*, whose governor was directly responsible to the government in Istanbul, and by 1920 it was the capital of Mandatory Palestine. In December 1949 the State of Israel made it its capital and seat of government (a step not recognised internationally). Fortunately, the war of 1967 and the events following it have not changed the historical character of the old city, while the new city has immensely expanded in every respect and direction. Jerusalem will always live on its past, but at present one feels in it the pulse of an active and vigorous community.

Mujīr al-Dīn al-Ulaymī, the excellent historian of Jerusalem, who wrote his book *al-Uns al-jatīl bi-ta'rikh al-Quds wa 'l-Khatīl* in 900/1494–5, rightly observes that besides material of the type of the *faḍā'il* ("Praises of the excellence of the city"), "Umar's conquest" and stories about the Dome of the Rock and scholars visiting Jerusalem, little useful about the history of the city had been written before him. He explains this deficiency partly by the interruption of the Muslim tradition by the Christian conquest and mentions the symbolic fact that Abu 'l-Qāsim al-Makkī, who had compiled a book on the subject, was killed by the Crusaders before completing it. The intrinsic reason for the absence of coherent information was, of course, the character of Jerusalem as a holy city which lived on the care lavished on it from outside, rather than being itself of political, administrative or cultural significance. Consequently, the presentation of its history must be one of highlights rather than a continuous account.

## 1. THE FIRST SIX HUNDRED YEARS

### i. Names

In early Islam, the full name of Jerusalem was *Īliyā' madīnat bayt al-maqdis*, "Aelia, the city of the Temple" (al-Ṭabarī, i, 2360, l. 15). In practice, *Īliyā'*, or, more commonly, *bayt al-maqdis*, were used. *Īliyā'*

(pronounced in three different ways), is the Roman Aelia, but since this origin was unknown to the Muslim scholars, they suggested various other explanations, such as the sanctuary of Elijah (al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, *al-Bad' wa 'l-ta'rikh*, ed. (Cl. Huart, iv, 87, l. 8; from Hebrew, since the Qur'ānic form of the name is *Ilyās*), or "the House of God" (*Yāh* as name of God is mentioned by al-Muṭahhar). *Bayt al-maqdis* is Aramaic *bēth maqdē'shā*, "Temple", and was used in this sense by Muslims, e.g. by Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, in his *al-Iqd al-farīd*: "In the prayer of Ezra this is found: O God, from all places you have chosen *Īliyā'* and from *Īliyā'* – *bayt al-maqdis*". Soon, however, the term (pronounced also *bayt al-muqaddas*, see below) was transferred to the city, while the Temple area was designated by the Arabic equivalent of *bayt al-maqdis*, sc. *al-ḥaram*.

The common name of Jerusalem, *al-Quds*, still unknown to Ibn Sa'd, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, the *Aghānī*, the *Iqd al-farīd* and other classics of the 3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries, underwent a similar development. Al-Muṭahhar, himself a native of Jerusalem, writing in 355/966, mentions the term only once (perhaps a later change), but al-Maqdisī, writing ca. 375/985, uses it frequently. Nāṣir-i Khusraw (439/1047) states that *al-Quds* was used by the local people. *Al-Quds* is Aramaic *qudsha*, which, in the term *qarta de-qudsha* (e.g. Isa. xlviii. 2) was understood not as "city of holiness", but as "city of the sanctuary". This is borne out by the usage of Karaite scholars writing in Jerusalem early in the 10th century, who call the city *bayt al-maqdis*, but the Temple area *al-quds* (see the lengthy quotation in J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, Philadelphia 1935, ii, 18; cf. also the Geniza fragment in S. Assaf, *Texts and studies*, Jerusalem 1946, 21, l. 13). Similarly, in a version of the often-quoted tradition in which the Jewish convert Ka'b al-Aḥbār tries to induce the caliph 'Umar to pray north of the Holy Rock, he says to him: "Then the entire *al-quds*, that is, *al-masjid al-ḥaram* (!) will be before you". It should be noted that, in letters from the 5th/11th century, when Hebrew had replaced Aramaic, Jerusalem was commonly called *'ir haq-qōdesh*, to be understood as "city of the sanctuary".

In accordance with the principle that "the multitude of names proves the excellence of their bearer", al-Suyūṭī enumerates seventeen Arabic names of Jerusalem (*Midrash Tehillim*, ed. S. Schechter, 1896, 8–9, has "seventy"). Al-Suyūṭī's list does not include



here the Qur'ānic expressions taken by the Muslim commentators as denoting Jerusalem, such as *al-masjid al-aqṣā* (see below), or *mubawwā ʿīd*, “the safe abode” (X, 93, cf. *neve ʿsedeq*, Jer. xxxi. 22). *Al-arḍ al-muqaddasa* (V, 21), “the Holy Land”, also was understood as denoting Jerusalem which is in conformity with Jewish and Christian usage, which often expands the name of the city on the country. This explanation might have influenced the pronunciation of *bayt al-maqdis* as *bayt al-muqaddas*.

Various Arabic versions of Hebr. *shālēm* (Ps. lxxvi. 3) and Aram. *Urishlem* (Arabicised *urshalīm*) are found in the sources and even in ancient Arabic poetry. Whether *dār al-salām*, “abode of peace” (S. Assaf, *Texts*, 108–10, corresponding to Heb. *ʾēr hash-shālōm*, Gottheil-Worrel, *Geniza fragments from the Freer Collection*, New York 1926, 26), found in Geniza letters of the 11th century, was used also by Muslims has not yet been ascertained.

## ii. *Jerusalem in the Qur'ān*

Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly in the Qur'ān. But “the city of the sanctuary” certainly was known to the Prophet. Sūra XVII, significantly named both *al-Isrā'* and *Banū Isrā'īl*, in vv. 2–8 clearly refers to the destruction of the first and second temples (called *masjid* in V, 7) as crucial events in the history of the Banū Isrā'īl. *Al-masjid al-aqṣā* in the opening verse of the Sūra is taken by the prevailing Muslim tradition as referring to the sanctuary of Jerusalem. Against this, it has been argued that there was no building on the site of the Temple at the time of the Prophet, that the Holy Land is called in the Qur'ān the “nearest” (XXX, 2) and not the farthest (XVII, 1), and that, in general, the verse makes the impression (and is taken thus by Islamic tradition) of an account of a nightly ascension to a heavenly sanctuary (details in articles of Bevan, Schrieke and Horovitz). But knowledge of the state of the site of the Temple, or consistency in geographical definition, was outside the interests of the Prophet. It may be concluded with reasonable certainty that, at the time when XVII, 1, was combined with XVII, 2–8, the tradition identifying *al-masjid al-aqṣā* as the Temple of Jerusalem was already dominant, and that the original meaning of the verse as that of a visionary experience was connected with it in one way or another (cf. “The Jerusalem above”, St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, iv. 26).

The situation is similar with regard to the *qibla*, or direction of prayer (II, 136–8). Again, Jerusalem is not mentioned expressly, but the Islamic tradition that it was intended by “the first *qibla*” is no doubt genuine; since the new *qibla*, which satisfied the Prophet's heart, was to the direction of the sanctuary of his native city, it stands to reason that the original one also was oriented to a holy city, and there was none for monotheists except Jerusalem. No “political” reasons, however, should be assumed for this change (“trying to win the Jews”, “breaking with the Jews”). One prayed towards Jerusalem because this was the direction of the People of the Book as was known in Medina. It simply was the proper thing to do. When Islam became a separate religion with Mecca as its central sanctuary, the change was natural and religiously cogent.

## iii. *The Conquest*

The battle of Ajnādayn in the summer of 13/634 opened southern Palestine to the conquering Muslims. No siege was laid on Jerusalem, but already in his sermon on Christmas night 634 the aged Patriarch Sophronius expressed his grief that it was impossible to proceed from Jerusalem to Bethlehem as usual because of the marauding Arabs. A few days later, in his sermon on Epiphany, he mourned over the bloodshed, the destruction of the monasteries, the plunder of the cities and the burning of the villages by the Saracens, “who boast they would conquer the entire world”. Still, four years passed from the Arab invasion of Palestine to the fall of Jerusalem. It came about early in the year 638 (end of 16, or beginning of 17 A.H.), after the decisive battle of the Yarmūk (Rajab 15/August 636).

The stories about the fall of Jerusalem can be divided into three groups. The ancient and most trustworthy tradition simply reports that the capitulation was arranged with Khālīd b. Thābit al-Fahmī, a little-known tribal commander, under the condition that the open country belonged to the Muslims, while the city would not be touched as long as its inhabitants paid the tribute imposed on them (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 139, ll. 4–9). No treaty is mentioned yet. The second type, represented, e.g. by al-Ya'qūbī, ii, 167, and Eutychius, *Annales*, ii, 17, reproduces a treaty, but the treaty is very succinct and does not differ much from al-Balādhurī's version. Later, conditions similar

to those made with the Byzantine authorities in Egypt were added and some (but not all) Christian authors added the condition “that no Jew should live with them in Jerusalem”. This condition is found also in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2405, from where several later Muslim writers have copied it. But his source here was Sayf b. ‘Umar, whose fathomless unreliability has been proved in detail long time ago (J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, vi, 3–7) and who tells us, e.g. here, in al-Ṭabarī, i, 2404, about the conquest of Ramla, a city founded by the crown prince Sulaymān b. ‘Abd al-Malik eighty years later. A mere look at the treaty produced by Sayf, its wrong date and fantastic witnesses, shows its worthlessness. It is natural, however, that in times of tension, as in 879/1474, when the Mamluk sultan ordered the rebuilding of a synagogue in Jerusalem, or as from 1929, this treaty served a purpose. From the Christian point of view, it is understandable that some writers wished to preserve Jerusalem as a Christian city, as it was in Byzantine times, but this was hardly in the interests of the Muslims, and their actions proved that such a stipulation never existed.

In addition to these three comparatively old versions, a later one, represented among many others by Mujīr al-Dīn, adds several conditions of the legendary “Covenant of ‘Umar”, in which the Christians undertake, *inter alia*, not to speak Arabic. Even more fantastic is Ibn ‘Asākir (pseudo-al-Wāqidi), where the treaty is made with twenty Jews headed by Yūsuf (a scribal error for Yūsha) b. Nūn. This is a “harmonising” legend; a Jew, bearing the same name as the Jewish conqueror of the Holy Land, delivers it into the hands of the Muslims.

#### iv. *The beginnings of Islamisation*

Al-Ṭabarī, i, 2408, ff., and many later Muslim and Christian sources, tell about a visit to Jerusalem by the caliph ‘Umar, but all we have about it are legends whose easily recognisable tendencies betray their worthlessness. According to one school, the caliph was accompanied by Jews who showed him the true site of the Temple, which was concealed by rubble purposely heaped on it by Christians. When the place was cleared and the ubiquitous Ka‘b al-Aḥbār suggested to ‘Umar to pray behind the Holy Rock so that the two *qiblas* should be in front of him (see i., above), the caliph refused, since the Muslims should

turn towards the Ka‘ba alone. This is, of course, one of the many traditions against the *bid‘a* of the overrating of the sanctity of Jerusalem (see 2.i. below). According to Christian sources, the caliph visited the churches, but declined to pray in one of them in order to preclude any claims on it by later Muslim generations. This legend was a pious wish which originated at a time when the encroachments of the Muslims, which later became a reality, still were only a menace, see vi., below. Since the conditions of the surrender safeguarded to the Christians the use of their churches, it is likely that the Temple area, which was largely or entirely unoccupied, served as a place of prayer to the Muslims from the very beginning, and there is no reason to doubt that this was done on order of the ruling caliph ‘Umar.

As far as the ancient sources go, it appears that the early Muslim settlers in Jerusalem were people from Medina, such as Aws, the nephew of the Prophet’s court poet Ḥassān b. Thābit. Aws was a disciple of Ka‘b al-Aḥbār and himself a pietist; his tomb was still known at the time of Mujīr al-Dīn. Several other Medinans are listed as settlers in Jerusalem by Ibn Sa‘d. Among them the famous Companion ‘Ubāda b. al-Ṣāmit, the first Muslim judge in the city is to be noted. The Anṣār were accounted of Yaman; thus it was natural that the Yemenī auxiliary corps, *al-madad min ahl al-Yaman*, also was stationed there. Simeon, the father of Muḥammad’s Jewish concubine Rayḥāna, settled in Jerusalem and delivered sermons in the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area. He, too, of course, was from Medina.

The strange *ḥadīth* running *‘imrān bayt al-maqdis kharāb yathrib*, “the building of Jerusalem is the destruction of Medina”, might have been originally a *bon mot* on this exodus from the capital of the Ḥijāz to Jerusalem (which cannot have been more than a trickle); but soon became a standing element in the *malāḥim* literature. (Its continuation: *wa-kharāb yathrib khurūj al-malḥama*, “and the destruction of Medina is the beginning of the war of the End of the Days”, in *Musnad Ahmad b. Hanbal*, Abū Dāwūd, *Malāḥim*; Jāhiz, *Bayān*, Ibn Kathīr, *Nihāyat al-bidāya*, Samhūdī, etc., where are further sources.)

Al-Maqdisī and others report that the caliph ‘Uthmān, whose rule began only eight years after the Islamic conquest of Jerusalem, dedicated the revenue from the rich vegetable gardens of Siloam (which, in accordance with the peace settlement, belonged

to the Muslims) to the poor of the city. Umm al-Dardā', the wife of the wise *qāḍī* of Damascus, spent every year six months in Jerusalem, where "she sat among the poor". These and similar reports are not necessarily spurious, but may betray early Christian influence.

The Islamic conquest threw the Christian community of the city into complete disarray. The aged Patriarch Sophronius died shortly afterwards and no new one was appointed until 706. The further history of the patriarchate of Jerusalem in early Islamic times is almost as obscure as that of the Jewish spiritual leadership in the country during that period. But Jerusalem retained largely its Christian character. As al-Maḡdisī tells us, the Christian holidays regulated the rhythm of the year also for the Muslim population, and through Jerusalem and the hermits populating the mountains in its environment, pious Muslims became acquainted with the ways of Christian ascetism (S.D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic history and institutions*, Leiden 1968, 141, 146).

v. *The Umayyads (19–132/640–750)*

About two years after the fall of Jerusalem, the Umayyad Mu'āwīya was appointed commander of the army operating in Palestine and Syria. He governed these countries for forty years, first as governor, and later as caliph. Jerusalem was the scene of two decisive events in his career. In 38/658, Mu'āwīya and 'Amr b. 'Āṣ, the conqueror of Egypt, concluded there a pact of cooperation, which decided the contest between 'Alī and Mu'āwīya in the latter's favour (Ibn Sa'd; the text of the agreement seems to be genuine). In Ṣafar-Rabī' I 40/July 660 homage was paid to Mu'āwīya as caliph in Jerusalem. A Syriac source, giving this date, reports also that Mu'āwīya prayed on this occasion at Golgotha, Gethsemane and the Tomb of Mary (T. Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xxix, 95). This was hardly mere politics, but a manifestation of the chiliastic state of mind of the time, sc. Islam entering into its inheritance of the preceding monotheistic religions.

During the long rule of Mu'āwīya, the Muslim place of worship on the Temple area, approximately described by bishop Arculfus in ca. 680, must have taken shape. Al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir expressly states that Mu'āwīya built the Muslim sanctuary there "after 'Umar". It stands also to reason that the

plan for the erection of the Dome of the Rock, which needed immense preparations, was already made during the protracted and orderly rule of Mu'āwīya. The inscription in the dome bears the year 72/691–2, but the beginning of 'Abd al-Malik's reign (65–86/685–705) was extremely turbulent. 'Abd al-Malik had good reasons to make efforts towards the completion of the building, which would show him as the great champion of Islam, but the early years of his caliphate were hardly suited for both conceiving such an enormous undertaking and carrying it out to its very end during a comparatively short period. Contrariwise, Mu'āwīya is known also by his extensive buying and building activities in Mecca (in order to provide shelter for pilgrims and *mujāwirūn*), in which he was not followed by later Umayyads (see M.J. Kister, *Some reports concerning Mecca*, in *JESHO*, xv [1972], 84–91).

Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 35–7, Eng. tr. ii, 44–6, expounded the theory that 'Abd al-Malik, by erecting the Dome of the Rock, tried to divert the Pilgrimage from Mecca, then the capital of his rival 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, to Jerusalem, and that the many "traditions" in the name of the Prophet in favour or against the sanctity of Jerusalem reflect this political contest for the caliphate. This thesis was generally accepted and has found its way into the textbooks on Islamic history. It cannot be maintained, however. None of the great Muslim historians of the 3rd/9th century who describe the conflict between 'Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr in utmost detail, nor any of the older geographers, including al-Maḡdisī, a native of Jerusalem, makes the slightest allusion to such an intention of the Umayyad caliph. On the contrary, for the year 68/687–8, al-Ṭabarī, ii, 781–3 and others, report expressly that the soldiers of 'Abd al-Malik's expeditionary force participated in the *ḥajj*. They wished to do so even during the very siege of Mecca, a request which Ibn al-Zubayr naturally had to refuse. Moreover, it is obvious that 'Abd al-Malik would not have strengthened, but endangered his position by trying to divert the *ḥajj* from the holy sites expressly mentioned in the Qur'ān, and this after the *qibla* had been emphatically turned away from Jerusalem. By abolishing one of the five pillars of Islam, he would have made himself a *kāfir*, against whom the *jihād* was obligatory. The two older sources that mention the allegation that 'Abd al-Malik, by constructing the Dome of the Rock,

tried to attract the *hajj* to Jerusalem, sc. al-Ya'qūbī and Eutychius, invalidate their statements by others, obviously untrue, connected with them. They have the Umayyads forbid the Pilgrimage to Mecca, which is in flagrant contradiction to trustworthy reports that Umayyad caliphs made the pilgrimage themselves.

Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who visited Jerusalem in 439/1047, reports that people in Palestine who were unable to make the *hajj*, assembled in Jerusalem *wa-bi-mawqif bi-ṭstand*, "and performed the *wuqūf*", the standing in the presence of God which was the main ceremony at the sacred mountain of 'Arafāt [q.v.]. This statement, which has sometimes been adduced as a corroboration of Goldziher's thesis, must be understood in a wider Islamic context. Such a substitute for the pilgrimage is attested also for the main cities of other provinces, such as Baṣra and Fustāt; it even had a special name, *ta'rif*, derived from 'Arafāt. But, like the individual sacrifices, it manifested a participation in the *hajj*, celebrated on the same day in Arabia, not its replacement by a local pilgrimage.

The real urge for the erection of the Dome of the Rock on the site where it stands and in the form which it has, was religious, in addition, of course, to the natural acculturation of the Arabs to an environment, where magnificent edifices were the eloquent witnesses of a triumphant Church and of great rulers. Rajā' b. Ḥaywa of Baysān, who was in charge of the building operations (Mujir al-Dīn and others; probably only the financial aspect, while the *mawla* Yazīd b. Salām supervised the actual work) was the most prominent traditionist of Syria or al-Shām, a pietist and ascetic, and he and people of his ilk might have been the spiritual originators of the undertaking. By choosing the site, Islam manifested itself as the exclusive heir of the older religions. The gorgeous mosaics, representing jewels and ornaments of the greatest variety, were in chiliastic fulfillment of the prophetic descriptions of the future Jerusalem (Isa., lii, 12, etc.), which had become known to the Muslims (Ibn al-Faqīh) and were incorporated by them in the legendary descriptions of Solomon's Temple (*ibid.*). The detailed inscriptions in the Dome betray a spirit of Islamic mission, specifically to the Christians, since the "prophethood" of Jesus is emphatically stressed and his sonship denied with equal fervour. (Details in the articles of Goitein, Grabar and Caskel.)

Muslim and Jewish sources report that Jews were employed as servants of the sanctuary on the Temple area, its cleaning and illumination (including the making of the glass lamps). If true at all, these reports can refer only to an early and very short period. On the other hand, the contribution of oil for the illumination of the Temple area seems to have been regarded by both Christians and Jews as a pious deed, widely observed. Al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874–5) in his book on *waqf*, says: "If a Christian or Jew dedicates his land or house to the repairs of the *Bayt al-maqdis* or for the purchase of oil for its illumination, it is permissible to accept this from him, for this is an act of piety both with regard to Muslims and to them". Previously, the author had explained that it was not permitted to accept from non-Muslims a *waqf* for specific Muslim purposes). An Italian Jew of the 10th century, who was of great munificence, also contributed oil "to the sanctuary on the Western Wall, namely to the altar (clearly an expression for a non-Jewish building) which is inside" (*Aḥima'a's chronicle*, ed. B. Klar, Jerusalem 1944, 47).

Besides the erection of the Dome of the Rock, the Umayyad period contributed to Jerusalem other great architectural achievements, the *maṣjid al-aqsā* and the *dār al-imāra*, see II. below. New gates were added (Ibn Kathīr, repeating the anecdote that the gate with the inscription of al-Ḥajjāj, at that time governor of Filastīn, remained intact, while that bearing the name of 'Abd al-Malik collapsed) and the road to Jerusalem was repaired (mentioned also in a Jewish source), its milestones receiving Arab inscriptions. It is evident that such comprehensive building operations must have had a considerable impact on the composition of Jerusalem's population.

The extensive foundations of Umayyad buildings laid bare to the south and south west of the Aqsā mosque during the recent excavations of B. Mazar (1968–76) suggest that the Muslims planned to do in Palestine what they had done in Ifrīqiya, Egypt and Syria, sc. to replace the Byzantine capital situated on the seashore (Caesarea) by an inland administrative centre. In view of the lack of written sources on the subject, we cannot know why Jerusalem finally did not acquire this status. For the then available means of transportation, Jerusalem was perhaps too far away from the main lines of international traffic.

The foundation of Ramla as capital city of the province of Filastīn or Palestine by the crown

prince Sulaymān was in the first place a blow for neighbouring Lod or Lydda, but in the long run was detrimental to Jerusalem. According to later traditions, Sulaymān himself received homage in Jerusalem and intended to stay there (Ibn Kathīr; cf. also E. Sivan, in *IOS*, i[1971], 270, n. 33), but he took Ramla as his permanent residence and the town became the administrative and economic centre of the country. The inhabitants of Jerusalem were well aware of this fact, as al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, one of them, observes: *bayt al-maqdis min sawād al-ramla ba'd mā kānat dār al-mulk fī ayyām Sulaymān wa-Dāwūd*, "Jerusalem is a provincial town attached to Ramla after having been the seat of the government in the days of Solomon and David".

vi. *The Abbasid Period (132–358/750–969)*

The end of Umayyad rule was for Jerusalem, as for Palestine and Syria in general, a period of great tribulations. In the wake of a rebellion against the last Umayyad Marwān II, the walls of Jerusalem were pulled down and its inhabitants punished. Earthquakes aggravated the situation. At the beginning, the new dynasty paid special tribute to the holy character of the city. This was manifested by the first visit of al-Manṣūr, who set out for Jerusalem immediately after returning to Baghdad from the pilgrimage to Mecca of the year 140/758. He did so in order to fulfill a vow, made perhaps because a hundred lunar years had passed since Mu'āwiya had received homage in the Holy City in 19/40. A second visit of the 'Abbasid caliph, in 154/771 was made in connection with a great rising in the Maghrib; al-Manṣūr accompanied as far as Jerusalem the large army assembled by him for the quelling of the revolt (al-Balādhūri, *Futūḥ*, 233, ll. 4–5, Ibn al-Athīr, v, 467). His son al-Mahdī also visited Jerusalem and prayed there, but Hārūn al-Rashīd, who made the *hajj* almost every second year and frequented Syria because of the Holy War against Byzantium, never came to Jerusalem. Nor did his son al-Ma'mūn, although he sojourned in Syria and even in Egypt, or any other later 'Abbasid caliph. This change of attitude probably reflected the new trend of Islamic piety, which abhorred the *bid'as*, the foreign elements and "innovations", in the legends about Jerusalem.

Theophanes, *Chronographia*, i, 446, reports that al-Manṣūr, on the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem,

ordered the Christians and Hebrews to tattoo their names on their hands (so that they could not escape the poll tax), whereupon many Christians fled to "Romania" via the sea. Such measures had been taken earlier in Islam; their adoption with regard to Jerusalem obviously means that at that time both the Muslim and the non-Muslim population of the city must have become quite numerous and the mutual assimilation of the various elements comparatively progressed. This increase must have been due to religious incentive, for the ancient *ḥadīth* assuring the Muslims that God permanently guaranteed sustenance to the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ibn al-Faṭīh and others) proves that life there never was easy. The legendary biographies of most of the early Sufis, especially those of Persian origin, contain the detail that they stayed in Jerusalem one time or another, and well-founded sources prove a considerable Muslim influx from Persia, see viii., below.

The Christians of Jerusalem received a mighty uplift by the interest shown for the Holy City by the rulers and the pious of Western Europe. Whatever the truth about the embassies exchanged between Hārūn al-Rashīd and Charlemagne, and the delivery to the latter of the key and the standard of Jerusalem (received by him in Rome in the year 800, at the time of his coronation as Emperor), there can be no doubt that many new buildings destined for the religious and material needs of pilgrims and newcomers were erected in Jerusalem by the emperor and his successors (a list in T. Tobler, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, i, 314). Charlemagne's son and successor Louis ordered each estate in his empire to contribute one denarius for the needs of Christian Jerusalem. It is evident that most of the money needed for the payment of the poll tax and other impositions on the Christians of the city came from abroad. The composition of the Christian population may be gauged from a list of the hermits living in cells on the Mount of Olives, of whom eleven said their psalmodes in Greek, six in Syriac, five in Latin, four in Georgian, two in Armenian, and one in Arabic.

Ca. 800, the Jewish High Council, the *yeshiva*, headed by the Gaon (corresponding to the Christian Patriarch), moved from Tiberias to Jerusalem. His authority was soon challenged by the Karaites, a dissident Jewish sect, which made Jerusalem its centre. The Karaite dispensation, which mainly developed on Persian soil, is to be understood in the Islamic

context as a branch of the Shu'ūbiyya, emphasising the return to the Bible, the revival of Hebrew, and the settling in the Holy Land. As is natural, the movement originated preponderantly in circles near to the Arabs, Jewish government officials or otherwise prominent people. Consequently, the Karaite settlers in Jerusalem easily got the upper hand. Jerusalem became indeed their main spiritual centre. In the ensuing controversies, which, during the turbulent 3rd/9th century, were brought before the Muslim authorities, one Gaon lost his life and two others with difficulty escaped a similar fate (J. Mann, *Jews in Egypt and Palestine under the Fāṭimids*, repr. 1970, i, 57). In the course of time, the two denominations learned to co-exist and to cooperate, but in Jerusalem rather less than, e.g., in Egypt. The Fāṭimids recognised the Gaon of Jerusalem as the head of the Rabbanite Jews in their empire (see Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, ii, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1971, 5 ff.).

During the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33), Jerusalem suffered by a famine and became depleted of its Muslims, an opportunity used by the Patriarch to execute repairs in the building of the Holy Sepulchre (Eutychius, ii, 55–57). More serious was a great revolt of *fellāḥīn*, which broke out at the end of the reign of his successor al-Mu'taṣim (218–27/833–42). The revolt was led by one Abū Ḥarb al-Mubārqa' ("veiled one" – as former impostors had been) and soon encompassed the whole of Syria. Its leader assumed the role of the Sufyānī, or Messiah of Umayyad stock, reduced the poll tax and made other promises to the population. But soon he changed his ways. When he entered Jerusalem, its entire populace, Muslims, Christians and Jews, fled and all the places of worship were pillaged. Only a large contribution by the Patriarch prevented him from burning the Holy Sepulchre. It was a typical peasants' revolt, which was unable to make a stand against the regular army sent to subdue it by al-Mu'taṣim's successor (Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 371–2, who does not mention Jerusalem; Michael Syrus, ii, 541).

In 256/869–70 Syria and Palestine received for the first time a Turk as governor, Amajūr, but this did not change the ways of the 'Abbasid régime, which had long before assumed the character of a bureaucracy based largely on foreign hirelings. Precisely at that time, the Patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem praised the Saracens for permitting the Christians to build churches and to live in accordance with their religion

without oppressing them. (J.D. Mansi, *Conciliorum collectio*, repr. 1960, xvi, 26), and Bernard the monk expressed his admiration for the safety of the roads in the country.

Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn, who had made himself lord of Egypt in 254/868, conquered Palestine in 264/878, but in the wars between the Tulunids and later the Ikshidids, the rulers of Egypt, and their overlords, the 'Abbasid caliphs, Jerusalem played no role. But a new turn in the concepts about the holy character of Jerusalem must have taken place. The belief that it would be the scene of the Last Judgement and the gate to Paradise (Ibn al-Faqīh, etc.), must have gained ground, whence people who could afford it arranged for their burial there. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 486, l. 12, and others report that the Jews from all countries, following the example of Moses, who carried the coffin of Joseph with him from Egypt, used to bring their dead to the Holy Land. This custom, as is proved by many Geniza documents, was indeed widespread, even among people of limited means. It went back to Roman times, when "Himyarite" Jews buried their dead in the Bēth-Sha'arayim necropolis near Haifa. In the 4th/10th century it must have become popular among Muslims. 'Īsā b. Mūsā al-Nūsharī, the first 'Abbasid governor of Egypt after the overthrow of the Tulunids, was buried in Jerusalem in 296/909; the founder of the Ikshidid dynasty, the Turk Muḥammad b. Ṭughj, happened to die in Damascus in 334/946, but he and several other members of his family and retinue, including the famous black eunuch Kāfūr, one of the able rulers of Egypt, were interred in Jerusalem.

Al-Ṭabarī, iii, 2128, l. 18, and others report under the year 891 that the radical Shi'ite sect of the Carmathians or Qarmaṭīs turned towards Jerusalem in their prayers. But he notes also that they kept Monday instead of Friday as their weekly day of worship and celebrated it (in the Jewish fashion) as a day of rest. Such oddities (if they really existed) were of no general significance for Islam. In their devastating raids, the Carmathians reached also Palestine, but Jerusalem is not mentioned at that time in connection with their exploits.

The absence of a strong central government during the 3rd/9th century and perhaps also other circumstances, such as the Byzantine offensive against Islamic territories (culminating in the boasting threat of the Emperor Nicephorus II Phocas in 964 that

he would take Jerusalem) caused friction between the various religious communities. Half of the outer court of the Holy Sepulchre was taken away and a mosque erected on it (later called *maṣjid 'Umar*, probably in order to emphasise, against Christian claims (above, iii., that the caliph had prayed there). Shortly afterwards, on Palm Sunday 938, the Christian procession was attacked and the Holy Sepulchre damaged by fire. Even worse, and characteristic for the period, were the events of 355/966. The Patriarch of Jerusalem had sought the intervention of Kāfūr, the black viceroy of Egypt, against the overreaching Berber governor of Jerusalem who had imposed excessive financial demands on the Christians. Kāfūr sent a Turkish officer for the protection of the Christians. But the governor did not budge. When, on Pentecost, the Patriarch refused to pay more than the tribute usually delivered on that holiday, the Berber incited the mob; the Holy Sepulchre and other churches were pillaged and set on fire, the Patriarch was murdered and his body burnt. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī, who tells this story, adds that the Jews outdid the Muslims in damaging the sacred buildings. This sounds strange, considering the weak position of the Jews in Jerusalem, but perhaps finds its explanation in a cryptic remark by a contemporary Karaite scholar about dangerous Christian machinations against the Jews in the city (J. Mann, *Texts and studies*, ii, 18–19) and in complaints about Jews in letters sent from Jerusalem and Venice to Henry I the Fowler in 922.

vii. *Fatimids, Turkomans and Saljuqs (358–492/969–1099)*

Shortly after the conquest of Egypt by the Fatimids, Palestine with Jerusalem came under their domination, but participated only comparatively little in the economic efflorescence of the first hundred years of their rule. Palestine was incessantly harrassed by Carmathians and Bedouins, first as allies, but soon (as from 363/974) separately. For about seventy years, the Banū Jarrāḥ chieftains tried to get a hold of the country including Jerusalem, sometimes supported by the Byzantine emperors. The 1020s were particularly harrowing. The outrages perpetrated by the Bedouins “were unlike anything experienced in the countries of Islam since its inception” (Geniza letter, in Mann,

*Jews in Egypt*, ii, 181, l. 22). The details reported in the Geniza letters are revolting.

The unceasing local tribulations were temporarily overshadowed by the general persecution of Christians and Jews ordered by the caliph al-Ḥākim (386–411/996–1021). It culminated in the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre on 28 September 1009. This extraordinary measure cannot be explained by special circumstances alone, such as the abnormal state of mind of the caliph or the Muslims' anger over the pious fraud of the holy fire (M. Canard, *La destruction de l'Église de la Résurrection... et... la descente du feu sacré*, in *Byzantion*, xxv [1965], 16–43, where the literature on the event is surveyed). The persecution was a prolonged process; that of the Jews began only in 402/1012, at a time when the Christians of Jerusalem, with the help or connivance of the Bedouin chieftain Mufarrij b. al-Jarrāḥ already tried to restore the Holy Sepulchre. Most likely, an inner turn-about of the religious policy of the Ismā'īlī leadership was the main cause of the persecution. Anyhow, it left Jerusalem, which had consisted largely of Christian buildings, a shambles. The earthquake of 407/1016, in which the dome of the Ṣakhra collapsed, made things worse (according to a Geniza letter, the collapse occurred on the 25 July, at 4 p.m., (Mann, *Texts and studies*, i, 313). The persecution petered out, but the Jews and Christians were much too impoverished to be able to undo the destruction. It took almost forty years until the restoration of the Holy Sepulchre was completed.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem began to take the place of Ramla as the main city of the country. Ramla had suffered by the earthquakes of 424/1033 and 460/1068 and by the endless depredations of the Bedouins more extensively than had Jerusalem (cf. Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī). Contrariwise, the stream of pilgrims from Europe to Jerusalem became ever stronger, the great caravan of 12,000 pilgrims from southern Germany and Holland arriving in 1065, so lively described by Lambert of Hersfeld, being one of its best known examples. It may also be that the techniques of warfare and fortifications had changed, making Jerusalem more easily defensible than a city in a flat country like Ramla. The audacity of the Banū Jarrāḥ and other Bedouin hordes forced the Fatimids to strengthen the walls of Jerusalem in 424/1033 and

again in 455/1063. In the last third of the 5th/11th century, Jerusalem and not Ramla was in the centre of military events.

The Saljuq invasions set into motion motley crowds of soldiers of fortune from many nations, led by ruthless condottieri. One of these was the Turkoman Atsız b. Uvak, whom the Fatimid government, paralysed by famine, plague and complete anarchy in Egypt, called in against the unruly Bedouins in Palestine. But Atsız turned against the Fatimids and took Jerusalem in 463/1071 after a prolonged siege. Emboldened by his successes, he attacked Egypt itself, but there order had been restored by the Armenian convert Badr al-Jāmālī, and Atsız was forced to retreat (469/1077). In a long Hebrew poem celebrating the Fatimid victory, a Jewish dignitary from Palestine describes in detail the sufferings of Jerusalem, and in particular the devastation of its environment with its vineyards and orchards by Atsız's hordes. The local population rose against the barbarian conquerors and Atsız had to take Jerusalem a second time, putting the inhabitants to the sword, even those who had fled into the Aqṣā mosque. Only those who had taken refuge in the Dome of the Rock were spared. Atsız was soon liquidated by the brother of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shāh, Tutush, who then was governor of Damascus (470/1078). Thus Jerusalem was incorporated in the Great Saljuq empire, the borders of which henceforth were given as stretching "from Kashghar to Jerusalem". Tutush assigned Jerusalem to Artuq, the founder of the Mesopotamian dynasty called after him. It is not sure when exactly Artuq took possession of the city; it was in his hands in 479/1086, and was given by him to two of his sons in 484/1091. In Sha'bān 491/July 1098, that is, when the Crusaders were already on their march to Jerusalem, al-Afḍal, the Fatimid viceroy of Egypt, laid siege on the city, "bombarding it from forty catapults during forty days" (Ibn Khaldūn). The two brothers surrendered, but were released unharmed by al-Afḍal. How unaware the Muslims were of the magnitude of the Crusader menace can be gauged from the fact that another Saljuq, Riḍwān, a son of Tutush, set out from Damascus via Nābulus to wrest Jerusalem from the Fatimids. But he was no match for al-Afḍal's army; the viceroy returned to Egypt, leaving a small garrison in Jerusalem.

viii. *Life in Jerusalem in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries*

Copious references in the works of Muslim authors and over a hundred Geniza letters from Jerusalem written during the 5th/11th century enable us to form a fairly substantial idea about life in Jerusalem during the two centuries preceding its capture by the Crusaders. This is particularly true with regard to the last third of the 4th/10th century, when al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir and al-Maqdisī wrote, and the second third of the 5th/11th, when Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited the city and when the country had a short respite of comparatively normal times, reflected in the Geniza letters, between the atrocities of the Bedouins and the devastations of the Turkomans.

The Muslim geographers naturally dedicated most of their attention to the sacred buildings and the fortifications, see section II. below. Al-Maqdisī, a keen observer (see e.g. his remark about a bath near the Bāb al-Asbāṭ (St. Stephen's gate), which was built half in the local tradition, and half according to the Persian fashion) again and again praises the unique beauty of Jerusalem, its clean and well-stocked markets and public bath houses, and does not forget to mention the latrines near the mosques and in the bazaars. During the 4th/10th century, it seems, Muslim religious instruction in Jerusalem was mainly concentrated in the mosques of the Ḥaram (comparable to what happened in other Islamic cities; see also below). In the wake of al-Ḥākim's persecution, some Christian buildings might have become available for the *zāwiyas* mentioned by Mujīr al-Dīn. The Persian pietistic sect of the Karrāmiyya, which had first settled in Jerusalem already around the middle of the 3rd/9th century, erected *khānaqāhs* for the needs of its members. By the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Christian quarter in the north-western part of the city, that is, around the Holy Sepulchre and other age-old churches, the Armenian quarter near St. James' cathedral in the south, as well as two Jewish enclaves, one near the Western Wall, where people prayed, and one near the Damascus gate, were well-established. The synagogues referred to by al-Muṭahhar, Nāṣir-i Khusraw and al-Qalānisi might have been identical with the *midrāshs* or houses of learning mentioned in a Geniza letter as places where prayers were held. The Karaites lived in a



separate quarter in the south of the city, called *ḥārat al-mashāriqa*, the quarter of the Easterners, since most of them had come from Persia and Iraq.

It is difficult to form a judgment about the size of the population. Nāṣir-i Khusraw's 20,000 betrays only the mysterious and widely-diffused predilection for the number 20. He gives 20,000 also for Tripoli in Lebanon, and for the number of people assembling in Jerusalem during the *ʿīd al-qurbān*, but Ibn al-Athīr, assigns that number to the membership of the Karrāmiyya settled in Jerusalem alone. Al-Maḡdī is more helpful when he says that Jerusalem was smaller than Mecca, but larger than Medina, or more populous than many a provincial capital. The repeatedly-mentioned number of 70,000 persons killed by the Crusaders in 492/1099 can by no means be used as an indication of the number of the inhabitants. Many people fled into the city before the approaching invaders, and in general, on such occasions numbers are grossly exaggerated and worthless. If the al-Aḡṣā mosque was indeed reduced from fourteen to seven aisles after the earthquake of 424/1033 and others, the population must have considerably shrunk, possibly an outcome of the catastrophic tribulations by the Bedouins in the 1020s.

The most characteristic trait of life in Jerusalem was, of course, that "no day passed without foreigners". Pilgrims from all regions filled the city. The usage of pious Muslims to enter the state of *iḥrām* or ritual cleanliness for the pilgrimage to Mecca in Jerusalem had the consequence that the city was frequented by Muslims from distant countries, in particular from the Maghrib. Similarly, many a Jew from the Maghrib and Spain, visiting Jerusalem either as *ḥājj* (i.e. on the holidays prescribed for the pilgrimage) or as the *zāʿir* (on another occasion) has left letters in Geniza. The religious ceremonies of the various communities were not always confined to the houses of worship or even the walls of the city. We have detailed descriptions of these processions and assemblies. They must have conveyed to Jerusalem a festive appearance during many days of the year.

As to the government of the city, al-Maḡdī complains that "the oppressed has no helper". But he makes similar remarks concerning other places, and the Geniza letters show that the situation was not quite so hopeless. Justice was done, provided that there was someone strong and interested enough to take care of the case. Since Ramla was the capital of

the province, everything had to be dealt with there, and in more serious cases appeals had to be made to Cairo. A dignitary from Jerusalem would appeal to a notable in Ramla such as "the chief physician of the dysentery department in the hospital", and ask him to bring the case of the wronged person or institution before the governor or chief *qāḍī* there, as the matter required, whereupon the latter would instruct their subordinates in Jerusalem to settle the dispute properly. In public affairs, the system worked the same way, as the edicts of the Fatimid caliphs for and against the Karaites of Palestine and the correspondence connected with these matters prove (see S.M. Stern, *Fātimid decrees*, London 1964; idem, *A petition to the Fātimid caliph al-Mustaʿṣir*, in *REJ*, cxxviii [1969], 203–22).

Ramla was also the economic centre of the country, as many references prove. *Suḡṭajas*, or bankers' cheques, for persons in Jerusalem were converted into cash in Ramla, which then was forwarded to Jerusalem, though we find also a banker, with a Persian name, in Jerusalem who issued *suḡṭajas* on Cairo. The money mostly used in Jerusalem around the middle of the 5th/11th century was the "Rūmī" (i.e. Southern Italian) and Muslim quarter-*dīnār* of the West, presumably because the pilgrims coming from those parts and from western Europe formed the majority of the customers. Oil, cheese, cotton and fruits are mentioned by the Muslim geographers and in the Geniza letters as main exports from Jerusalem. A letter from Tyre speaks of yarn sent from Jerusalem sufficient for the weaving of a thousand robes, *ṭhawb*, of the bazaar type and even more of the home-made class. Since every mediaeval traveller tried also to do some business, we find in Jerusalem transit trade too, especially with Persians, bringing the heavy *ibrīzīm* silk from Khurasan (to be re-exported to Egypt), and taking with them Mediterranean goods such as coral. Jerusalem, as becoming a holy city, affected some austerity in clothing. "Here", a silk merchant writes in a letter to Fustāt, "black and sky-blue silk is worn, not crimson as in Ramla and Ascalon". Wool traders, *ṣawwāf*, clothiers and *tājirs* are mentioned as the prominent types of businessmen in the city. The well-developed commercial mail service connecting Jerusalem with Cairo, which was carried on by Muslims, shows that the city must have had some economic importance (Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 292–4).

Those newcomers who could afford it bought houses and stores and lived on the income from their rents. Others tried to do business, but complaints such as “there is no livelihood in Jerusalem”, “when one exerts oneself here, the exertion works against him”, or “many have come here rich and have been reduced to poverty”, are frequent. As many letters show, the town was too far away from the main stream of international commerce. Another unfavourable factor was the crushing impositions on non-Muslims (or perhaps on foreigners in general). The Jewish community was almost permanently in debt to Muslim creditors, paying them exorbitant interest, because it had to deliver the yearly tributes to the authorities and others, e.g. the *Aḥdāth* or bands of urban vigilantes, whether the expected numbers of pilgrims arrived or not. To a large extent, the city was a refuge for the poor, of whom their respective religious communities abroad took care in many different ways (about which social service the Geniza is again very specific, cf. Goitein, *op. cit.*, ii, 96–7 and *passim*).

Jerusalem's mostly unsatisfactory economic situation might have been responsible for another negative aspect of its life during this period; despite its holiness for the three monotheistic religions, it did not become for any of them a great spiritual centre with a characteristic contribution of its own (smaller groups, such as Armenians and Georgians on the Christian side and the Karaites among the Jews, perhaps excepted). Many Muslim scholars came there to teach or to study. But it is characteristic that in Yāqūt's *Dictionary of learned men* Basra occurs 170 times, Damascus 100, but Jerusalem only once and in passing; in the *Kitāb al-Aghāmī* it is not mentioned at all. Al-Maḡdīsī's complaint, “The mosque (that is, the house of study, see above) is empty, there are no scholars and no savants, no disputations and no instruction”, was certainly an exaggeration, inspired by the deep love of the writer for his native city, as was his famous censure that Christians and Jews had there the upper hand, but Jerusalem certainly could not boast of excellence in the sciences of Islam or any other fields. The great Sufi and theologian al-Ghazālī sojourned there in 488/1095 not in order to make contacts, but with the intention to locking himself up and of seeking solitude.

The city had some importance as a refuge or place of banishment for persons with unorthodox

views and ways of life. This trend began already in Umayyad times. Thawr b. Yazīd had to leave Damascus because of his Qadarī views and died in Jerusalem ca. 153/770. Tekīn, the Turkish governor of Egypt (who, at his request was buried in Jerusalem in 321/933) banished thither the Sufi Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Dīnawarī. In Mamluk times, forced retirement in Jerusalem became almost customary, see 2.ii., below.

Jerusalem was a town of copyists, the occupation of the pious who were both learned and poor. Christian Arabic manuscripts written in the monastery of Mār Sābā near Jerusalem in the second half of the 3rd/9th century and in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 4th/10th are still extant, and an Armenian colophon from Jerusalem from the year 870 is known (J. Blau, *A grammar of Christian Arabic*, Louvain 1966, i, 24, 25, 33; E. Stone, *The manuscript library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem*, in *Tarbiz*, xli [1972], 158). Jewish copyists active in Jerusalem during the 5th/11th century give us many details about their work.

According to Mujīr al-Dīn, the main local *madhhab* or legal rite in the town, even before the Crusades, was Shāfi'ī, with a sprinkling of the Ḥanbalī, introduced by the Persian Abu 'l-Faraj al-Shīrāzī, while a Ḥanafī Turk was the *qādī*, a situation similar to that of much later times.

There was a marked difference between the spirit of the late 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one. The former was characterised by three highly interesting Jerusalemites of Persian origin and of wide humanistic interests: the great traveller al-Maḡdīsī, one of the finest personalities produced by Islamic civilisation; al-Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, a keen and remarkably unbiased student of religions, writing in Bust, eastern Persia; and Abū Sulaymān Muḥammad b. Ma'shar al-Qudsī al-Bustī, who, according to Abū Sulaymān al-Mantiqī, was the author of the *rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' group. The subsequent century witnessed a narrowing down to the more specifically Islamic branches of knowledge. A typical representative of the age was Abu 'l-Faḍl b. Ṭāhir al-Qaysarānī, active in Arabic language study, *ḥadīth*, and, especially, mysticism; he made his extensive travels on foot, carrying his books on his back and finally settled in Hamadhān, continuing the long-standing connection between Jerusalem and Persia. Al-Musharraf b. Murājja', the author of a book on

the *Faḍā'il al-Quds* (see 2.i., below) lived in the same century. The leading scholar of Jerusalem, “the *shaykh* of the Shāfi'is in the whole of Syria”, Abu 'l-Faḥ Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, left the city for Tyre. The Jewish Gaon did the same (*ca.* 1071). This, as well as many Geniza letters, shows that the situation in Jerusalem had become unbearable long before the Crusaders temporarily suspended Muslim and Jewish life in the city altogether.

#### ix. *Crusaders and Ayyubids*

The Crusaders laid siege on Jerusalem on 6 June 1099 and took it by assault on 15 July, penetrating into the city from three different points. The behaviour of the different groups of conquerors, Frenchmen, Flemings, Provençals and Normans from Sicily, was not entirely uniform. Tancred, the leader of the Normans, granted safe-conduct to the Fatimid commander of the citadel (the “Tower of David”) and to his men. A Geniza letter reports that the Jews in the entourage of the commander were included in the safe-conduct. Thus, no doubt, the Muslim civilians in the citadel were saved as well. The same letter says also that “the damned ones called Ashkenazim” (convincingly identified by B.Z. Kedar as Normans), “unlike others”, did not rape women. The massacre of the Muslims and the Jews in the town was perpetrated out of military and religious considerations alike. The Crusaders did not run berserk, but proceeded systematically, as is shown first by the fact that they took time to collect hundreds of books, which they sold at Ascalon soon afterwards. The Geniza naturally speaks about Hebrew books, but there is no reason to assume that Muslim books were treated differently. The fact that a number of prisoners were sold far beneath the standard price of 33 1/3 *dīnārs* per person does not prove at all that the Crusaders were ignorant of the accepted norms; the war situation did not permit the keeping of larger numbers of captives for a protracted period. But prisoners from better families, for whom higher ransoms could be expected, were retained in Antioch for years. All in all, the letters of persons actually involved in the events somehow qualify the accepted notions about the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders. There was a gruesome bloodbath, no doubt. But it was not as all-embracing as the summary reports of the chroniclers led us to believe.

Jerusalem became a Christian city, where no Muslim or Jewish cult was permitted and no non-Christian could take residence permanently. The mosques were turned into churches or used as secular buildings. The newly-founded kingdom was appropriately called the Kingdom of Jerusalem, *Regnum Hierusalem*, since the conversion of the Holy City into a Christian sanctuary had been the purpose of its erection. As a capital city, Jerusalem soon began to flourish. The court, the administration of the state, the ecclesiastical authorities, the monastic and military religious orders were all located here, and thousands of pilgrims visited the city every year, many staying on for longer periods or for good. Besides Eastern Christians, such as Syrians, Copts, Armenians and Georgians, the inhabitants were mostly Europeans, above all French. Smaller European communities, such as Spaniards, Provençals, Germans and Hungarians, lived in compact groups around their churches and public institutions. Many new buildings were erected, of which the enlarged Holy Sepulchre was the most conspicuous. The remarkably spacious and beautiful market hall, erected on the foundations of a similar Islamic building, still dominates daily life in the Old City today. Everywhere in Jerusalem the vestiges of Crusaders' activities are visible. When, after the war of 1967, the ruins of the Jewish quarter were cleared away, what is believed to be the remains of St. Mary of the Germans made their appearance.

Less than a decade after the conquest, a letter from Palestine (not from Jerusalem) reports that life in the country had returned to normal also for the non-Christian population. Jerusalem remained closed to Muslims and Jews, but, in the course of time, they were permitted to come there for business and prayer. A famous incident reported in the autobiography of Usāma b. Munqidh shows him performing his prayers on the Temple area during a considerable stretch of time (ed. P.K. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134–5). Jewish dyers worked for the King's wardrobe in the vicinity of the palace *ca.* 1170.

After the decisive victory of Ḥaṭṭīn (Rabī' II 583/ July 1187), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn/Saladin advanced towards Jerusalem and laid siege on the city. After prolonged negotiations, in which the defenders threatened to kill the Muslim prisoners and all non-combatants (so that they would not be sold into slavery), to burn all the valuables and to destroy the buildings on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, an agreement was reached in Ramaḍān

583/November 1187, which permitted the inhabitants to ransom themselves after surrender. Only the Eastern Christians remained, and Jerusalem soon assumed the character of a predominantly Muslim city. The Muslim shrines were given back to their original destination and many Christian buildings were dedicated to Muslim purposes. Outstanding examples were the convent of the church of St. Anne, which became the famous Ṣalāhiyya *madrasa*, so called after its founder Saladin, and the Mūristān, a hospital, which originally had been the church at the hostel of the Knights of St. John. The Holy Sepulchre was left to the Christians, but the pilgrimage to it was temporarily suspended until 1192.

There remained the problem of repopulation. In 587/1191 the great port city of Ascalon was dismantled and destroyed at Saladin's command, in order to prevent the Crusaders from turning it into a new base for their operations. The dispossessed inhabitants must have found new homes in the empty houses of Jerusalem, for the Geniza letters from this period repeatedly speak of a community of *ʿAsāqila* in the Holy City, and Jews certainly were given no preferential treatment. Another community listed alongside with them was that of the *Maghāribā* – a trend noted already two hundred years before by al-Maḡdisī, see viii., above. Individuals are described in the same source as hailing from Yaman, Iraq, and Egypt. The influx of learned Jews from France attested for the period *ca.* 1210–15 in both literary texts and Geniza letters proves that Ayyubid rule at that time must have had a reputation of an orderly government able to guarantee the safety of foreigners. But life in Jerusalem was hard, and before the 6th/12th century was out, we already read about newcomers who had left for the greener pastures of Egypt and the port cities of the Eastern Mediterranean.

A new and catastrophic turning point in the history of Jerusalem was the rule of Saladin's nephew al-Malik al-Muʿazzam, sultan of Damascus. On the one hand, as his many inscriptions prove, al-Muʿazzam did much to adorn the Ḥaram, and erected there the Ḥanafī college called after him, see section II, below; but being afraid of a new encroachment by the Christians, he ordered in 616/1219 the destruction of the city with the exception of the Temple area, the Holy Sepulchre and the citadel. His apprehensions did not materialise, but his brother al-Malik al-Kāmil,

the ruler of Egypt, in order to shield himself from the Syrian Ayyubids, concluded a treaty with the Emperor Frederick II, ceding to him the city for ten years (626/1229). The emperor, being under papal ban, crowned himself there without clerical assistance – the last time that a monarch was crowned in Jerusalem. Again Muslims (and of course, also Jews, as proved by a Geniza letter from 1236) were not permitted access to the city with the exception of the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, which remained in Muslim hands, but the *qāḍī*, the bearer of Muslim authority, had his seat outside Jerusalem (in al-Bīra, near Rāmallāh, J. Prawer, *Royaume latin*, Paris 1970, ii, 199). The subsequent hostilities between the Ayyubids of Egypt and Syria resulted in an agreement between the latter and the Christians, which seemingly removed the Muslims even from the Temple area, so that the commander of the Templars could boast that the city was inhabited solely by Christians (Matthew Paris, *Historia major*, iv, 290). But this lasted only a very short time. The Egyptian Ayyubid al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn enlisted the help of the wild Khwārazmians, who had been driven to the West by the Mongols. The Khwārazmians overran Syria and Palestine, took Jerusalem in Rabīʿ I 642/August 1244 and plundered and murdered in the town, desecrating the Holy Sepulchre and other churches. The combined armies of the Khwārazmians and al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn joined battle with the Syrians and their allies, the Crusaders, and vanquished them (Jumādā I 642/October 1244). Consequently, Jerusalem came under the domination of the rulers of Egypt, under which, after a short interval in 647/1249, when again it was returned to the sultan of Damascus, it remained until the Ottoman conquest of 922–3/1516–17).

## 2. THE SECOND SIX HUNDRED YEARS

### i. *The sanctity of Jerusalem in Islam.* Faḍāʾil al-Quds

The history of Jerusalem during this period was largely influenced by the enhanced religious halo it had acquired through the long struggle between Christians and Muslims. The position of Jerusalem in Islam had its ups and downs. It cannot be described yet in full, since important relevant texts, such as the *Tafsīr* of al-Muqāṭil (d. 150/767), the *Muṣannaf* of ʿAbd Razzāq (d. 211/827) and the two oldest books of *Faḍāʾil al-Quds* still await publication

(see below). An excellent discussion of the literature on the subject and the present stage of research is found in E. Sivan, *Le caractère de Jérusalem dans l'Islam aux XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *SI*, xxvii (1967), 149–82, and idem, *The beginnings of the Faḍā'il al-Quds literature*, in *IOS*, i (1971), 263–71.

It was entirely in the spirit of early Islam that it incorporated the Jewish and Christian notions of the holiness of Jerusalem and made the area of the ancient Jewish Temple into a Muslim place of worship (see 1.iii.–v., above). The *ḥadīth* ranking Jerusalem as the third central sanctuary of Islam after Mecca and Medina, excluding others, was formulated in the course of the first century of Islam and obtained general recognition during the second, after the status of Jerusalem had been vehemently contested as being alien to Islam, whose cradle was the Ḥijāz (cf. the saying attributed to 'Abd Allāh b. Ma'sūd and Ḥudhayfa: "Even if the distance between me and Jerusalem was only two parasangs, I would not go there", quoted in M.J. Kister, *Tou shall only set out for three mosques, a study of an early tradition*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxii (1969), 173–96, where the material about this struggle is assembled).

Both aspects, the veneration for Jerusalem and the objection to it, deepened with the increasing influx of foreign ideas on the subject and their development by Islamic popular piety. The notions that Jerusalem was holy as the domicile of the ancient prophets and saints and as the scene of Muḥammad's *Isrā'* and *Mi'rāj* (Night Journey and Ascension) (the latter was mentioned in Saladin's letter to Richard Cœur de Lion as the main proof for the Muslims' claim on Jerusalem, Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 165) were accepted by everyone; it was the more exuberant legends woven around those notions and, above all, the belief that Jerusalem would be the scene of Resurrection and of the Last Judgment, and the crude fantasies evolving from these themes, which aroused criticism and suspicion that they were local inventions destined to attract pilgrims and visitors. As Ibn Kathīr formulated it: "They (the people of Jerusalem) have depicted there the spectacles of the *Ṣirāṭ* (the bridge suspended from the Mount of Olives to the Temple Mount, which will be thinner than a hair etc.), of the gate of the Paradise, of the footprints of the Prophet, and of the valley of Gehenna". As a result, Jerusalem during the 3rd–5th/9th–11th centuries did not command a paramount position in the religious consciousness of

the Islamic world. While many Islamic cities inspired books of *faḍā'il* already by the end of the 3rd and throughout the 4th centuries A.H., Jerusalem appears only with two, compiled during the 5th: a tract by Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, a *khaṭīb* of the al-Aqṣā mosque (recently identified by Kister in the library of the al-Jazzār Pasha mosque of Acre), and another by Abū 'l-Ma'ālī al-Musharraf b. Murajjā', a *faqīh* living in Jerusalem. The author of a third compilation, mainly of *ḥadīths*, Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Makkī al-Maqdisī, did not complete his work, since he was captured and killed by the Crusaders, see above. It is characteristic that these three authors were inhabitants of Jerusalem. The often-noted astounding fact that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Crusaders and its conversion into an exclusively Christian city did not arouse any strong Muslim reaction for decades also indicates that the veneration for the Holy City had not yet become a spiritual force in Islam.

The situation changed when 'Imād Dīn Zangī's conquest of Edessa in 539/1144 suggested to an ambitious ruler that territorial aspirations could well be underpinned by religious propaganda. The court poets and secretaries of Zangī and his son Nūr al-Dīn took up the topic of the *jihād* for Jerusalem. With Saladin, both before and after 583/1187, this propaganda reached its apogee. While no *Faḍā'il al-Quds* work appeared during the first half of the 16th/12th century, they became abundant and ubiquitous in the second half and in the subsequent centuries. How much Jerusalem had become an all-Islamic concern might be gauged from the widely diffused protests against al-Malik al-Mu'azzam's dismantling of the city in 616/1219 and al-Malik al-Kāmil's ceding it to the Emperor Frederick II in 626/1229. Precisely after Jerusalem had ceased to be a military or political issue, sc. during the Mamluk period, the *Faḍā'il al-Quds* multiplied; at least thirty are known from this period, see Sivan, *Caractère sacré*, 181. The exceptions taken by Ibn Taymiyya in his treatise on the subject were directed against the *bid'as* disfiguring the cult of Jerusalem; its canonical status as third in rank of the sanctuaries of Islam was never questioned.

To modern Muslims, this position symbolises the universal character of Islam. Sayyid Quṭb (d. 1966) wrote this in his huge work on the Qur'ān with reference to Sūra XVII, 1: "The *Isrā'* connects the great monotheistic religions from Abraham and Ishmael to the Seal of the Prophets. It combines the sites

holy to the monotheistic religions with one another and it is as if Muḥammad, the last of the prophets, declares by this wondrous night voyage that his message contains those of the prophets preceding him and is connected with theirs" (*Fī ḡalāl al-Qurʾān*, xv, 12, ll. 5–9).

ii. *Jerusalem under the Mamluks (648–922/1250–1516)*

At the beginning of this period, Jerusalem was mostly in ruins and deserted. The few Christians who remained or returned there after the sack by the Khwārazmians in 642/1244 and the Muslims and Jews who had settled there anew, fled in 658/1260 before the onslaught of the Mongols who had reached places as far south of Jerusalem as Hebron and Gaza. After the victory of the Mamluks over the Mongols at ʿAyn Jālūt in Shawwāl 658/September 1260, Jerusalem was definitely incorporated in their empire and was administered first by the Mamluk viceroy of Damascus. In 778/1376 the Jerusalem district was made a separate administrative unit, whose governor, styled *nāʾib*, or deputy of the sultan, was directly responsible to the government in Cairo. The sanctuaries of the Ḥaram (together with that of Hebron) were under the supervision of the "superintendent of the two holy sites", *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*, who was responsible for their upkeep and in charge of their endowments. The history of the period was mainly one of rebuilding the city, see below, section II. Monuments. While the sultans repaired or adorned the great sanctuaries and carried out works for providing them with water, or erected important institutions such as the Ashrafiyya, so the *amīrs* and princes of the Mamluk empire, as well as of other Muslim states and private persons erected *madrasas*, *zāwiyyas*, *khānaqāhs*, and mausoleums, many of which are still extant, or at least identifiable. Most of these buildings were small, having the appearance of ordinary townhouses, and were probably built with the use of ruins and their materials. But some of these foundations, such as the 8th/14th century Tengiziyya college, were spacious and distinguished.

Because of its relative isolation, its proximity of Egypt the absence of strong fortifications or of a garrison of any size, which might be used by a potential insurgent, Jerusalem served as a place of compulsory sojourn for discharged, dismissed, or exiled mem-

bers of the Mamluk military nobility, the so-called *baṭṭāls*. What had been in early Islam an occasional occurrence (see 1. viii., above), now became a widespread practice of high socio-economic importance. As D. Ayalon, in a special study devoted to the subject, has pointed out, the Holy City was the most commonly assigned place of exile in the entire Mamluk empire (*Discharges from service, banishment and imprisonments in Mamluk society*, in *IOS*, ii [1973], 324–49). To the many reasons for this choice adduced by the author, *ibid.*, 333, it might be added that the authorities intended with this perhaps the repopulation of the city. In any case, these *baṭṭāls*, to whom fixed incomes were assigned by the government and who often possessed means of their own, were in a position to keep fine households and to leave behind them well-constructed mansions.

In the main, Jerusalem of the Mamluk period must be envisaged as a city of Muslim divines living on pious foundations and salaries. The most conspicuous aspect of the members of this dominant class of Jerusalem's society was their mobility. They served, often simultaneously, in different occupations and posts, such as professors or "repetitors" in *madrasas*, as *khaṭīb*s, *qāḍī*s, *muftī*s, or heads of dervish convents. They rarely stayed in Jerusalem for good, but moved on to Cairo or Damascus or other places, often returning for some time to Jerusalem, and finally concluding their lives somewhere else or back in the Holy City. Their literary output was equally diversified, comprising several or all of the fields of *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* (*uṣūl* and *furūʿ*), *tafsīr*, *sīra*, occasionally also Arabic language and rhetorics. Arranging and classifying the knowledge they wished to impart under novel headings, or in the form of commentaries to other works, or in versifications, were favourite means of pouring old wine into new bottles.

A second characteristic of this class of scholars was the prominence of leading families which divided between themselves the most richly-endowed offices. This was, of course, nothing new in Islam. But in Jerusalem, which lived on endowments from abroad, nepotism was rife, and family rule was not always to the benefit of scholarship or good administration (we often hear about pious foundations falling into desuetude). The most prominent family of Muslim divines during almost the entire Mamluk period (and also in early Ottoman times), were the Banū Ibn Jamā'a, who originated in Ḥamāt and inhabited in

Jerusalem a mansion bordering on the north-west corner of the Ḥaram. The biographies of the more prolific authors of this family show, however, that they passed most of their adult lives in the great centres of Islamic scholarship, sc. Cairo and Damascus. In Jerusalem they mostly served as *khatibs* and *qāḍīs*. One branch of them, the al-Khaṭīb family, is still extant. (There are other families in Jerusalem, unconnected with them, bearing this name.) An Egyptian family, the Qarqashandīs, shared with them the prerogative of the office of *khatibs* in the al-Aqṣā mosque. The Banū Ghānim, also living on the northern edge of the Ḥaram, mostly held the position of heads of the large Ṣālihiyya *khānaqāh*. All these were Shāfiʿīs. The most important Ḥanafī family were the Dayrīs, natives of Palestine. They served as Ḥanafī judges in Jerusalem and in other cities of Palestine, as well as in Cairo, as teachers in the Ḥanafī al-Muʿazzamiyya *madrasa*, and one of them became *nāẓir al-ḥaramayn*. The well-known modern al-Khālidi family (see iii–iv, below) derives its origin from them.

Besides the great families of divines, there were smaller ones, as well as unaffiliated scholars, local and foreign, who were appointed to teaching of juridical posts, or purchased them (or parts of them; positions were often held in partnership). Of the more distinguished scholars who passed considerable parts of their lives in Jerusalem, Ibn al-Hāʾim, an expert on arithmetic and the science of the division of inheritances (d. 412/1021), and Kamāl Dīn Ibn Abī Sharīf, a native of Jerusalem and great authority on Muslim law (822–905/1419–1500), both prolific authors, should be noted. Both died in Jerusalem and were buried in the Māmillāh cemetery.

Jerusalem, the city of the poor and the pious, was the proper domicile for Sufis. Mujīr al-Dīn notes about twenty Sufi convents representing most of the major orders and several less known ones. E. Ashtor, in his study on Jerusalem in the Mamluk period (the most comprehensive one on the subject, see Bibl.) describes the ambivalent relations prevailing in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, between the two classes of Islamic divines, the scholars and the mystics. On the one hand, we read about members of a *zāwiya* studying at a *madrasa* or about prominent scholars adopting the Sufi way of life. On the other hand, the ecstatic practices of some orders, especially the whirling dances accompanied by instrumental music (prohibited in principle by Islam) were sharply con-

demned. A collection of *fatwās* in this spirit, written by an Ibn Jamāʿa and copied many years later by a Dayrī, has been described by Ashtor.

The Christians, hard pressed in this intensely Islamic atmosphere of Mamluk Jerusalem, were strengthened by the establishment of a Franciscan monastery on Mount Zion in the 1330s. Mount Zion with its many religious associations, the “Tomb of David”, the Cenaculum (scene of the Last Supper) and the Dormitio (the place where Mary, the mother of Jesus, fell into eternal sleep), was the scene of endless contests between Christians and Muslims and even Jews, involving the demolition, re-erection and renewed destruction of buildings down to the very end of the Mamluk period, see below, section II. Other Christian buildings were also objects of attacks. The demolition and restoration in 879/1474 of the synagogue of the then small Jewish community is described in great detail by Mujīr al-Dīn, by Ibn Iyās, and in a book especially devoted to this matter by the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī* of Jerusalem Ibn ʿUbayya (analysed by Goitein, in *Ẓion*, xiii–xiv [1948–9], 18–32). Against orders from Cairo, Ibn ʿUbayya three times decided that the Jewish place of worship was to be closed; it was finally demolished by mobs led by a Sufi *shaykh*. Upon this, the sultan took stern measures. Ibn ʿUbayya and others involved were summoned to the capital, flogged and imprisoned; Ibn ʿUbayya lost his post and ended his days in Damascus, consoling himself with writing poems; the synagogue was restored. These happenings were typical for their time and place. Ibn ʿUbayya was certainly right in asserting that the synagogue was “new”, that is, a building erected after the advent of Islam and used as a non-Muslim house of worship, which was against the provisions of Islamic law. But the government, naturally, had to pay attention to the exigencies of life and the preservation of public order.

The impressive number of Muslim schools founded in Jerusalem in the course of this period (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, in his *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīkh al-Quds*, Jerusalem 1961, describes fifty-six) should not be taken as an indication of economic prosperity. The endowments were mostly limited in size and dwindled rapidly. The governors and other officials who had often to buy their offices for considerable sums and frequently also served for only short terms, had to indemnify themselves by heavy impositions, first on the non-Muslims, but on Muslims as well. Jerusalem’s

only important industry (still flourishing in the 19th century), sc. the manufacture of soap made from the oil produced in the then rich olive groves of its environment, was heavily damaged by the pernicious economic policy of the Mamluk government, which monopolised production and forced the population to buy quantities not needed by it for exorbitant prices. The constant insecurity inside and, in particular, outside the city added to the hardships of life. Early in the 16th century no one could make the *hajj* from Jerusalem for ten years because Bedouin anarchy prevented travel between Jerusalem and the Red Sea (L.A. Mayer, *A sequel to Muḡīr al-Dīn's chronicle*, in *JPOS*, xi [1931], 95–6, Ar. text 11–12). At that time, as travellers' reports show, there were still many unbuilt areas within the boundaries of the city. But the core of the Old City outside the Ḥaram, as it appears today, was the creation of the Mamluk period.

### iii. *The first Ottoman period (922–1247/1516–1831)*

The exact date of the entry of the Turks into Jerusalem during the victorious campaign of Selīm I against the Mamluks in 1516–17 is not known. His successor Sultan Süleymān Qānūnī left most enduring imprints on the city: the wall, constructed between 944/1537 and 948/1541, as indicated in its eleven decorative inscriptions, the renovated Dome of the Rock and the four beautiful public fountains, *sabil*, inside the city and the one near the Sultan's Pool, also created by him, at the foot of Mount Zion. The many *waqfs* made by him and his wife Khürrem further contributed to the welfare of the city during his reign. The soup kitchen, *imāret*, donated by her for the feeding of the poor and of students, naturally does not operate any more, but its cauldrons, lists of recipients and other impressive remnants can still be seen in the Ḥaram Museum.

The Ottoman archives for the first time provide us with exact demographic, topographic and, to a certain extent, also economic data about Jerusalem.

Bernard Lewis analyses the relevant material in *Studies in the Ottoman Archives*, in *BSOAS* xvi/3 (1954), 476, and *Yerushalayim*, ii/5, Jerusalem 1955, 117–27. The population movement during Süleymān's reign is illustrated by lists of taxpayers: (H = Heads of households; B = Bachelors; E = Exempt from the duty of paying taxes, such as religious dignitaries and insane persons).

Thus at the beginning of the Ottoman period, Jerusalem had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants, which tripled during Süleymān's reign. (Lewis points out that the later lists might have been more complete than the first one). The slower increase of the Jewish population, which until the end of the thirties was more numerous than the Christians, was due to the fact that Şafad, and not Jerusalem, was the main Jewish centre around the mid-century. By far the most important revenue collected in Jerusalem was the toll levied from the visitors of the Holy Sepulchre, which also tripled during this period (from 40,000 *aqches* in 1525 to 120,000 in 1553). It was given by the sultan to the readers of the Qur'ān in the Aqṣā mosque. The second largest item was the poll tax paid by Christians and Jews (one gold piece per person, the total being about one half of the income derived from the Holy Sepulchre). All taxes derived from economic activities, such as licenses (*ihtisāb*), sales taxes and tolls on export of soap to Egypt, brought far smaller amounts.

Süleymān's wall, though a lasting monument to his munificence, also revealed that the Ottoman government was not able, nor willing, to guarantee the safety of Jerusalem by administrative and military means. During almost the entire Turkish period, well into the second half of the 19th century, Jerusalem's development was impeded by this lack of security. The safety of the travellers between Ramla and Jerusalem, that is, the bulk of visitors from abroad, was entrusted already under Süleymān to the Abū Ghōsh, a rural clan after which the picturesque village Qaryat al-ʿAnab west of Jerusalem was renamed.

	932/1525–6			940–5/1533–9			961/1553–4		
	H	B	E	H	B	E	H	B	E
Muslims	616	2	1	1168	75	34	1987	141	16
Christians	119	–	–	136	26	42	413	25	3
Jews	199	–	–	224	19	–	324	13	1
Totals	934	2	1	1528	120	76	2724	179	20



Complaints that Bedouins murdered Muslim inhabitants, burnt copies of the Qurʾān and taxed Muslim pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem are officially noted already in 991/1583 (U. Heyd, *Ottoman documents on Palestine 1552–1615*, Oxford 1960, no. 43). An imperial order of 1023/1614 exempts the fiefholders in the *sanjaq* of Jerusalem from participation in military expeditions outside the *sanjaq*, because this was “the border of ‘Arabistān, where rebellious Bedouins disturb the peace” (Heyd, *ibid.*, no. 28). By the end of the 18th century, Giovanni Mariti, *Voyage*, Neuwied 1791, ii, 301–3, reports that the Pasha of Jerusalem accompanied the Christian pilgrims under heavy guard to the Jordan, but only after having paid the usual tribute to the Bedouins. Shortly afterwards another traveller, W.G. Browne, *Travels in Africa, etc.*, London 1806, writes with regard to 1797 that the whole environment of Jerusalem was dominated by the Bedouins (see Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973).

The root of this misery was the fact that Jerusalem was not so much administered by Istanbul as given as a source of income, albeit a very modest one, to the *wālī* of Damascus, or sometimes to that of Sidon, or, early in the period, to that of Egypt. The *wālī* was represented in the town by a *mutasallim*, but once a year he himself would appear, accompanied by a detachment of troops and collect taxes (described by ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif for as late a date as 1808). By the 18th century, the revenue from economic activities had dwindled to next to nothing (one list notes as income from the *iẖtisāb* only 500 *qūrush*, one-twelfth of that of Sidon) and consisted mainly in taxes and tolls on Christians and Jews. A *firmān* by Selīm III (1205/1791) reducing the toll usually imposed on a Jewish pilgrim entering Jerusalem from between 3 and 4 to the legal 1½ *qūrush* and freeing him from any payment while leaving the city, shows that arbitrary extortions were common in those matters (M. Maʿoz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period, documents from archives and collections in Israel*, Jerusalem 1970, 38).

An important source for the socio-economic history of Jerusalem under the Ottomans is contained in the *siḡills* of the *maḥkama sharʿiyya* of the city. ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif provides a number of specimens: a detailed list of prices by the *qāḍī* “in the presence of the two *muḥtasibs*” in 970/1563, the inventory of the estate of a Christian veterinary surgeon from the same year, and prices of building lots, houses, rents, salaries

and *mahrs* through three centuries. Other matters, like three letters concerning the revolt of the *naqīb al-ashrāf* in 1117/1705 and the demolition of his mansion, or notes about Jewish communal affairs, are also included. Only a systematic study of the entire material will provide historically valid results.

The governor of Jerusalem was a military man (a tentative list of Ottoman governors 1517–1917 in ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, *al-Mufaṣṣal fī taʾrīkh al-Quds*, Jerusalem 1961, 317–28). The governor, the holders of fiefs in the *sanjaq* and the garrison in the town were not normally recruited locally. The *qāḍī* was sent from Istanbul and invariably belonged to the Ḥanafī rite. This preponderance of a foreign ruling class with no roots in the city and often connected with it only for short periods naturally precluded healthy developments. But it had also its advantages. Since few Turks settled permanently in Jerusalem, its Arab character was preserved and germs of local autonomy developed. Popular risings, sometimes deteriorating into riots, occasionally chased a particularly oppressive (or weak) governor from the city. A more constant factor was the rise of families becoming powerful by the holding of well-paid religious offices, tax-farming, the administration of *waqfs* and by acting as protectors of villages (in which capacity they also mostly succeeded in acquiring large holdings of land). The well-known families of the Khaṭīb, Khālidi (see ii., above) ʿĀlamī, Anṣārī, Dajānī, Ḥusaynī, Nashshībī, Nusayba and others, were formed or gained prominence in this period. The very considerable percentage of fair, blue-eyed, round-headed persons found in these families indicates that the local upper class, during the long centuries of Ottoman domination, became thoroughly mixed with the many non-Arab elements passing through the city.

An interesting picture of folk life in Jerusalem is preserved in a pamphlet by Abu ʿl-Faṭḥ al-Dajānī (d. 1660), entitled *Jawāhir al-qalāʾid fī faḍl al-masājīd*. It shows the *ḥaram al-sharīf* as the scene of popular feasts and other mundane activities (see M. Perlmann, *A seventeenth century exhortation concerning al-Aqṣā*, in *IOS*, iii [1973], 261–92, reproducing the Arabic original of the *Jawāhir*).

The 19th century opened for Jerusalem ominously. In 1808 a fire destroyed most of the western part of the Holy Sepulchre. Sultan Maḥmūd II granted the Greeks the right to restore the building, but the Janissaries in the town, who were angry that the citadel

was garrisoned by other troops, incited the Muslim population to obstruct the repairs. A general revolt ensued. Finally, the *wālī* of Damascus, alerted by the beleaguered *mutasallim* of Jerusalem, sent a detachment of Maghribī horsemen on a clandestine route, which succeeded in penetrating into the city and to overpower the insurgents. Thirty-eight of the leaders were hanged (ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, quoting Mikhāʾil Burayk al-Dimashqī). At the time of the Greek Revolt of 1821, the Christians of Jerusalem were charged of conniving with them and were in great danger. But thanks to the quick action of the *wālī* of Damascus and the firm attitude of the *qādī* of Jerusalem, no harm was done to the Christians. Another *wālī* of Damascus was the cause of a revolt of large dimensions and long duration. Townsmen and *fellāhīn* alike refused to pay the heavy taxes imposed by him. He came to Jerusalem with a large army in 1825 and raised a fine of 100,000 *qūrūsh* from the rebellious city. But hardly had he turned his back, when the population rose again; the *mutasallim*, who had been on a punitive expedition to Bethlehem, was unable to re-enter Jerusalem; the few soldiers who had remained in the citadel were easily overpowered, and the city and the countryside alike were in full revolt. Even when the sultan sent a special detachment which laid siege on the city, the inhabitants would not budge. Only when the balls from the canons deployed on the Mount of Olives fell into the city and set some houses of notables on fire was the resistance broken (Neophytos of Cyprus, *Annals of Palestine*, 1821–1841, ed. S.N. Spyridon, Jerusalem 1938, 3–4). This time the revolt was terminated without bloodshed. But it showed that the spirit of resistance to tyranny, fully ablaze in Hellas, was not entirely absent from the Holy City.

### 3. MODERN TIMES

#### i. 1831–1917

This was a time of radical changes. Before one half of this short period was over, Jerusalem had become preponderantly Christian and Jewish, while the Muslim population, too, had made visible progress. The unprecedented expansion of the Christians was caused by the increasing dependence of Ottoman Turkey on developments in Europe, with its rivalling

states and churches, and by the upsurge of political, religious, humanitarian and scientific interest in the Holy Land manifest in many Christian countries. The steep increase in the number of Jews, who formed the majority of the population by the end of the seventies, was a corollary of the general improvement; they formed a modest community of devout and mostly poor people.

This development was put into motion by the conquest of Palestine by Ibrāhīm Pasha, the stepson of Muḥammad ʿAlī, in 1831. His actions, of particular significance for Jerusalem, were inspired by his endeavour to create a strong government and to win the friendship of the European powers. He started to disarm the civil population, to break the despotism of urban families and rural factions, to raise a standing army by enforced recruitment and also to enlist the co-operation of the local people by appointments to administrative posts and the formation of consultative bodies. The Christians (and Jews) of Jerusalem were freed from the many special contributions they had to pay to local notables, permitted to repair and erect religious buildings and to work in the government. All this hurt many vested interests and aroused the ire of the Muslim population in general. The *fellāhīn*, supported by the leading urban families, rose in arms and drove the Egyptian garrison from the town (1834–5). But Ibrāhīm Pasha quelled the revolt and vigorously pursued his aims. The establishment of the British consulate in Jerusalem in 1838 was a sign of the time.

When European intervention forced Ibrāhīm Pasha to give up his conquests, the sultan, who had just promised equality to all his subjects (1839), could not turn the clock back. The trend of western penetration was strengthened by the Crimean War, in which Turkey was saved by England and France from Russian aggression. France, Austria, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, Spain and the United States opened consulates in Jerusalem. The flags of Christian powers were now raised in the Holy City on Sundays and Holidays, the birthdays of their sovereigns were honoured by 21-canon salvoes (an honour, formerly reserved in Jerusalem for Muslim holidays and the birthday of the Prophet), and bells began to chime from the churches. At first, the Muslims in Jerusalem tried to stop these innovations by force. But such attempts were quickly suppressed and soon the immense material and spiritual advantages derived

by the local population from the foreign activities became evident. Naturally, the local Christians were the first to benefit; it was in this period that certain Christian families of Jerusalem became rich and influential.

The Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which had been abolished in 1291 as a result of the Crusades (being represented by merely titular Patriarchs who lived in Rome), was revived in 1847 and became a powerful factor in the city. The Greek Patriarch moved from Istanbul to Jerusalem. An Anglican bishopric was established in 1841 (functioning for some decades in co-operation with Prussia). In the same year, the Jewish community of Jerusalem received by imperial *firmān* a *hākhām bashī*, or Chief Rabbi, who was sent from Istanbul and had access to the central government. The gift by ‘Abd al-Meǧīd of the Ṣalāhiyya *madrasa* (see I. ix., above), the ancient convent of St. Anne, to the French emperor Napoleon III in 1856 (resulting in its restitution to its original use) and the presentation of a part of the Mūrīstān area to Prussia, which used it for the erection of a Protestant church, palpably illustrate the new situation.

Slowly the central government was able to assert its authority over the unruly city and the anarchic countryside. At mid-century, the Bedouins still plundered travellers under the very walls of Jerusalem and inside the town Christians and Jews were still exposed to arbitrary extortions by notables and officials. But administrative and military reforms, the interventions by the consulates and improved means of communications brought relief. By 1865 Jerusalem was connected with the outer world by telegraph, and in 1868 the first road between Jerusalem and Jaffa usable by wheeled vehicles was completed. The railway followed only in 1892, and the French company building it had to ensure its safety and that of its station-buildings (even that of Jerusalem) by arrangements with the heads of the villages adjacent to it. Postal services were provided by Austrian, French and other foreign agencies. There were many changes in the administration of the Jerusalem district. In a letter to the German consul, dated 2 January 1872, the Pasha of Jerusalem calls himself “gouverneur de la Palestine” (M. Ma’oz, *Palestine during the Ottoman period*, 25), but the Jerusalem administrative unit never comprised more than the southern part of the country. As from 1874 (as several times before) Jerusalem was an independent *mutaṣarrıftıq* directly

responsible to Istanbul and was headed by a rather ramified administration, having besides departments for general administration, finance, *ṭābū* (land register), *waqf*, security, agriculture, commerce and education, one for foreign affairs, a speciality necessitated by the many consulates and foreign nationals in the town. In the consultative bodies, both of the district and the city, Christians and Jews were represented, albeit less than warranted by their numbers.

The area of Jerusalem, its physical appearance and the size and composition of its population totally changed during this period. Cathedrals and churches, some new mosques, synagogues and yeshivas (rabbinical colleges), palaces of patriarchs, convents, hospices, schools (first schools for girls, Jewish 1864; Arab, a German foundation, 1868), scientific institutions, hospitals, clinics, orphanages and other charitable foundations were erected in and outside the Old City. As from 1860, the inhabitants of the Old City began to establish new quarters outside, with the Jews, who were particularly closely cramped, taking the lead. For a further twenty years, the gates remained closed during the nights, which was not conducive to the security of the suburbs. The Muslims preferred to settle in the south (Abū Tōr) and in particular north of the city, in Wādī Jōz and the hills west of it; the Greek Orthodox centred mostly in the vicinity of St. Simon, the summer residence of their patriarch (the Katamon quarter), and the Jews founded about sixty suburbs mostly in the west. The “German colony” of the Templars in the south-west, and the “American colony” in the north, largely inhabited by Swedes, were renowned as particularly roomy. Selma Lagerlöf’s famous novel *Jerusalem* (1901–2) depicts, besides the religious and personal plights of Swedish pilgrims, also local representatives of Islamic mysticism, inspired probably by the *imām* of the Shaykh Jarrāḥ mosque near the American colony, who was a leading Sufi.

The events of the Young Turkish revolution of 1908, the disappointment following it, and the events of World War I, with its terrible sufferings by an oppressive military dictatorship, famine and epidemics and the subsequent shrinking of the population – all these belong to the general history of the country. An often-reproduced photograph shows the British General Allenby entering the Holy City on 11 December 1917 on foot, displaying Christian humility.

ii. *After 1917*

The military government of the British occupation army was replaced by civil administration on 1 July 1920. Jerusalem, as the seat of the Mandatory government, of the executives of the Jewish world organisations for Palestine, of the national council of the Jews of Palestine, of the Muslim Supreme Council (created in 1921), the various Christian church authorities and other local and foreign bodies, recovered, albeit slowly, from the effects of World War I. According to the census of 1931, the population comprised 90,503 souls, of whom 51,222 were Jews, 19,894 Muslims, 19,335 Christians and 52 others. It increased to about 150,000 at the beginning of World War II.

During the Mandatory period, important public buildings were erected, such as Government House (later the headquarters of the U.N. Truce Supervision Organisation), the Hebrew University campus and the Hadassah Hospital compound on Mount Scopus, the Pontifical Biblical Institute and the Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, the YMCA and several new churches, and a great number of schools. New suburbs were founded, some of which quickly developed into populous centres.

The composition of the municipal corporation council experienced many changes, but always a Muslim mayor was appointed, although the vast majority of the population, and especially of the taxpayers, was Jewish. When, after the death of a Muslim mayor in 1944, the Jewish acting mayor demanded to be appointed officially, the council was dissolved and replaced by a commission composed exclusively of British officials.

The Pro-Jerusalem Society, whose committee comprised leading religious dignitaries, prominent scholars and other outstanding Jerusalem personalities, was indicative of the hopes for co-operation prevailing in the years immediately following the arrival of the British; its subsequent dissolution manifested the change of hearts and conditions. An interconfessional meeting place of longer duration was the Palestine Oriental Society, which had its seat in Jerusalem and in which local, British, American, French and other scholars joined efforts. The newly-founded Hebrew University (opened 1925), the British, French, American and Pontifical institutes for archaeological and

biblical studies and the ever-increasing number of writers (e.g. S.Y. Agnon, Nobel Prize winner) and artists of all descriptions created a lively intellectual atmosphere. The Government Arab College, led by the jovial savant Aḥmad Sāmiḥ al-Khālidi, laid the foundations for the rise of a new generation of Arab intellectuals in the country. Younger writers connected with the Government Department of Education, such as Ishāq Mūsā al-Ḥusaynī and A.L. Ṭibāwī, published the first fruits of their pens. Jerusalem authors, such as Isʿāf al-Nashshībī, Khaliḥ al-Sakākīnī and Khaliḥ Baydas, enjoyed good standing in the world of Arabic letters. Alongside with all these developments, much of the traditional life of the various communities and their subsections continued almost unchanged.

The clash of the national aspirations of Arabs and Jews affected the destinies of Jerusalem more than that of any other city in Palestine. The first bloody events occurred in Jerusalem in April 1920 with several Jews and Arabs killed and many wounded. Al-Ḥājī Amīn Ḥusaynī, who had been condemned to death by a military court as main instigator of the disturbances and exempted from the amnesty granted by the new High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel when he took office, was appointed by him soon afterwards as *muftī* of Jerusalem and then elected head of the Supreme Muslim Council created by the government (1921). For the next seventeen years, al-Ḥājī Amīn strove for unrestricted leadership of the Palestine Arabs, which brought him into conflict with other leaders, especially the mayor of Jerusalem, Rāghib al-Nashāshbī and the *amīr* (since 1946 king) ʿAbd Allāh of Transjordan. The Western Wall-Burāq affair, which led to the shocking events of August 1929 (when, however, Jerusalem suffered less than Şafad and Hebron) greatly enhanced al-Ḥājī Amīn's prestige, and so did his collections in India and elsewhere for repairs on the Ḥaram and the organisation of the Muslim Conference convened in Jerusalem in 1931. The burial in the same year of the Indian leader Muḥammad ʿAlī in the western portico of the Ḥaram was another significant step in arousing the interest of the Muslim world.

The mass immigration of Jewish refugees in 1933 and after led to a general uprising of the Arab population and ferocious fighting. Internecine warfare between the followers of al-Ḥājī Amīn and his

adversaries acerbated the situation. Among the many victims were the British archaeologist J.L. Starkey, famous as discoverer of the Lachish ostraca, and two fine Arabists, Levi Billig of the Hebrew University and Avinoam Yellin of the Government Department of Education, known to many students of Arabic as authors of a useful classical Arabic reader.

The Peel Royal Commission, sent out in 1936 to investigate the situation, for the first time recommended the creation of an Arab and a Jewish state and the conversion of Jerusalem, together with Bethlehem, into a separate unit remaining under British mandate. But neither this nor any other of the subsequent attempts of the mandatory government to find a solution led to results. On 29 November 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted Resolution 189 (II) calling for the division of Palestine into two states, but united by economic union. Jerusalem was to be “internationalised”.

Immediately after this decision, the country was in flames. Jerusalem, in particular, suffered great losses in lives and property even before 15 May 1948, the official end of the British Mandate. An Egyptian detachment took position in the Bethlehem area, while the Transjordanian Arab Legion attacked the Jewish quarter in the Old City. It was left by its Jewish population on 27 May and subsequently demolished, including its old Sefaradi synagogues and the two large Ashkenazi synagogues, the Hurva (dedicated 1865) and Nisan Bak (1872), whose cupolas had been landmarks of Jerusalem.

The ceasefire divided Jerusalem by a line slightly west of the western wall of the Old City. This left a number of predominantly non-Jewish quarters within the Israeli sector, while Mount Scopus with its University and Hadassah Hospital compounds formed an Israeli enclave, which soon became useless, since the free access to it, envisaged in the armistice agreement with Transjordan of 3 April 1949, was never granted. East Jerusalem was cut off from its electricity and water supply and from its direct routes to the West and the South. Both parties had to work hard before a semblance of normality was restored.

On 13 December 1948, the Transjordanian parliament resolved the annexation of the areas of Palestine occupied by the Arab Legion. Israel followed suit by transferring its parliament from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in February 1949 and proclaiming Jerusalem its capital on 13 December 1949. Both

actions were in contradiction of the U.N. resolution of November 1947, which had foreseen Jerusalem as a *corpus separatum*. The matter came up repeatedly in the U.N. until 1952, when it was left dormant, until the war of 1967 created an entirely new situation.

The history of the Israeli sector of Jerusalem during the years 1948–1967 lies outside the scope of this article. Suffice it to say that during this period it received most of the administrative and cultural edifices a modern society needs. The eastern sector had lost its status as part of a capital, but still was the main city of the West Bank and developed also as a centre of tourism. It expanded greatly towards the north, engulfing Sha‘fāt and other villages. Important public buildings, founded by both local and foreign authorities, were erected and stately new hotels were built to cope with the developing tourist trade. ‘Ārif al-‘Ārif, a former senior official of the Mandatory regime and meritorious author of books on Jerusalem and on the Beersheba district and its tribes, became mayor of Jerusalem. The last Jordanian mayor was Rūhī al-Khaṭīb (Rouhi el Khatib) of a Hebron family, thus personifying the considerable influx of Hebronites into Jerusalem during its Jordanian period. The ups and downs of intra-Arab politics with regard to the legal status of Jerusalem and Jordan’s rights on it belong to history. Jordan’s rule left a permanent imprint by the restoration work carried out in the *ḥaram al-sharīf*, in particular, the golden dome and the ceramic inscriptions on the Dome of the Rock. The murder of King ‘Abd Allāh while proceeding from the Aqṣā mosque on 21 July 1951, did not have the far-reaching consequences expected by his assassins. Fires broke out during this period both in the Holy Sepulchre and the Aqṣā mosque, but did not give rise to any demonstrations or diplomatic moves. The visit of Pope Paul VI in January 1964 to both sectors of Jerusalem showed his deep concern for the Holy City.

The war of 1967, which lasted in Jerusalem only three days (Monday–Wednesday 5–7 June) caused loss of precious lives, but comparatively little damage. The Jordanians had occupied the U.N. headquarters and tried to encircle the new city from the south, but this attempt failed. The main fighting was in the north. After having taken the positions on the north-eastern hills, the Israeli forces entered the Old City from the St. Stephen’s (Lions) Gate, *Bāb al-Asbāṭ*, finding but little resistance. The barriers between the

two sectors of the city were removed, the eastern sector was immediately connected with the Israeli water system and received other municipal services and on 28 June 1967 the inhabitants of the two sectors were permitted to move freely throughout the town.

Naturally, this sudden turn of events at first had a stunning effect on the population of East Jerusalem. There were also great socio-economic difficulties. The middle class, especially the circles connected with the Jordanian administration and courts, was particularly affected. But the enormous expansion of the city in the subsequent years, which provided work and income for almost everyone, greatly alleviated the economic situation and brought about many contacts between the two parts of Jerusalem. But this did by no means solve the political problem. Strikes and acts of terror were not uncommon, but under the leadership of Teddy Kollek, mayor of the united city, the policy devised and implemented was one of non-intervention in the daily life and communal institutions of the Muslim population. The most conspicuous expression of this policy was to be found in the exclusive control which the Muslim religious institutions retained on the mosques of the Temple Mount and in the continued independent activities of the Muslim *Waqf* and religious courts.

The declarations and actions of the Israeli authorities aiming at the "reunification" of Jerusalem were immediately followed by resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the U.N. calling for a return to the *status quo* prior to the war, as well as by protests on the side of Muslim bodies all over the world. The creation of a huge square in front of the Western Wall and of secure approaches to the inner city involved the demolition of a considerable number of Arab dwellings. Although such measures had been envisaged already in Ottoman times and although the inhabitants were indemnified, these were, of course, grave actions. Relevant complaints were submitted by Jordan to U.N., as from June 1967 but were described by Israel as grossly exaggerated. The fire damage caused to the Aqṣā mosque on 21 August 1969 by a deranged Christian tourist from Australia made great stirrings in the Muslim world and it took some time until the truth penetrated.

About a year after the fire, the Muslim Council began repairing the damage caused by the fire. The repairs took several years and are practically completed. During the process of the work many parts

of the mosque were built anew, including areas which were not damaged during the fire. With the funds of the Muslim *Waqf*, several ancient drinking fountains and the market of the cotton merchants were restored, existing mosques were repaired, and two new mosques were built.

Besides the monuments described in 2. below, and the vibrant folklife in the Old City, Jerusalem offers much of interest to the Islamist. The Palestine ("Rockefeller") Museum contains unique exhibits from Khirbat al-Mafjar and other treasures of Islamic art and archaeology. The Khālidiyya library in the Old City possesses valuable manuscripts, including some not listed in the *Barnāmaj al-maktaba al-Khālidiyya*, Jerusalem 1318, and so does the Library of the Hebrew University. The Oriental Reading Room of the University Library is an exceptionally good working library for Islamic studies. The Institute of Asian and African Studies of the Hebrew University harbours, among other collections, a Concordance of Pre-Islamic and Early Islamic Poetry, comprising at present over a million-and-half index cards, while the newly-created L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute of Islamic Art (officially opened on 9 October 1974) can boast of exquisite examples of Islamic art and workmanship.

Jerusalem is at present the *de facto* capital of Israel. The estimated population in 2004 was 700,000, some 67% Jewish and 33% Arab.

## II. MONUMENTS

The Islamic monuments of Jerusalem reflect at the same time the unique character of the Holy City itself with its complex memories translated into major works of architecture or into mystical and liturgical associations and the peculiarities of the Muslim rule of the city as it has been outlined in the historical section I. of this article. With the Dome of the Rock, Jerusalem possesses the first consciously-created masterpiece of Islamic art, while the city remains unique among almost all Muslim cities in the manner in which its Muslim monuments are almost entirely concentrated in one part of the city, on or near the Ḥaram al-Sharīf. The first feature reflects the singular position of Jerusalem in early Umayyad times, while the second one is a direct result of the city's unique character. Any understanding of Jerusalem's monumental history requires, therefore,

both an awareness of the city's archaeology, i.e. of its own peculiar relationship between a complicated topography and remains from former civilisations, and a knowledge of the types of official, religious, emotional, and financial investments which Muslim culture put into it at various times. As has been shown in the historical part, the latter changed considerably over the centuries and the changes affected the growth and the meaning of monuments in a way which is totally unique in Islamic history. While the presentation which follows is primarily historical, it should be borne in mind that eventually a similar survey could and should be made quarter by quarter, or else from the point of view of the type of political or pietistic associations which have surrounded the Muslim monuments of Jerusalem.

There is no complete study of Jerusalem's Islamic monuments as a whole. The most thorough investigation is that of Max van Berchem, which utilises simultaneously inscriptions, architectural remains, and written sources, especially the invaluable guide-book of Mujir al-Dīn. Since his time a number of monographs have modified our understanding of the two main buildings on the Ḥaram (we will use the term for convenience's sake, even though it did not become common until the Ottomans), the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā mosque, while recent and still unfinished excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram have introduced a large number of new elements in any understanding of the city in early Islamic times. A survey of Jerusalem's Ayyubid and Mamluk remains has only recently been initiated and very little has been published so far. The bibliography which follows this section gives an idea of the considerable amount of information we possess about Jerusalem, but this very abundance identifies the main problem faced by the investigator of the city's monuments, which is to determine what in them is typical of Islamic culture as a whole and what is unique to a unique city. We shall return to this question at the end of our survey. In the meantime, it has seemed preferable to describe the city's growth chronologically and to identify in it four major periods of development: (1) early Islamic up to the middle of the 4th/10th century; (2) from the middle of the 4th/10th century to the Crusades (492/1099); (3) Ayyubid and Mamluk periods, from the time of the reconquest at the end of the 6th/12th century to ca. 1500; (4) Ottoman period. No mention is made

of the city's development after its awakening to the modern world in the 19th century, for by then we are no longer dealing with an Islamic city in the traditional sense but with a modern town searching for ways to accommodate its own unique spiritual and emotional values with the pressures of contemporary life. Much thought has been given to these problems in Jerusalem since the first reports sponsored by British mandatory authorities and by various ecclesiastical groups. Their investigation and discussion belongs, however, to modern urbanism rather than to the understanding of a Muslim city.

#### 1. *Early Islamic, until the middle of the 4th/10th century*

All later developments in the monumental history of Jerusalem were affected by the manner of the city's conquest and by the circumstances surrounding its first Muslim settlements. However uncertainly known the actual events of the conquest may have been, one key archaeological point is clear: the huge Herodian setting for the Jewish Temple on the eastern side of the city was standing in ruins; many courses of its magnificent masonry, most of its gates, possible fragments of its towers could still be recognised, and its surface as well as the surrounding areas were littered with easily-accessible stones from its constructions. For scriptural reasons, the Christians had left the Herodian space unused except for a small and comparatively late memorial church to St. James in the south-western corner. South of the Temple area there were Christian hostels and monasteries, but apparently no major living areas, for the Christian city was concentrated in the western side of the town, around the hills of Zion and Golgotha, with the Holy Sepulchre and its attendant constructions as focal points. Whether or not there was a Byzantine wall enclosing the whole of Zion hill and the spur of Mount Moriah which overlooks Siloam from the north (the so-called wall of Eudocia) is still a moot question, but seems likely.

Almost as soon as the formal take-over had been completed, the Muslims appropriated for themselves the Herodian Temple area for their own administrative and religious purposes. The reasons for this act were many. It was a large empty space in a city in which by treaty the conquerors were not allowed to expropriate Christian buildings; the early Muslims were under the influence of Jewish converts with pre-

sumed knowledge of the area's holy significance; the Muslims may have wanted to show their opposition to the Christian belief that the area must stay empty; and, finally, the Muslims themselves may have had a spiritual attachment to Jerusalem before conquering it, though the possibility is difficult to demonstrate. But regardless of the reasons, the key point is that a huge space became available to the new culture in a striking location overlooking most of the city. It can furthermore be deduced from a variety of later developments that the earliest settlements by Muslims took place in the sparsely populated area south and south-west of the Temple.

There began then a monumental and ideological Islamisation of an ancient site, for which we possess a rather remarkable series of documents, even though all of its concrete modalities are still far from being clear. What occurred in effect is that the Muslims provided new and highly individual meanings to an existing space with different meanings. The following chronological scheme can be provided for this unusual development, although, as will be seen, much in it is still hypothetical.

First, a small "rudely built... quadrangular place of prayer" (as described by the western pilgrim Arculfus *ca.* 680) was erected. It was mostly in wood and set somewhere in the midst of the Herodian ruins. Nothing is known of its internal arrangements, but it was probably a typically early Islamic hypostyle mosque. Its exact location is also unknown, although it is likely but by no means certain that it was not far from the place of the present Aqṣā mosque. This building probably remained until the first decade of the 8th century, but, as will be seen below, there is a possibility that already under 'Abd al-Malik a new building was begun. There is no textual or archaeological information as to whether any of the newly found buildings south and south-west of the Ḥaram belong to this very first period, but the possibility cannot be excluded.

The second step in the development of the Herodian site coincided with the rule of 'Abd al-Malik. Its most remarkable monument is the Dome of the Rock completed in 71/691. Often described and often studied, it consists of two octagonal ambulatories around a dome-covered cylinder, 30.30 m high and 20.30 m in diameter. The dome is set over a huge rocky outcrop with an underground chamber. The building is provided with four axial gates preceded

by often redone porches. The building is a remarkably thought-out composition whose every detail in plan and in elevation has been most accurately measured so as to create the most impressive effect. Its conception, and almost every architectural detail in its interior arrangement (piers, columns, capitals, arches, etc.), belong to the architectural repertory of Byzantine art and more specifically to the *martyrium* tradition of Jerusalem buildings like the Holy Sepulchre or the Church of the Ascension. It is from the same tradition that derives its internal decoration of marble panelling and especially of mosaics covering almost all wall surfaces above the capitals and cornices of piers and columns. There is both literary and archaeological evidence that the early building was also covered with mosaics on the outside. The subject matter of these mosaics is also derived from earlier artistic traditions, mostly Mediterranean, but also with a few themes of Persian origin. These mosaics are often considered as typical examples of a pre-Islamic way of decorating the interior of major buildings. This is true to the extent that a rich variety of vegetal and occasionally geometric motifs, superbly adapted to the shapes provided by the architecture, have any number of models in earlier buildings, even though rarely preserved in such spectacular fashion. But there is quite a bit of originality in these mosaics as well. In subject matter two points are of importance. One is the presence of an imperial jewelry of Byzantine and Iranian origin on all wall faces directed toward the centre of the building. The other one is the absence of any representation of living beings several decades before we become aware of a partial Muslim prohibition of images. A long inscription, however, comprising primarily Qur'ānic quotations, has been shown to fulfill an iconographic purpose by its choice of passages, as will be discussed below. Stylistically, the mosaics are perhaps less unique, although their effect as a sort of sheath over the architecture rather than as a series of independent panels emphasising each part of the building may be understood as prefiguring the later use in Islamic art of decoration overwhelming the architectonic values of a monument.

The Dome of the Rock, as it appears today, is not entirely in its original shape. Beyond numerous repairs and restorations carried out over the centuries on basically original elements (particularly under the Fatimids and after the Crusades), there are two



areas where later changes have completely obliterated earlier features. Inside, all the ceilings, including the dome, appear in Mamluk or Ottoman garb and the whole exterior has been redone with superb coloured tiles in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries. In the 1950s and 1960s the building was virtually taken apart by a team of Egyptian architects and engineers supported with contributions from the whole Muslim world and then put back together and restored in a particularly successful manner. Every part of the building was put back in the manner which reflects the earliest information we possess about it.

The most frequently-raised question about the Dome of the Rock is that of its original purpose. Three explanations are available. One is that it is a building commemorating the Prophet's Night Journey and Ascension (*Isrā'* and *Mi'raj*); the second one is that it sought to replace the Meccan Ka'ba for Muslim pilgrimage; the third one is that it was a monument celebrating the new faith's presence in the city of Judaism and Christianity and its belonging to the same monotheistic tradition. Too many arguments (see section I.1.v., above, and articles by Goitein and Grabar) exist against the second explanation to maintain its possibility. The first one has the advantage of corresponding to the eventual association which was and still is made by Muslim piety, but there is much doubt about the likelihood of its existence at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. The third explanation agrees with the political and psychological circumstances of the times and with the internal evidence of the decoration (with its royal symbols strung like trophies around the centre of the building) and especially of the inscriptions (which contain the whole Christology of the *Qur'ān*). For the history of art, the Dome of the Rock would then appear as an extraordinary monument which succeeded in providing new meanings to traditional forms.

But the construction of the Dome of the Rock raises a number of additional problems which pertain to the archaeological history of the city of Jerusalem. It is on an artificial platform situated excentrically to any other part of the former Temple area. The platform was reached through a series of stairs, some of which must have been there at the time of 'Abd al-Malik. Since we know otherwise that at the time of the Muslim conquest the Temple area was in ruins, we must conclude that by 71/691 a considerable amount of work had already been accomplished on

the walls and pavements of the area as well as on its gates. The nature and extent of this work cannot be determined but, if it is true, as H. Stern believes (*contra* Creswell and Hamilton) that the earliest Aqṣā mosque may have been begun at the time of 'Abd al-Malik, then we must also assume that much of the south walls of the Ḥaram and the Double and Triple gates had been rebuilt, for, as Corbett and Monneret de Villard have suggested, their plans and location may be Herodian but their construction and completion are early Islamic.

Be this as it may, the third step in the transformation of the Temple area by the Muslims can be dated to the time of al-Walīd (86–96/705–15). It is to him that we owe the first clearly documented Aqṣā mosque (see, however, the controversies between Stern, Hamilton and Creswell). It was a building consisting of an uncertain number of naves perpendicular to the *qibla* wall with a central nave provided with a dome (following here Stern *contra* Creswell). The plan was an unusual one for its time, and should probably be explained by the fact that the substructures of the Ḥaram platform which had to be restored by this time consisted of north-south arcades serving as supports for the building above. The Aqṣā mosque was decorated with mosaics and with marble and was also provided with remarkable carved and painted woodwork, now kept in the Palestine Archaeological Museum and in the Aqṣā Museum. One last point should be made about the Aqṣā mosque. Although its internal organisation was but a modification of the hypostyle tradition prevalent at the time, it was quite consciously located on the same axis as the earlier Dome of the Rock and thus was part of an architecturally thought-out ensemble comprising a congregational and a commemorative building, just as in the complex of the Holy Sepulchre in the western part of Jerusalem. Although their exact chronology is still difficult to establish with any sort of precision, we may also assume that the group of large buildings with courts and with long rooms recently excavated to the south and to the south-west of the Ḥaram had been completed by the time of al-Walīd. Whether they were the palaces and administrative buildings (*dār al-imāra*) mentioned in papyri, whether they were commercial establishments or more simply the residence of whatever Arab families and clans moved into the city in early Islamic times, they form a striking monumental ensemble of large constructions

along streets and stairs (partly Herodian) leading up to the Double Gate, at the time the main entrance into the Ḥaram al-Sharīf, or, as we probably must call it, the *maṣjīd bayt al-maqdis*, the mosque of Jerusalem. It is at this time that we begin to have the first indications of specifically Muslim associations with the Ḥaram, whether strictly new ones pertaining to the life of the Prophet or Muslim versions of the lives of earlier prophets. These developments are, however, very difficult to date properly. What can be ascertained is that by the middle Umayyad period a uniquely original architectural composition had been created: two major buildings on a partly refurbished enormous space inherited from earlier times which, unlike the Roman temple in Damascus, was too large to be transformed into a single building for new Muslim functions, but which therefore ended up by acquiring particularly original ones.

The following two centuries are the least documented in the monumental history of Jerusalem. Yet their importance is considerable, not so much by their contribution to the architecture of the city (consisting mostly of repairs and restorations, including major reconstructions of the Aqṣā mosque under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī) as by the indications they provide of the continuing concern of the Muslim community at large for its sanctuary in Jerusalem. Part of this concern is purely practical; walls are built up or repaired after earthquakes; the area of the Ḥaram is officially measured and apparently surveyed, as appears from inscriptions which are our main source for this aspect of Muslim activities on the Ḥaram. Each gate was provided with a wooden porch ordered by the mother of al-Muqtadir, who also paid for the repairs of the Dome of the Rock's cupola. A portico was built on the western and northern sides of the Ḥaram, thus providing a formal frame to the sanctuary; some of the minarets may be of that time.

But another concern is far more interesting. It consists in the growth of pious associations. The latter were certainly translated into buildings, although none of the latter are known to have survived and our information is entirely through the testimony of geographers like Ibn al-Faḳīh or al-Maqdisī or through littérateurs like Ibn 'Abd Rabbih. Three themes appear in these associations which will remain constantly in the religious and architectural history of the Ḥaram: the Night Journey of the Prophet commemorated through a score of *maqāms* and

of *qubbās*, ancient prophets commemorated either through gates or through *mihrābs*, and eschatology commemorated by the new interpretations given to the strange *Qubbat al-Silsila* (Dome of the Chain, probably the Treasury of Umayyad times, see van Berchem) as the place of Judgement, by a *qubba* of the Trumpet, or by the appearance of a new name to the Golden Gate, the Gate of Mercy. The theme of eschatology should probably be related to the development of the Muslim cemetery to the east of the Ḥaram into something more than just a local cemetery, for even the rulers of Ikhshidid Egypt wanted to be buried there. But it is also true that funerary cults grew at that time in many parts of the Muslim world, although Jerusalem, as the town of the Prophets and of Resurrection, played a unique part in this growth.

Altogether, then, if one takes the time of al-Maqdisī (ca. 385/985) as the terminal point of the first period in the monumental history of Jerusalem, one can clearly see that its most remarkable achievement was the transformation of Herod's ruined Temple into a unique Muslim sanctuary, by then already accepted as the third most important sanctuary of the faith. Dominated by the Dome of the Rock, high above the whole city, comprising a large mosque with a cupola, full of new commemorative buildings of varying sizes, partly surrounded by a portico, with almost all of its gates underground leading to the Muslim quarters to the south and possibly also to the west, the Ḥaram must have been a very impressive sight, a fitting tribute to the Umayyad princes who initiated the transformation of an empty space full of memories into a Muslim holy place. But beyond such conclusions as can be drawn from the buildings of Jerusalem in early Islamic times for religious and cultural history, they also lead to a number of important conclusions for the historian of art. For, on the one hand, they illustrate the ways in which pre-Islamic themes have been transformed into Islamic ones and, on the other, they are our best examples of what may be called an imperial Islamic style initiated by the Umayyad dynasty.

Little is known about Islamic constructions outside the Ḥaram area. From an inscription analysed by van Berchem and from a passage in the Christian chronicler Eutychius (*Matériaux, Ville*, no. 24), it appears that in the early 4th/10th century a mosque was built within the compound of the Holy Sepulchre in

contradiction to the early treaties between Muslims and Christians. Nothing is known of its shape.

## 2. *From ca. 338/950 to the Crusaders*

In many ways, the second period is nothing but a continuation of the first one. Repairs and restorations are recorded in texts and in inscriptions as buildings deteriorated or as they were damaged by man or by nature. But two phenomena identified primarily with the Fatimid dynasty appear to indicate more significant changes.

The first of these affected the whole city of Jerusalem. It is that under the caliph al-Zāhir, probably around 421–4/1030–3, the walls of the city were rebuilt and, more importantly, shortened on the south side of the city to approximately their present position. What this meant is that the traditional Muslim quarter to the south of the Ḥaram was abandoned and that the underground gates found there were blocked. The main entrances into the sanctuary were shifted to the west and possibly to the north. This involved certain changes in the names of gates, but it also involved a major building-up of the western gate, the present Bāb al-Silsila, and Nāṣir-i Khusraw, who was there in 438/1047, describes the brilliance of its mosaics, apparently similar to those of the Aqṣā mosque which are Fatimid (see below). It is also from the Persian traveller that we can infer that the commercial centre of the city had by then shifted to the area west of the sanctuaries, probably to where it is now.

The second phenomenon is the rebuilding of the Aqṣā mosque, also under al-Zāhir. Probably as a reflection of a depopulation in the city, the mosque diminished in size to approximately its present dimensions, but the most remarkable feature of the Fatimid mosque consists in its mosaic decoration, studied by Henri Stern who showed, among other things, that the Fatimids used Umayyad models in their decoration. If one considers that a number of additional buildings were built on the Ḥaram – for instance a mosque near the Golden Gate – and that the imperial mosaic inscription on the triumphal arch of the Aqṣā is the first one in Jerusalem to begin with Qurʾān, XVII, 1, the *isrāʾ* verse, one may propose the hypothesis that there had been a formal attempt by the dynasty to build up the holiness of Jerusalem's sanctuaries. This development, which was

cut short in the second half of the 5th/11th century by political difficulties, must probably be connected with other Fatimid activities in Palestine, as exemplified for instance in the celebrated *minbar* now in Hebron (G. Wiet, *Notes d'épigraphie arabe*, in *Syria*, v [1924], 217 ff.) and even with the earlier destruction of the Holy Sepulchre under al-Ḥākim. All these matters still require fuller investigation. What is important at this stage is that, even though the city had diminished in size, the Fatimids, probably for religious and political reasons of their own, sought to increase both the splendour and the meaning of the main sanctuaries of Jerusalem.

It should also be pointed out that it is under the Fatimids that we have our first evidence for the use of the citadel on the western side of the city. The evidence is primarily archaeological.

## 3. *The Ayyubids and Mamluks*

As is well known, the Crusaders took over the Ḥaram area and transformed it into a palace and eventually into the military and religious centre of the Knights Templar. Since the earlier underground gates had been blocked, the Crusaders made a new gate, the so-called Single Gate leading directly into the Stables of Solomon in the north-eastern part of the sanctuary. In addition, the Crusaders modified the Holy Sepulchre and built many new churches, some of which, like the Church of St. Anne, still survive, even though in a slightly romanticised 19th century garb. Much in the city's topography during the time of the Latin Kingdom is not clear, but it does seem that they initiated many buildings in the valley immediately east of the Ḥaram and thus began the process of partial levelling of the Ḥaram's platform with its western surroundings which has continued from that moment onwards. Finally, it should be noted that the Crusaders were very active builders and, even though much of their work was destroyed, it provided an enormous supply of already-carved stones with the result that, in addition to remaining completed units such as the transept of the Aqṣā mosque, a large number of subsequent Muslim buildings, especially in the area of the Bāb al-Silsila or in adjoining streets, contain decorative units taken from Latin constructions.

It is possible to discuss as one entity the monuments built in Jerusalem between 1200 and 1500

for two main reasons. One is that the nearly ninety original monuments which remain (not to speak of those mentioned in Mujīr al-Dīn's chronicle) have not been studied with as much attention as the earlier ones, and stylistic or functional differentiations which doubtlessly occurred cannot therefore be identified as precisely. The second reason is that, partly because of their number and partly because they are functionally and even stylistically relatable to monuments found in Cairo, Damascus, or Aleppo, these monuments lend themselves more readily than the earlier ones to typological rather than to chronological definition.

One kind of architectural activity which followed the Crusades does, however, escape this general rule. It consisted in the task of re-Islamising the city. Churches were destroyed or transformed into mosques and the two main sanctuaries on the Ḥaram were systematically cleansed of as many traces of Christian occupation as possible. This activity was particularly notable in the Aqṣā mosque, where Saladin put up a new *miḥrāb* with a rare mosaic decoration and to which he transported Nūr al-Dīn's celebrated *minbar* made especially for Jerusalem and which was tragically destroyed in 1969 (see 1. section 3. ii, (b), above). In addition, Saladin and his immediate followers sought to repair, rebuild, and resanctify all the holy places which had existed on the Ḥaram. As Van Berchem showed on several occasions, this task was carried out in some confusion and led to any number of misunderstandings. On the whole, however, it seems that the old sanctuary was returned quite rapidly to its former shape but not necessarily splendour, for, as will be shown presently, a totally new taste affected its western and northern sides.

One can put into the same category of refurbishing the city of Jerusalem the rebuilding of its walls. Inscriptions, texts, and masonries are for the time being quite confusing for the establishment of a coherent chronology of the fortifications from the 7th/13th century until the Ottomans. It is not even certain whether the present walls coincide with those rebuilt under the Ayyubids, although what differences may have existed were probably minimal. The citadel on the western side of the city, whose use by the Muslims before the Crusades is still uncertainly documented either archaeologically or through literary sources, was entirely redone and remained in use as a typical late mediaeval *qal'a* until very recent times.

Within a walled city with its restored ancient sanctuary and with a diminished Christian population, an enormous building activity took place over three centuries. Its first characteristic is that it was almost entirely concentrated on the Ḥaram proper and on its western and northern sides, either alongside the sanctuary itself or along the streets leading to it. Only two Muslim buildings are known with certainty in the whole western half of the city. Its second characteristic is that it was a continuous activity. It is true of course that one can recognise and identify certain particularly active moments, such as the twenties and thirties of the 8th/14th century, during the times of the remarkable governor Tenkiz or else the times of Qa'itbāy in the 9th/15th century. But these clusters of activity, which deserve individual monographs, should not hide the fact that buildings were erected all the time and by an extraordinary broad social spectrum of sponsors.

The functions of the buildings are typical of any place in the Mamluk period: schools, orphanages, libraries, *madrasas*, baths, *khānaqāhs*, *ribāṭs*, hospitals, commercial establishments, caravanserais, public latrines, fountains. The only apparent peculiarity of Jerusalem when compared to Cairo or to Aleppo is the preponderance of purely charitable institutions over private mosques, *madrasas* and mausoleums, the latter being quite scarce. This latter point obviously reflects the practicality of Muslim piety as well as the fact that, as a politically provincial city, Jerusalem did not lend itself to the conspicuous consumption inherent in the construction of mausoleums.

Few plans and elevations are available for these buildings but, when they do exist, the plans appear to be variations of the ubiquitous central plan (often covered, either because of the small size of the buildings or because of the impact of another tradition of construction than Cairo's) with one to four *iwāns*. The most visible feature of each building was always its façade, and Jerusalem is provided with an unusually wide range of Mamlūk portals. There are few variations in their plans, but many in their elevation, especially in the types of vaults used. Superb *muqarnas* series coexist with simple barrel vaults and the zone of transition of the Bāb al-Silsila's domes exhibit the remarkable range of models available to local masons and architects. Of all the buildings the most remarkable ones are the Tenkiziyya, the Arghūniyya, and the Sūq al-Kattānīn for the 8th/14th century and the

Ashrafiyya or the jewel-like fountain of Qā'itbāy on the Ḥaram for the 9th/15th one. The construction is throughout of stone and all monuments exhibit the superb technique of Palestinian masonry: closely jointed courses often of stone of alternating colour, joggled voussoirs, sobriety of decoration consisting usually of mouldings around openings or of inscriptions. While it will eventually be possible to determine a number of stylistic details which will identify a Jerusalem style of architecture, the main impression given by most of these monuments is that they exemplify the consistently high standards of Mamluk architecture all over Syria and Egypt.

The more important aspect of all these constructions lies in the manner in which they have transformed the Ḥaram. For instead of being simply an area surrounded by a portico and reached through a number of more or less monumental gates, the northern and western sides of the Ḥaram became a show-place of façades to buildings whose function was no longer connected to the Ḥaram but received a certain value or grace from it. Thus the most magnificent gateway on the Ḥaram is not an entrance to it but to the bazaar of cloth merchants. The older, traditional gates with their consecrated names lost their importance. The Ḥaram itself became cluttered with all sorts of new buildings which detract by their very multiplicity from the main sanctuaries, inasmuch as many of them were for private or restricted use as places of prayer or for public charity rather than for the formal expression of the faith's beliefs. What seems to be involved is at the same time a different, far more practical and more pluralistic piety, and also a different taste, no longer the imperial taste of the Umayyads nor probably that of the Fatimids, but the taste of a wider social order which sought individual salvation through works rather than through the monumental glorification of the faith.

#### 4. The Ottomans

During the first years of Ottoman rule, earlier practices continued and a *madrasa* like the Rasāsiyya (947/1540) still follows Mamluk practice and Mamluk ideals. A large number of fountains are even later. But the main effort of the Ottoman dynasty in its heyday was once again an imperial one, and it is therefore not an accident that its two most spectacular achievements

are still among the most impressive monuments of the city. One is the tile revetment of the Dome of the Rock and the other one is in the walls and gates of Jerusalem. Both are essentially 10th/16th century achievements attributed to Süleymān the Magnificent, and it is important to note that neither one sought to be functionally or spiritually original. For regardless of their effectiveness, which is striking indeed, their main point is that they have managed to capture two consistent themes in the monumental history of Jerusalem: the creation of a new Muslim holy place and the symbolic as well as physical separation of the Holy City from the rest of the world.

After this century, the main activity of the Ottomans consisted in constant repairs of the main sanctuaries of the Ḥaram. The quality of these repairs decreased with the centuries as Ottoman wealth decreased and as Jerusalem declined in population and importance, until the second half of the 19th century brought a new, European-centred, significance and architecture into the city.

In the most recent years, two different types of investigations have been carried out in Islamic Jerusalem. The first one is the continuation and partial publication of excavations to the south and southwest of the Ḥaram. These have by now fully demonstrated that the Umayyads utilised and probably rebuilt the staircases of Herodian origin leading to the sanctuary. See N. Avigad, *Archaeological discoveries in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, Second Temple period*, Jerusalem 1976, and Mayer Ben-Dov, *Hashiridim min hatikufa hamuslamit hakaduma be'azor har habayit*, in *Qadmoniot* (Jerusalem 1972).

The second group of investigations are the studies of Mamluk monuments by A. Walls and M. Burgoyne, published in vols. iii (1971) onwards of *Levant, Jnal. of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem*, and with a checklist by Burgoyne, *The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem*, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1976. In addition to providing accurate plans and elevations of buildings to the west of the Ḥaram, these studies have at times dealt with broader issues and a particularly original note by A. Walls in *Levant*, viii (1976), 159–61, suggests that the construction of the minarets of Afḍal 'Alī (1465–6) and of the Ṣalāḥiyya (1417) in the western and primarily Christian part of the city served to frame symbolically the domes of the Holy Sepulchre with prototypical Muslim monuments.

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# K

**KABUL**, in Arabic script *Kābul*, older English forms *Cabul*, *Caubul*, a city of eastern Afghanistan, now the capital of Afghanistan.

The city lies in lat. 34° 30' N. and long. 69° 13' E. at an altitude of 1,750–1,800 m on the Kabul River in a fertile and well-watered plain surrounded by chains of mountains and hills. Its excellent position as a communications centre, where the route up the Kabul River valley meets the various routes across the Hindu Kush and the route from Ghazna and the south, made it a place of importance at an early date.

In pre-Christian times, the Kabul region formed part of the Hellenised Bactrian states-system, but early in the Christian era it was overrun by invaders from the steppes to the north such as the Kushans and Kidarites and then the Hephthalites. Buddhism flourished there and in the whole of the Gandharan region, as the numerous stupas surviving in the Kabul valley attest, and as the travel narrative of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen-Tsang, who knew Kabul as *Kao-fu*, likewise shows. Yet the diffusion of cultural influences from the Hindu Gandharan kingdom, based on *Udabhāṇ-dapur* or *Wayhind*, favoured the indianisation of the Hephthalite rulers of Kabul and the replacement of Buddhism by Indian cults. At this period, Kabul remained the name of the whole district of the upper Kabul River valley rather than a specific town. Hence a Muslim geographer like al-Yā'qūbī, *Buldān*, 290–1, tr. Wiet, 106–7, gives as the chief town of the region the cryptic *حروس*, and the capital of the *Kābul Shāhs* the fortress of *حرریدس*, possibly to be identified with the citadel of

Kabul itself (Wiet reads these names as applying to a single place, *Jarwīn*, following Marquart's *Jurwīn* in *Ērānšahr*, 277–89).

The name *Kābul* was known to the Arabs even in pre-Islamic times. The *Jāhili* and *Mukhaḍram* poets (sc. those of the intermezzo between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods) use the phrase *Turk wa-Kābul* as a synonym for remoteness, an *Ultima Thule*; see T. Kowalski, *Die ältesten Erwähnungen der Türken in der arabischen Literatur*, in *KCsA*, ii (1926–32), 38–41. However, first-hand knowledge of eastern Afghanistan came only with the expansion of the Arabs from their basins in *Sīstān* and at *Bust* eastwards into *Zamīndāwar* and *Zābulistān*, the territories of the *Zunbīls*, epigoni of the southern branch of the *Hephthalites*. These local rulers strongly resisted the Arabs for over two centuries, barring the way to the Kabul valley, and the fact that these *Zunbīls* seem to have been related to the *Kabul-Shāhs* made for solidarity against the Muslim raiders.

During *Mu'āwiya's* caliphate, the governors of *Sīstān*, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. *Samura* and al-Rabī' b. *Ziyād*, raided as far as Kabul, compelling the local rulers there and in *Zābulistān* to pay tribute. The main product yielded by the raids through these inhospitable regions was, of course, slaves. 'Abd al-Raḥmān brought back slaves captured at Kabul to his house at *Basra*, where they built for him an oratory in the *Kābulī* architectural style. The famous Syrian *mawlā* scholar *Makhūl al-Dimashqī*, teacher of al-Awzā'ī (d. 118/736), had been captured at Kabul during the first Muslim raid there. Yet the political effects of these and subsequent raids were invariably transitory, and

in 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate, a Muslim army under 'Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Bakra suffered a grievous defeat in the Kabul region (78/697–8); it was to retrieve the Muslim position that the famous "Peacock Army" was sent out under Ibn al-Ash'ath. In Hārūn al-Rashīd's time, the governor of Khurasan, al-Faḍl b. Yahyā al-Barmakī, sent expeditions into northern and eastern Afghanistan which strengthened the hold of Islam on certain parts of the region. In 179/795 the general Ibrāhīm b. Jibrīl attacked Zābulistān and then penetrated to Kabul, at that time under the rule of the Turk-Shāhī dynasty; and under al-Ma'mūn there was a further raid entailing the capture of the ruler of Kabul and his adoption of Islam. For some time under the governorship in Khurasan of 'Abd Allāh b. Tāhir (213/828–230/845), the Kābul Shāh paid tribute to the Muslims in the form of 1½ million *dirhams* annually plus 2,000 Oghuz Turkish slaves.

Only under the Saffārids of Sistān was real headway made by the Muslims. Thus Ya'qūb b. Layth's expedition of 256/870 via Balkh to Bāmiyān, Kabul and the silver mines of Panjīr brought about the first lengthy Muslim occupation of Kabul. Arab historians record the wonder excited in Baghdad by the presents of elephants and pagan idols from the Kabul valley forwarded by the Saffārids. The islamisation of the Kabul region progressed considerably under Alptigin and the Turkish slave governors of Ghazna in the later decades of the 4th/10th century; under the Ghaznavids, Kabul seems to have been a *dépôt* for the army's force of elephants (Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 116–17). It now begins to be considered as administratively within the orbit of Ghazna rather than in that of the Bāmiyān-Ghōrband area.

The geographers of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries give a somewhat vague and confused account of the Kabul region, especially since it was peripheral to the experience of most of them. Long before it became islamised, Muslim merchants resorted to Kabul, primarily because it was an entrepôt for the products of India: in the enumeration of Ibn Khurradādhbih, for inferior aloes wood, coconuts, saffron, and above all, myrobalanus (*ihlīlaj*, *halīlaj*), the astringent medicament, of which a special Chebuli or Kābulī variety was distinguished (see H. Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, London 1903, 607–10, and B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica, Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in Ancient Iran*, Chicago 1925, 378).

Towards the beginning of the Ghaznavid period, Kabul begins to be distinguished as a town, with a mixed Muslim and Indian population (the Indians regarding Kabul as a pilgrimage centre), a strong citadel and a prosperous *rabad* or commercial quarter.

The dominance of the capitals Ghazna and then Fīrūzkūh, under the Ghaznavids and Ghurids respectively, inevitably overshadowed Kabul, and contemporary sources do not have a great deal to say about it at this time. Such destructions of Ghazna as those of 'Alā' al-Dīn Ghūrī and Tīmūr favoured the gradual rise once more of Kabul, although the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa still found there in 733/1333 a mere village, with nothing there of note save a *zāwiya* or hermitage of the Sufi Shaykh Ismā'īl al-Afghānī (*Rihla*, iii, 89–90, tr. Gibb, iii, 590–1). Eastern Afghanistan formed part of the Timurid empire, and after Tīmūr's death it became an appanage (*soyūrghāl*) for Timurid princes. Thus Abū Sa'īd's son Ulugh Beg (not to be confused with the more celebrated Ulugh Beg b. Shāh Rukh, d. 853/1449), reigned in Kabul and Ghazna from 865/1461 to 907/1501–2. After his death, Kabul came temporarily under the control of the Arghūnid Muqīm, who had married a daughter of Ulugh Beg, until in 910/1504 Bābur came from Transoxania and took over Kabul, compelling Muqīm to retreat to Kandahar. Kabul now flourished under Bābur, who is eloquent in his memoirs about the climate and natural beauties of the region, its amenities and its products, and the fact that it was a mecca for trading caravans, bringing thither the products of India, China, Central Asia and Persia; and it was at Kabul that Bābur laid out numerous gardens. He made it his centre for campaigns against Kandahar and into northern India, and his successors the Mughal Emperors of India kept it firmly within the orbit of their dominions. For the first time, Kabul becomes a mint centre for gold and silver coinage, and Mughal coins were produced there down to the reign of 'Azīz al-Dīn 'Ālamgīr (1167–73/1754/9). It was to his favoured centre of Kabul that Bābur's body was brought, in accordance with his express desire, some years after his death at Agra in 937/1530; his tomb is now a pleasant spot on the slopes of the Shīr Dawāza mountain on the west side of modern Kabul (see *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 188 ff., 705–6, 709–11, lxxx–lxxxi).

Nādir Shāh captured the citadel of Kabul in 1151/1738, en route for his famous Indian campaign,



but after his death in 1160/1747, the Qizilbāsh garrison of Kabul yielded it up to Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī of Kandahar. Under Aḥmad's son and successor Tīmūr Shāh, it became clear that the Durrānī empire in north-western India could not be satisfactorily held from Kandahar, so Kabul became the capital. In this way began Kabul's modern rôle as capital of Afghanistan, even though at times in the 19th century the authority of the amīrs of Kabul was geographically fairly circumscribed. The town suffered during the first two Afghan-British Wars and the civil strife between rival members of the Sadōzay and Muḥammadzay or Bārakzay families. Thus when British forces returned to Kabul in autumn 1842, they burned the great bazaar of Kabul in retaliation for the murder of Macnaghten and the sufferings of the British forces during their retreat from Kabul at the beginning of that year. By 1965, Kabul had expanded to a city of 435,000 people, had acquired paved roads and had become a considerable industrial centre; in particular, it had expanded northwestwards in the Shahr-i Naw suburb towards the British Embassy and southwestwards towards the University of Kabul and King Amān Allāh's former palace of the Dār al-Amān.

Kabul has suffered badly during the upheavals in Afghanistan of the last thirty years or so, first with the Soviet occupation of the country and latterly through the activities of the Taliban. Amongst buildings either plundered or destroyed has been the Kabul Museum, housed in the former Dār al-Amān palace. The population of the city, according to a 2001 estimate, is 2,080,000; these are mainly Persian-speaking Tajiks, although there has in recent decades been an influx of refugees from all over Afghanistan.

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**KAIROUAN**, Arabic form al-Qayrawān, an historic town and important Islamic religious centre in north-central Tunisia. It is situated in lat. 35° 42' N., long. 10° 01' E., at an altitude of 60 m/197 feet, in the semi-arid alluvial plain southeast of the central tell. Temperatures vary considerably, from a few degrees below zero in winter to 40° C. and more in summer. The sirocco blows there for an average of 21 days a year. Rainfall varies from an average of 250 or 300 mm in the town and its surrounding area to 500 mm and over in the regions of the governorate to the west. Periods of drought may alternate with catastrophic flooding, to control which dams have been constructed on the Wadi Zérout and the Wadi Merguelli; these have also now increased the irrigated agricultural area.

Kairouan is essentially involved with agricultural pursuits and the efforts of the last two decades have resulted in a considerable development of arboriculture. In 1972 there were 3,500,000 olive trees, and 3,800,000 almond trees were counted in the governorate; in third place came apricot trees. The areas sown with cereal crops vary much from year to year according to the promise of autumn rains. From 58,000 hectares in 1968 they rose to 200,000 in 1972; they were only 75,000 hectares in 1956, but they had reached 225,000 in 1959. The livestock in 1972 amounted to 260,000 sheep, 14,000 cattle, 20,000 goats and camels. The industrial sector is still embryonic, but includes some small enterprises (dyeing, spinning, woodwork, confectionery and food preservation).

By contrast, the artisan sector continues to occupy the first place in the town's activities. Working with wood, copper and alfa, the production of jewellery, lanterns and sieves, as well as the traditional dyeing and weaving, brings employment to 1,200 craftsmen.

But what makes Kairouan's reputation is the hand-produced "long-wool" carpets. Recently, the National Office of Craft Industry has been created, and it has been notable for allowing newly-qualified female workers into its workshops. It has modernised the designs to a certain extent without changing the family and essentially feminine character of the craft-work. In 1972 4,500 home craftsmen (*saddāya*) were counted. The production of carpets rose from 56,000 m<sup>2</sup> in 1962 to 130,000 m<sup>2</sup> in 1972, and it is likely to develop further. Yet all these enterprises do not succeed in assuring full employment, because of the high birthrate. A third of the active male population is underemployed or on short-time working.

The actual town of Kairouan is composed of the native quarter, with its narrow winding streets and souks, which roughly preserve the general appearance given to them in the 18th century. This native quarter is still surrounded by its crenellated ramparts, which are built of solid brick. They are flanked at intervals by round buttresses and measure a little over 3 km/2 miles. In the east and the north-east the suburbs of Gueblia, Djebliā and Zlass. In the south, between Bāb al-Jallādīn (Skinners' Gate), which since independence has been renamed Bāb al-Shuhadā' ("Martyrs' Gate") and which leads to the native quarter, and the Railway Station, the modern town is situated; here are found the administrative services, the banks, the hotels, etc. A working class district, Sīdī Saḥnūn, has been built in the east and another, a group of 400 villas belonging to the more prosperous classes, is called Maṣṣūra.

One of the principal monuments of the town, apart from the Great Mosque, is the Jāmi' Thalāth Bībān, the Mosque of the Three Doors, the façade of which is a beautiful example of Aghlabid architecture. It was founded in 252/866 by the Andalusian Muḥammad b. Khayrūn al-Ma'āfirī, but was altered in the 9th/15th century. There is also the Aghlabid cistern at the Tunis Gate; the Zāwiya of Sīdī 'Abīd al-Gharyānī of the 8th/14th century; the Zāwiya of Sīdī al-Ṣāḥib, which was first of all a simple and very old mausoleum covering the tomb of a Companion of the Prophet, Abū Zam'a al-Balawī, and on the site of which the Murādid Bey Ḥammūda erected the present building in the 11th/17th century; and the Zāwiya of Sīdī 'Umar 'Abāda, built in the 19th century.

## I. FOUNDATION

All the Arab invasions, which culminated in the conquest of Byzacena, were initially careful to avoid the coastal route. The invaders penetrated into the country by the region of Qasṭīliya, from where they attempted to reach the centre and the north. Avoiding the shore on the east, which was dangerous for conquering forces who were not yet adequately experienced in seamanship, and the mountains on the west, which were well suited for ambushes and surprise attacks, they had no alternative but to use the corridor which ended naturally in the region of Qammūniya, that is, the corridor of Kairouan. This town, which was first of all a military base, owed its origin to the strategy dictated by the relief of the country and from the fighting tactics of the invaders. Traditionally, its foundation is attributed to 'Uqba b. Nāfi', but in fact it took place by easy stages and several military leaders contributed to it.

The battle of Sufetula (27/647–8) had practically delivered Byzacena to 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd b. Abī Sarḥ, the Byzantines being driven back behind their second line of fortification defending the Proconsularium. It is neither impossible nor improbable that the conquerors pushed their raids on this occasion right into the region of Kairouan, for they had to evacuate the country when they were charged a heavy tribute. Ibn Nāḥī points out that at Kairouan there is a mosque dedicated to Ibn Abī Sarḥ which in some way commemorates his sea journey.

Later, events begin to take shape when Mu'āwiya b. Ḥudayj led three campaigns in succession to Ifrīqiya, in 34/654–5, 41/661–2, and 45/665. Three times, in fact, he made use of the same route as his predecessor and ended in the region of Qammūniya or Kairouan, where he set up his camp. In 34/654–5 Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam declares that Ibn Ḥudayj "seized several fortresses and took considerable booty. He set up a garrison camp (*qayrawān*) near al-Qarn" (*Futūḥ*, partially ed. and tr. by A. Gateau, Algiers 1948, 57). He reappears, still established at Qarn, in 41/661–2. Finally, in 45/665 he reappears yet again at Qarn. In this connection, al-Mālikī notes: "Ibn Ḥudayj had laid the foundations of a town at al-Qarn (*ikhtalṭa madīnat<sup>am</sup> ind al-Qarn*) before 'Uqba had founded (*ta'sīs*) Kairouan and he settled there during the period that he spent in Ifrīqiya". Ibn Nāḥī states for his part that "on his return to Qammūniya, Ibn

Ḥudayj built dwellings in the region of al-Qarn to which he gave the name of al-Qayrawān, when the site of [the actual] al-Qayrawān was not yet either inhabited or urbanised (*ghayr maskūn wa-lā ma'mūr*).” The site named al-Qarn (“hill, peak”) by Ibn Ḥudayj owes its name to its relief. It probably refers to the hill 171 m/557 feet high which is called today Baṭn al-Qarn and which is situated in a tourist region 12 km/8 miles north-west of the actual town of Kairouan on the road to Jalūla.

The primary reason for the foundation of Kairouan was its elevated position, which gave it protection from surprise attacks and floods. The Kairouan founded by Ibn Ḥudayj did not maintain its rôle as capital of Ifrīqiya, but it was never destroyed again; however, when it ceased to be the capital it no longer bore the name of al-Qarn. In 124/742 the Khārījite ‘Ukāsha was beaten there by Ḥanzala b. Ṣafwān, governor of Ifrīqiya. Al-Qarn is mentioned again at the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 8th century. Afterwards all trace of it disappears. Neither al-Bakrī nor al-Idrīsī cite it, and for Yāqūt (*Buldān*, Beirut 1957, iv, 333) al-Qarn was no more than a mountain in Ifrīqiya.

In 50/670 the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, Mu‘āwiya, while keeping Ibn Ḥudayj as the governor of Egypt, took Ifrīqiya from him and entrusted it to ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’. On rejoining his post he “was not very satisfied with al-Qayrawān which was built before his time by Mu‘āwiya b. Ḥudayj” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam). The sources, however, tell us forcefully the details (verging on the miraculous) of how ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’, followed by his most illustrious companions, including a large number of the *Ṣaḥāba* or Companions of the Prophet, was left to search for a new site. His choice fell on part of a plain which was then covered with vegetation, the haunt of reptiles and wild beasts. There the new Kairouan was founded. ‘Uqba immediately donated two institutions indispensable for its spiritual and temporal progress, sc. a mosque and a government house (*dār al-imāra*), built opposite each other. He spent the five years of his first governorship watching over this building without undertaking any other expedition.

Abu ‘l-Muhājir Dīnār who succeeded him “greatly disliked the idea of settling where ‘Uqba b. Nāfi’ had built” (Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam). We are told that he set fire to the foundations of his predecessor and

moved the capital two miles further along the road to Tunis, to a region inhabited by the Berbers. The new capital, of which the remains have recently been located, received the name Takirwan. The choice of this Berber-sounding name as well as the town’s position were all part of a government programme begun by Abu ‘l-Muhājir to encourage a policy of rapprochement with the indigenous leaders. This policy did not please the caliphate. ‘Uqba took the road to Ifrīqiya again in 62/682, and his first action was to move the capital back to the site which he had already previously chosen. Thereafter, Kairouan did not change its location any more.

Everything proves that this place had formerly been occupied by a Roman or Byzantine town which, like many others in the period of the Muslim conquest, had fallen into ruins. The first buildings erected by the Arabs certainly profited from the re-use of building materials which had been found abandoned on site. These various materials of greater or lesser importance can still be seen, not only in the monuments but also in modest dwellings. During restoration work (1969–72), much more has been discovered, including some items in the foundations of the Great Mosque. Not far from Kairouan in the north is a place called al-Aṣnām which undoubtedly owes its name (“the Idols”) to the great number of statues which the conquerors encountered. Furthermore, al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, ed. de Slane, repr. Paris 1965, 22/52–3) declares that the Place of the Mint (*Ṣūq al-Darb*) was occupied by a church in antiquity. The sources elsewhere plainly affirm that Kairouan was raised on the ruins of an ancient town named Qūniya or Qamūniya. There is no reason at all to doubt their suggestions, which are amply borne out by other archaeological evidence.

There remains the question of the choice of the site. No-one suggests that this choice was unfortunate, but why should this unfavourable part of the steppe have been chosen for the economic development of a great capital? Ibn Khaldūn sets the tone of the debate when he says he believes that the Arabs are poor town planners. To support his opinion he cites the examples of Basra, Kufa and of Kairouan as badly chosen sites (*Muqaddima*, 647). Modern authors share this view (J. Despois, *Kairouan*, 161; P. Sebag, *Kairouan*, Zürich 1963, 16). In fact, the site of Kairouan was not so badly chosen as one might think. It should

be remembered that an ancient town had prospered there because, when the town was founded the site was not as steppe-like as it subsequently became. Although there was no sudden change of climate, settlers accomplished a considerable transformation. Ibn 'Idhārī states that 'Uqba, to build the city, gave the order to deforest the area (*an yaqṭa'ū al-shajār*). In the 4th/10th century, al-Bakrī reveals elsewhere (*Masālik*, 26/61) that the forest of olive-trees at Kairouan was sufficient by itself to furnish the town with all the wood it needed without suffering the least damage. The soil was certainly rich, thanks to the "fertilising silt" of the Merguellil and the Zéroud wadis, according to J. Despois.

All therefore that really needed to be done was to solve the problem of a water supply, which had been solved once by the Romans and was later solved again by the Arabs. A few miles south of the site chosen for the foundation of Kairouan they found a hydraulic construction system which they named Qaṣr al-Mā' ("the Water Castle"). This system was fed from an aqueduct which gathered the waters of the Mams, 33 km/20 miles to the west, and today called Hanshīr Dwīmīs. 'Uqba stopped there on his return to Damascus in 55/675, and afterwards the place became an assembly point for caravans heading for the east. The Arabs lifted the region out of its ruined state and gave it back prosperity by pursuing and extending the irrigation policy of their predecessors. The wells and cisterns with which (almost without exception) all the mosques and houses were provided, made an appreciable contribution to the great works for which the Aghlabids are justly famed. Hence until the middle of the 5th/11th century, all the geographers boast of the fertility of that region. In all, the area chosen for the foundation of Kairouan, apart from the strategic advantages it offered, was amenable to development and to the provision of an economic infrastructure necessary for the development of a large town. Only human error made this region into a steppe.

## II. LATER HISTORY

Scarcely was Kairouan founded when it had to be evacuated. The disaster of Tahūda to the south of Biskra cost the life of its chief founder 'Uqba b. Nāfi', and all his companions were killed to the last man. This

marked the beginning of the exodus towards the east. The conqueror was the Berber Kusayla, and he took up residence in the town, which had not been abandoned by all its Arab-Muslim population, and made it the capital of his short-lived kingdom (64–9/684–9). Zuhayr b. Qays al-Balawī, and especially Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān came back later to recover it.

Four decades of peace then passed before the capital of the Maghrib was seriously threatened by the Berbers. In 124/742 it was about to be submerged by waves of Khārijites, but it was saved *in extremis* by the two unexpected victories of al-Qarn and al-Aṣnām. Fortune failed it in 140/757–8 when the Warfajūma Khārijites, of Ṣufī tendencies, seized it with the complicity of certain of its inhabitants, and for more than a year held it under their domination. They massacred in particular the Qurashī elements of the population, who were the Arab aristocracy. It was liberated in Ṣafar of the following year (June–July 758) by the Ibādī Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb working from Tripoli. He left there as governor 'Abd Raḥmān b. Rustam, the future founder of the kingdom of Tāhart. But this was not for long; in Jumādā I 144/August 761, Muḥammad b. al-Ash'ath came to bring it back into the bosom of the east, and he proceeded to fortify it under directions from the caliph al-Manṣūr. For the first time he provided it with a surrounding wall, which was begun in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 144/February 762 and finished in Rajab 146/September–October 763.

But these measures, which were imposed after the events just reviewed, did not save Kairouan from trouble. In 154/771 it was besieged by a coalition of Ṣufī and Ibādī Berbers. Its inhabitants were reduced to eating "their beasts of burden, their dogs and their cats" (Ibn 'Idhārī). Resistance was in vain; the town was stormed after its gates had been set on fire and a breach made in its walls. This was the last ordeal to which the Khārijites subjected it. Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155–71/772–88) was despatched from the east with impressive resources, and came to take it in hand again and to put an end to the convulsions of Khārijism in Ifrīqiya.

But there arose another danger, that of the *jund*. Kairouan became the gambling-stake of the rebel military leaders. In 194/810 Ibrāhīm I (184–96/800–12), in order to punish it for having treated with the army rebels, had the ramparts taken

down and removed its gates. But it was guilty of the same offence again. In the meantime, the gates had been put back, and in 209/824 the inhabitants opened them to Manṣūr al-Tunbudhī. This time their punishment was a draconian one and Ziyādat Allāh I (201–23/817–38) “razed the walls of the town until he had made them level with the ground” (Ibn ‘Idhārī). His successors were able to reign quite peaceably until the Shi‘ite propaganda extended to Ifrīqiya. The citadel of Sunnism did not support its sovereigns when they were in danger, but adopted towards them a passive or even hostile attitude. The last of the Aghlabids left his capital secretly at night, and the commander of his armies had to follow him under a hail of stones.

The reign of the Fatimids accentuated the differences between the city of Sīdī ‘Uqba and the power henceforth to be indisputably exercised by heretics. On 20th Sha‘bān 299/11th April 912, the storm broke. A rabble set the over-arrogant Kutāma against the exasperated tradesmen, and several hundred prisoners were taken. ‘Ubayd Allāh was able to calm men’s minds, but it did not prevent the people of Kairouan from supporting the insurrection of the Khārijite Abū Yazīd al-Nukkārī (332–6/943–7). They were deceived by him, and finally abandoned him, but it did not exempt them from punishment. Al-Mansūr, once the rebel had been defeated and killed, seized a group of them and had them tortured and executed.

The reign of the Zirids before the rejection of the Shi‘ite heresy, was no more readily accepted. The very arrival of al-Mu‘izz (407–54/1016–62), when he carried out his first official visit to Kairouan, was greeted by an attempt on his life and by a dreadful uprising (15 Muḥarram 407/24th June 1016). The people of Kairouan massacred indiscriminately all whom they suspected of being Shi‘ite. The bodies of the victims were burned and buildings set on fire at will. The disturbances spread as far as al-Manṣūriyya, which in turn was sacked and pillaged. Despite the efforts of the authorities to restore calm, a fresh riot broke out several months later on the occasion of the ceremonies of ‘Īd al-Fiṭr (1 Shawwāl 407/3 March 1017) presided over by al-Mu‘izz. Again blood flowed freely, and this time the reaction of the authorities was brutal. Kairouan was delivered into the hands of the troops of al-Manṣūriyya. Not a single shop escaped being pillaged and they set fire

to the main business thoroughfares (*kibār al-aswāq*). This was but the prelude to greater woes. The Banū Hilāl, although they did not devastate every town of Ifrīqiya, nevertheless made a complete ruin of what remained of the grandeur of Kairouan. The town was besieged from 446/1054 onwards and it was abandoned to them by al-Mu‘izz, who retreated to al-Mahdiyya in 449/1057.

After that it is little heard of. Unlike Kābis, Qafṣa, Tūzir, al-Mahdiyya, Sūsa or Safāqis, Kairouan caused no concern to the Ḥafṣids. No local dynasty seized power there under their reign. The nomad Arabs of the region, meanwhile, played a certain rôle on the political stage. They attempted, a little late, to oppose ‘Abd al-Mu‘min b. ‘Alī, the founder of the Almohad dynasty and already master of the whole of Ifrīqiya. They were hewn to pieces, and their leader the Riyāhid Muḥriz b. Ziyād was defeated (556/1161, Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vi, 494). In 582/1186–7 the Almohad al-Manṣūr, who had come from Morocco to suppress the danger of the Banū Ghāniya, moved from Tunis towards Kairouan where he set up camp before taking the offensive in the direction of al-Ḥamma, thus making good the first losses sustained by his army (Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, vi, 510). Some years later, Yahyā b. Ghāniya seized the town, and with it, all Ifrīqiya. His success was as resounding as it was short-lived. Kairouan quickly returned to Almohad and then Ḥafṣid administration. In 669/1270 the landing of Louis IX at Carthage threw the whole country into a state of turmoil. The holy city founded by Sīdī ‘Uqba vibrated with enthusiasm for *jihād*; al-Mustansir, thinking that Tunis was under too great a threat, even intended to move his government there. But the epidemic which put an end to the conflict robbed him of this honour. Several years later it again had the opportunity of playing a definite political rôle by favouring the accession of “the impostor”, Ibn Abī ‘Umāra (681–3/1283–4), to the throne. In bestowing on him the *bay‘a* it assured him, we are told by Ibn Khaldūn, of the support of Safāqis of Sūsa and of al-Mahdiyya.

Its name again comes into prominence in the course of the struggle of the sultan Abū Yahyā Abū Bakr against Abū Darba (718–24/1318–24). But the most important event occurred in Muḥarram 749/April 1348. Abū ‘l-Ḥaṣan al-Marīnī, who had just occupied Ifrīqiya, was beaten by the nomadic Arabs near Kairouan, where he was later hemmed in. He

was in fact able to get free and reach Tunis again, but this defeat was a sure mark of his decline and gave rise to the evacuation of the country.

After this, Kairouan did not achieve notice until the end of the reign of the Ḥafṣids, which closed in the shadow of discredit. So it was without difficulty that Khayr al-Dīn Barbarossa, already the master of Algiers, stormed Tunis (18 August 1534), proclaimed the downfall of the dynasty and among other things placed a garrison at Kairouan. The following year (14 July 1535), Charles V reinstated Mawlāy al-Ḥasan on his throne under a special Spanish protectorate, but the whole of the south of the country escaped him. At that time Kairouan became the capital of an independent principality governed by a marabout, Sīdī 'Arafa, of the tribe of the Shābbiyya. In 1542 Mawlāy al-Ḥasan tried to recover it but he was forsaken by his troops. So the Shābbiyya remained in power until the intervention of the *ra'īs* Dragut who, working outwards from Tripoli, came, routed them and occupied the town (3 January 1558), leaving Ḥaydar Pasha there as governor. In 1574 the latter joined his forces with those at Tripoli to support Sinān Pasha, who came at the head of an imposing fleet to end once and for all the Ḥafṣid dynasty and Spanish domination (Ibn Abī Diyāf, *Ithāf*, Tunis 1963, ii, 1821, places these events in 981/1573). Tunisia was then organised as a Turkish *pashalīq* with Ḥaydar Pasha, the former governor of Kairouan, at its head.

The reign of the Murādids accentuated the decline of Kairouan. Ḥammūda Pasha showed some interest in the town, for in 1631 he came to rout the Awlād Sa'īd from the region and he set up a garrison of spahis (*ūjak*) in the place. But soon there was civil war between 'Alī Bey and his brother Muḥammad. Kairouan took the side of the latter, and after the settlement of 1678, which divided the country between the two pretenders, it became the seat of its own government. Later it turned hostile towards Murād Bey Abū Bālā (1699–1702), hence he besieged it and imposed a severe collective fine upon it. Then it was delivered up to the pillaging of Khalīl, Bey of Tripoli, in return for his alliance against Algiers. The following year, in 1701, the order was given to the inhabitants to proceed with the destruction of their own town except for the mosques and the *zāwīyas*, which were the only buildings spared. The tyrant was however assassinated, which allowed his succes-

sor, Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf, to repair the damage, and the inhabitants of Kairouan were authorised in 1703 to resettle their town and to rebuild its ruins.

Later, the inhabitants benefited from the benevolence of the founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (1705–35), who paid particular attention to the restoration of the mosques; they were faithful to him to the very end. It was in Kairouan that he found refuge, and was then besieged for five years by his nephew 'Alī Pasha. In the end he was captured and beheaded (13 May 1740). At the same time, forty of the notables of Kairouan were hanged and the wall surrounding the town was dismantled. Afterwards, Muḥammad al-Rashīd (1756–9), son of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, arrived and seized for himself the benefits of power, and received recognition by the children of the founder of the dynasty. Its city wall was rebuilt, tax exemptions were granted to it, and the life-style of its inhabitants was visibly improved.

The reign of Ḥusayn II was, however, less favourable. During this period a heavy fine was imposed on the town which completely ruined its inhabitants; they were reduced to selling their goods and chattels to be free from it. Also in 1864 it was one of the most active hotbeds of the uprising led by 'Alī b. Ghadhāhum. It was within its bounds that the Zlās of the region, led by al-Subū'ī b. Muḥammad al-Subū'ī, held a conference with the Banū Zīd, the Hamāma, and the Frashīsh. But it was a conference from which no concrete action emerged. Later, in 1881, just when the French Protectorate of Tunisia was being established, Kairouan again achieved honourable status; it became one of the most active centres for the call to resistance. From 15 to 20 June 1881 a conference in the Great Mosque brought together the representatives of the various tribes and made a decision to intervene at the side of the Pasha of Tripoli. When this intervention produced no result, and any isolated army action was thought worthless, the town was finally occupied without resistance on 26 October 1881. Only the Zlās continued limited operations for some time.

### III. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND MONUMENTS

According to the vows of its founder, Kairouan was supposed to “perpetuate the glory of Islam to the end of time”. To a certain extent, it has fulfilled this

mission. It is still a holy and venerated town, but over the centuries it has lost its rôle of a great metropolis. As described above, it has known both the peak of splendour and the depths of disaster.

Uqba had begun his work by marking out the site for the Great Mosque and the Government House (*dār al-imāra*). The space around and within a perimeter of 13,600 cubits, about 7.5 km/4.5 miles, must have been apportioned out by tribes as it was in Basra and Kufa, which were founded in similar conditions. But there is no precise information on this matter, only a few indications. We learn, for example, that the Fihṛ, the Qurashī clan of the founder of the town, had settled to the north of the Great Mosque at the time of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105–25/724–43). Again, in the 3rd/9th century, the districts had preserved distinct ethnic or denominational characteristics. This is indicated by Ḥārat Yaḥṣub, Raḥbat al-Qurashiyyīn, Darb al-Firshāsh, and a Sūq al-Yahūd.

From the outset, Kairouan was built in stone, thanks to the re-used building materials which were found on the site. Its perimeter indicates that it was planned as a large city designed to group together all the Arabs of Ifṛīqiya, primarily the warriors who would often then be followed by their families. Its initial population could hardly have fallen below 50,000.

Like Basra and Kufa, originally it had no defensive wall and it remained an open city for nearly a century. The vicissitudes of history forced it, as we have seen, to be enclosed, from 144/762 onwards behind ramparts ten cubits thick. The reign of Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Muhallabī (155–71/722–88) was particularly beneficial to it. It was he who organised the town souks and specified the type of activity within them. He was a person of some prestige and attracted to himself poets and men of science. Kairouan was itself in process of becoming one of the most important centres of Muslim civilisation.

The town reached its zenith in the 3rd/9th century when it became the capital of an independent kingdom. A fortified chief residence for the prince, al-'Abbāsiyya was built nearby (184/800). Another, more luxurious and spacious, Raqqāda, followed (263/877). The city had become too important, and began to disturb the authorities. It no longer needed to be defended, but it was necessary to take precautions against it, so it was deprived of its ramparts in the circumstances already described.

What were its dimensions then? Al-Bakrī (*Masālik*, 25–6) tells us that the main street (*al-Simāt*), which ran along the east side of the Great Mosque, measured, from the Abu 'l-Rabī in the south to the Tunis Gate in the north, two-and-a-third miles, that is (allowing 1,600 m to the mile in al-Bakrī) a little less than 4 km. It can be assumed that the town had the same dimension in the opposite direction. Such an area assumes a population of several hundred thousand people. This estimation is confirmed by other evidence. Again according to al-Bakrī, the town numbered 48 *ḥammāms*, and a count was taken once on the occasion of the feast of *al-'Ashūrā'* of 950 oxen slaughtered for the needs of the inhabitants, which represents a minimum of 200 tons of meat. Even if this is an exaggeration, it indicates a not inconsiderable size. Al-Ya'qūbī, who wrote in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, says for his part, that one rubbed shoulders with all kinds of people: Arabs from Quraysh, from Muḍar, from Rabī'a, from Qaḥṭān and from other tribes too; Persians from Khurasan; finally, Berbers from Rūm (Latins) and still others (*Les Pays*, tr. G. Wiet, Cairo 1937, 210). Alongside the Muslim majority there were also to be found Jews and Christians. Faḡl b. Rawḥ (177–8/793–4) had authorised the building of a church there. In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, the church in Kairouan had several heads, and epigraphy shows us that until the 5th/11th century, Christians there had kept the use of Latin in their funerary inscriptions.

Because of all these people, the water system organised from the reign of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik (105–25/724–43) onwards was no longer sufficient. The population had certainly continued to grow under the Aghlabids, which explains the construction of new water reservoirs to meet the growing needs. The immense cistern built at the Tunis Gate by Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (242–9/856–63), the remains of which may still be admired, was the most grandiose construction among the fourteen similar works.

The Great Mosque, the oldest and most prestigious religious building of the Muslim West, also followed the pattern of expansion and assumed a new aspect. It was in the 3rd/9th century that it took on its present form and proportions, except for a few details. It was Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān who had renovated it. Afterwards, it was enlarged towards the north and probably provided with the present minaret in the reign of Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik. Yazīd b. Ḥātim

reconstructed it in 157/774. In the end, Ziyādat Allāh I had it completely demolished, but probably kept the minaret and had it reconstructed (221/836), having regard for the outline, drawn up by 'Uqba b. Nāfi', of the wall of the *qibla*, even though it was badly orientated, having a deviation of 31° towards the south. Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad enlarged it and embellished it again (248/862–3). From this moment onwards, the work of its restoration and decoration changed nothing of its general appearance. The Zīrid al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs (407–74/1016–62) endowed it with the present *maqṣūra* replacing that of the Aghlabids and making it into a library. Other restoration and decoration were carried out under the Ḥafṣids and in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. The last restoration dates from 1970–2.

The development of the town favoured its intellectual advance. In the 3rd/9th century, Kairouan became one of the principal cultural centres of Islam. "Mālik (d. 179/795) considered it, together with Kūfa and al-Madīna as one of the three great capitals of the Muslim sciences" (Ibn Nāṣir). Well before al-Ṭabarī, Yahyā b. Sallām al-Baṣrī (124–200/741–815) was writing there and taught his *Tafsīr* which has been partially preserved; this was the first great monument of Muslim exegesis. Asad b. al-Furat (ca. 142–213/759–828), after following the lectures of Mālik, of the Ḥanafī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan and a host of other oriental masters, entrusted to his Asadiyya a personal synthesis of the different teachings he had received and made many disciples who continued his tradition. His attempt would have led to a specifically Kairouan school of *fiqh* if only his prestige had not been eclipsed by that of Saḥnūn (ca. 160–240/777–854), who was undoubtedly the grand master of the epoch. His monumental *Mudawwana*, which conveys to us the teaching of Mālik according to the version of Ibn al-Qāsim, became the breviary of the men of Kairouan. Students from all quarters flocked to his lectures, including some from Muslim Spain, where no less than 57 students were authorised to spread his teaching. Philological activity has left us no great work, but it was sufficiently important for Abū Bakr al-Zubayrī to devote a special chapter to it in his *Ṭabaqāt al-naḥwiyyīn wa 'l-lughawiyyīn* (Cairo 1954, 254–72). Medicine was well represented by Ziyād b. Khalfūn, Ishāk b. Imrān and Ishāq b. Sulaymān (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 24; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*, ed. and tr. A. Nouredine and H. Jahier, Algiers

1958, 2–9). Their works, translated into Latin by Constantine the African in the 5th/11th century, were taught in Salerno.

The period of the Shi'ite Fatimids was certainly not favourable to this citadel of Sunnism. The triumphant Kutāma claimed the right of sacking this opulent city as a reward for their effort. In actual fact, it suffered little. Despite the construction of a rival city, Šabra al-Manṣūriyya (336/947–8) near it, towards which commercial activity tended to shift, it maintained its prosperity and was able to triumph over certain natural disasters: an earthquake (299/911–2); a fire in the souks (13 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 306/17 May 919); a flood (308/920–1); famine and an epidemic (317/929). The positive statements of two contemporaries, Ibn Hawqal and al-Maḥdī (Aḥsan al-taqāsīm, ed. and partial tr. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1950, 14–7), agree that the reliability of the water supply was actually better assured. The Fatimid al-Mu'izz had actually had "a system of canals constructed which came down from the mountain and filled the reservoirs after crossing his palace at Šabra". The town was at that time crossed by 15 main thoroughfares (*darb*), the names of which have been partly preserved and its area had grown even larger, "a boundary of a little less than three miles", according to al-Maḥdī (*ibid.*, 15) (on the basis of 1900 m to the mile in al-Maḥdī, about 5.5 km). It is evident that its population had considerably increased, and this was the peak of its expansion.

From that point onwards, an era of stagnation began for Kairouan as for the rest of Ifrīqiya, which was followed by inexorable decline. There were several bursts of revival which just enabled it to keep a foot on the ladder of a country definitely in decline, but they could not retrieve for it its former glory. The transfer of the caliphate to Cairo (361/972) came as a severe blow to Ifrīqiya. The reserves of precious metal followed the Fatimids to Egypt and Kairouan lost for ever its rôle as a capital. The first Zīrids hardly ever lived there, but exhausted themselves with the interminable battles in the central and more distant Maghrib. Although it was prosperous at the beginning of their reign, it was brought under severe pressure to satisfy the demands of the master of Egypt. The vice-regent 'Abd Allāh al-Kātib extracted no less than 400,000 *ḍinārs* in 366/976–7 from 600 of the leading citizens; some of them had to pay as much as 10,000 *ḍinārs* each; this brought ruin for many.



Some decades later, in 395/1004–5, the town experienced famine and a dreadful epidemic, concerning which Ibn Idhārī following Ibn al-Raḡīq, has preserved an interesting description. Each day they buried their dead by hundreds in common graves; the dwellings were empty and the services, the ovens, *ḥammāms* etc. were paralysed. The city was depopulated and a helter-skelter flight of refugees sought shelter far away, even as far as Sicily. Some years later, in 405/1014–5, the merchants were again forced to transfer their trade to Ṣabra. The Ṣanhāja were also involved. Everything seemed to have conspired to stifle the Sunnī capital which, struck by so many misfortunes, saw its prosperity fade and its population dwindle. The perimeter of the city wall, linked by a corridor to Ṣabra (which al-Muʿizz built in great haste when he was hard-pressed in 444/1052–3) did not exceed 22,000 cubits or *ca.* 10.5 km (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 25). Thus the city had returned almost to the proportions of the earliest nucleus as delineated by ʿUqba b. Nāfiʿ.

If the information gathered from our sources is correct, as seems probable, it must be accepted that it was reduced to a third of the area reached at its zenith. This means that on the brink of all the misfortunes which awaited, it was already no more than a shadow of itself. The culture there had, however, always maintained a certain lustre. The Malikī *faqīh* Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī (d. 386/996) and al-Qābisī (d. 403/1012) the Ashʿarī al-Qālānīsī (d. 359 or 361/969–71), the physician Ibn al-Jazzār (d. *ca.* 395/1004), the historian Ibn al-Raḡīq (d. after 418/1028), the astrologer Ibn Abī al-Rijāl (d. *ca.* 426/1034–5), whose *K. al-Bārīʿ fī aḥkām al-nujūm* was translated into Castilian, Latin, Hebrew and ancient Portuguese, the poets Ibn al-Rashīq (d. 456/1064) and Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1067), and still others, had brilliantly continued the traditions of their predecessors. But they were the last glowing torches of a town whose socio-economic infrastructure had crumbled and against which the sword was drawn. The final blow was struck by the Banū Hilāl, who, on 1 Ramaḍān 449/1 November 1057, two days after al-Muʿizz had left Ṣabra to take refuge in al-Mahdiyya, set about pillaging it and devastating it. Ibn Rashīq in a moving elegy (*Dīwān*, Beirut n.d., 204–12) uttered the funeral eulogy for the battered city.

The middle of the 5th/11th century was the chief turning point in the history not only of Kairouan

but of all Ifrīqiya. It was the end of an era which was altogether quite a splendid one and the beginning of another much less brilliant. Town and city life clearly receded before the pastoral and nomadic influences, and the effect of the Bedouin on the country was a scourge which persisted until the 19th century. In this new general atmosphere of decadence, Kairouan changed from being a great metropolis into a poor town of the steppes. It was deserted by what remained of its inhabitants and continued to diminish. Ten years after the blow from the Banū Hilāl, there was a makeshift wall encircling the Great Mosque and what remained of the western quarter. This wall, which assumed approximately the outline of the present day wall, was a little longer than 3 km/2 miles. Al-Idrīsī notes (*Nuzha*, partial ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 80) that when he was writing (that is, in the middle of the 6th/12th century just before the Almohad conquest) Kairouan was only a ruin (*aṭlāl dārīsa wa-āthār ṭāmīsa*), that what remained of it was incompletely surrounded by earthen ramparts, and that it was in the hands of Arab nomads who levied taxes on a poor and wretched population. As for Raqqāda and Ṣabra, they simply disappeared completely. It was the nadir of its fortunes.

The reign of the Almohads, and especially that of the Ḥafṣids, brought back to it a relative peace and allowed the town to rise a little from its ruined state. In the 7th/13th century private enterprise gave it better ramparts. With the rise of the Marabout movement it also began to fill with *zāwīyas*. But the population, mostly composed of urbanised Bedouin elements, was henceforth much less refined. Yāqūt wrote: “Today all one sees are worthless bumpkins (*ṣuṭūk*)”. (*Buldān*, iv, 420). The impression received by al-ʿAbdarī (*al-Riḥla al-Maghribiyya*, ed. M. al-Fāṣī, Rabat 1968, 64, 66, 82), who went there on pilgrimage in 688/1289, was not much better.

In fact, a new life at a much more modest level had begun for Kairouan. In a general context of constant regression it was able to preserve a certain status, but without any measure of its past grandeur. Even so, it was respectable enough among the other towns of the kingdom and adapted itself to its new economic rôle, that of being a market town and commercial centre for the Bedouin. Its souks, although very much reduced, with their goods carried off towards the west, continued to offer indispensable products: leather, cloth and metal. It received in exchange the

products of pastoral activity. Leo Africanus, who visited it in 1516, that is at the end of the Ḥafṣid period, describes it in this way: "At present only poor workmen are to be seen there, for the most part tanners of sheepskins and goatskins. They sell all their leather garments in the towns of Numidia where there is no European cloth" (*Description de l'Afrique*, tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, ii, 398). Later on, particularly at the beginning of the reign of the Ḥusaynids, Kairouan recovered and gained second place in the country. Wazīr al-Sarrāj (d. 1149/1736–7) noted at the beginning of the 18th century: "At this moment, after Tunis, no larger town than Kairouan is known in all of Ifrīqiya. Among its inhabitants are the best scholars, the most skilful people and the most astute business men" (*Hulal*, ed. M.H. al-Hīla, Tunis 1970, i, 244). The impression is confirmed by J.A. Peyssonnel, who wrote: "Kairouan is one of the largest towns in the kingdom. It is situated on a brackish plain, half a league in circumference, is very well populated and very commercial. It has been ruined several times but was well repaired under the Bey Hassem ben Aly . . . Much woollen cloth was made there, burnouses, sufficielis, and other materials special to the country . . ." (*Relation d'un voyage sur les côtes de Barbarie, fait par l'ordre du roi en 1724 and 1725*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, i, 113; see also i, 160). L.R. Desfontaines, who visited Kairouan in January 1784, for his part, notes that it was "the biggest in the kingdom after Tunis; it was even better built and cleaner than the latter . . . The trade of Kairouan consists principally of animal skins which the inhabitants know how to put to different uses. Here are made bridles, saddles and shoes according to the fashion of the land. They also made woollen cloths called barakan. The people there have a happier life than anywhere else, being exempt from taxes in recompense for the services which they rendered to the grandfather of the present Bey" (*Fragments d'un voyage dans les Régences de Tunis et d'Alger fait de 1783 à 1786*, ed. M. Dureau de la Malle, Paris 1838, ii, 61). V. Guérin, who spent three days there from 18 to 20 August 1861, thought also that it was, with barely 12,000 inhabitants, "after Tunis one of the most highly populated towns of the regency" (*Voyage archéologique dans la Régence de Tunis*, Paris 1862, ii, 334). It came before Sfax, which scarcely numbered more than 10,000 inhabitants, and before Sousse, Monastir and Mahdiyya, whose populations did not exceed

5,000 or 8,000. It was, however, situated "in a real desert, almost entirely deprived of trees and even of bushes" (*ibid.*, ii, 326). All told, the city founded by Sīdī 'Uqba, despite the ruining of its hinterland, showed, at least until the days of the protectorate, that despite everything it was more viable than other centres which were apparently better situated.

Its religious prestige was certainly not irrelevant to its survival. With "about 50 zaouïas and 20 mosques" (Guérin, *Voyage*, ii, 328), it was indubitably in the middle of the 19th century the spiritual capital of the country. It was then considered to be a holy town and in principle forbidden to non-Muslims. Today it has no such sacred character, and tourists have free access to its sanctuaries. As for its population, the city of Sīdī 'Uqba occupies only the fifth place in the country, but is also the chef-lieu of the most under-developed governorate of the country. It still, however, maintains a certain aura of sanctity and attracts the most illustrious visitors. And when the point of the unification of the countries of the Maghrib is brought up, there are those who find that "the capital of this federation of independent states ought to be Kairouan, the spiritual capital of the Muslims since many centuries and thus appropriate to symbolise the return to the glory of the past of the World of the Islam" (*La Presse*, a Tunisian daily, of 21 September 1973).

Contemporary Kairouan is a market for locally-grown and locally-reared livestock, with an important element of carpet-weaving and other handicrafts in its economy, and is linked by road and rail to Sus on the Mediterranean coast 60 km/38 miles to the east. The population was, according to the 2004 census, 118,000.

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**KANDAHAR**, in Arabic script Qandahār, a city of southeastern Afghanistan, situated in lat. 31° 27' N., long. 65° 43' E., at an altitude of 1,000 m/3,460 feet. It lies between the Arghandāb and Shorāb Rivers in the warmer, southern climatic zone (*garmsīr*) of Afghanistan. Hence snow rarely lies there for very long, and in modern times the city has been favoured as a winter residence for Kabulis wishing to avoid the rigours of their winter (see J. Humlum *et al.*, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 141–2; Ibn Battūṭa, iii, 89, tr. Gibb, iii, 590, likewise recorded in the 8th/14th century that the inhabitants of Ghazna moved to Kandahar for the winter).

Since it is one component of the triangle Kabul-Kandahar-Herat, possession of which gives military control of Afghanistan, and is also at the end of a route via the modern railhead of Chaman to Quetta and northwestern India, Kandahar has been of strategic and commercial importance all through recorded history. Even in the Stone Age, the inhabitants of the nearby settlements of Mundigak and Deh Morasi Ghundai (4th–2nd millennia B.C.) traded with northwestern India, eastern Iran and the Eurasian steppes. In Achaemenid Persian times, the region of Kandahar was possibly to be identified with the Achaemenid satrapy of Harahuvāt; in the Persepolis Fortress tablets (*ca.* 500 B.C.) there is more than one mention of the issue of rations for journeys between Susa and Kandarash (R.T. Hallock, *The evidence of the Persepolis tablets*, in *CHIr*, ii, Cambridge 1985).

In Hellenistic times, the region of southeastern Afghanistan was known as Arachosia, and the town of Kandahar itself is probably to be identified with the μητρόπολις Ἀραχωσίας of, e.g., Isidore of Charax

(on the problem of the city's ancient name, Alexandria of Arachosia or Alexandropolis, see G. Pugliese Caratelli and G. Garbini, *A bilingual graeco-aramaic edict by Asoka*, Serie Orientale Roma xxix, Rome 1964, 19–22). Then as now, Arachosia was famed for its grapes; the Indian author Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) speaks of Hārahūraka as a place whence wine was obtained. However, Greek rule here can only have lasted some 25 years, 330–305 B.C., for in the treaty between Seleucus I and Chandragupta the frontier between the Seleucids and the Mauryas was apparently fixed to the west of Kandahar, on the Helmand. Soon afterwards, Emperor Asoka had a series of rock inscriptions executed on a *tepe* in the old city of Kandahar, including one in Greek and Aramaic discovered in 1958 (see D. Schlumberger *et al.*, *Une bilingue greco-araméenne d'Asoka*, in *JA*, ccxvi [1958], 1–48), one in Greek in 1963 (see Schlumberger, *Une seconde inscription grecque d'Asoka*, in *CRAIBL* [1964], 126–40) and an Aramaic one also in 1963 (see A. Dupont-Sommer and E. Benveniste, *Une inscription indo-araméenne d'Asoka provenant de Kandahar (Afghanistan)*, in *JA*, ccliv [1966], 437–65); these show that Greek and Aramaic were still recognised in Kandahar as administrative languages, the local Iranian tongue presumably being unwritten. It may have been Asoka who introduced Buddhism to the region, though this is unproven. At all events, the faith appeared early, and the old city of Kandahar included a Buddhist monastery and its *stupa*, dated tentatively by G. Fussman to the 4th century A.D.

The name Kandahar itself must be connected with Gandhāra, the ancient Indian kingdom on the upper Indus and Kabul Rivers which became a stronghold of Buddhism, and Arab historians do in fact use the form Qandahār/Qunduhār for Gandhāra proper. It is possible that the name was transferred southwards to Arachosia by some migration of Gandhārans; there are stories, retailed by Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, of the Buddha's begging bowl being preserved in Kandahar (at a later date, it was shown in a Muslim shrine outside the city), brought thither by Gandhāran Buddhist refugees.

The actual site of Kandahar has varied at different periods of history. The old city, abandoned since the time of Nādir Shāh, lay 5 km/3 miles to the west-south-west of the modern city, at the foot of a rocky spur called the Qaytūl, the site being now called the *shahr-i kuhna*. Here archaeology has revealed a walled city, clearly dating back to Hellenistic times,

and successively occupied in the ensuing Buddhist and Islamic periods.

Very little is known on Kandahar in the Kushan period, but under the rule of the southern branch of the Hephthalites, the Zabulites, Kandahar fell within their kingdom (see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, Cairo 1948, 104 ff.). In the Umayyad period, Arab raiders penetrated into the region of Kandahar after their occupation of Sīstān and their establishment of a bridgehead of Muslim arms at Bust. Arabic sources call the region around Kandahar al-Rukhkhaj (< Arachosia; the name survives today in the site of an Islamic settlement now called Tepe Arukh) or Zamīndāwar/Bilād al-Dāwar. It was the centre of a powerful local dynasty who bore the title of Zunbils, epigoni of the southern branch of the Hephthalites; down to the Saffarid period (later 3rd/9th century) they constituted the main obstacle to the spread of Islam in eastern Afghanistan. Al-Balādhurī records that the governor of Sīstān under Mu‘āwiya, ‘Abbād b. Ziyād b. Abīhi, led a raid against Kandahar and captured it after bitter fighting; the poet Ibn Mufarrigh probably accompanied the expedition, for he composed an elegy for the Muslim dead (these verses, not related to any specific occasion by Ch. Pellat, *Le poète Ibn Mufarrigh et son oeuvre*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, Damascus 1956–7, iii, 217, can therefore be pinned down to ‘Abbād’s expedition). Al-Balādhurī mentions the characteristic high caps (*qalānisa ṭiwāl*) of the Kandaharis, and although his Arabic text is somewhat ambiguous here, it seems that ‘Abbād now re-named the town ‘Abbādiyya after himself (cf. K. Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar an Landverbindungen zwischen Iran und Indien*, 192–3, and Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 270). But Muslim control must have been thrown off by the time ‘Abbād was recalled from his governorship in 61/680–1; the name of ‘Abbādiyya is heard of no more, and at the time of the Muslim *débâcle* in Zamīndāwar in 79/698 (see C.E. Bosworth, *‘Ubaydallāh b. Abī Bakra and the “Army of Destruction” in Zābulistān (79/698)*, in *Isl.*, I (1973), 268–83), there was no Muslim-controlled territory east of Bust.

In this early Islamic period, Muslim authors tended to reckon Kandahar as part of the province of Sind (e.g., Ibn Khurradādhbih and Yāqūt; Yā‘qūbī, links Kandahar with Sind also), probably because the indigenous religion of the people of Zamīndāwar, the cult of the god Zūn, was considered as related to Indian faiths. In the reign of the ‘Abbasid caliph

al-Manṣūr there is mentioned a campaign by the governor of Sind, Hishām b. ‘Amr al-Taghlibī, against Multan, Kashmīr and Kandahar, but Marquart, following Reinaud, identified this Kandahar with the classical Gandhāra on the upper Indus, and in particular, with Wayhind, capital of the Hindū-Shāhīs.

However, Marquart commented how infrequently the name of Kandahar in Afghanistan appears in early Islamic sources. More commonly mentioned as the main centres of the region of Zamīndāwar are the towns of Panjwāy (al-Iṣṭakhrī, 250, says “al-Rukhkhaj is the name of a region, and Banjwāy is its capital”), and then, one day’s journey further on from Bust, Tigīnābād. Ancient Panjwāy was apparently situated on the road from Kandahar to modern Panjwāy, according to Mir Husain Shah, cf. also Le Strange, *Lands*, 346–7. The exact site of Tigīnābād, mentioned by Juwaynī in the 7th/13th century and appearing on an 18th-century European map as Tecniabad, is still unknown (see Fischer, *op. cit.*, 191–2). Marquart thought that *al-Rukhkhajayn*, “the two Rukhkhajis”, mentioned in the account of a raid into the region by Hārūn al-Rashīd’s governor ‘Isā b. ‘Alī b. Māhān, referred to these two places Panjwāy and Tigīnābād. It is certainly these two towns which are mentioned in sources from the Ghaznavid and Ghurid periods (e.g., Gardīzī, Bayhaqī and Jūzjānī), but there is no doubt that Kandahar itself continued to exist and to flourish. The Islamic old city of Kandahar, in whose remains one can clearly discern the classical eastern Islamic division of a citadel (*qal‘a, kuhandīz*), a town proper within the walls (*madīna, shahrastān*) and suburbs (*rabad, būrūn*), probably developed during this time.

With the destruction of the Ghaznavid centre of Lashkarī Bāzār/Qal‘a-yi Bist by the Ghurid ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Jahānsūz in 545/1150, the name of Kandahar comes back into prominence and is henceforth mentioned continuously. In 680/1280–1 Kandahar was conquered by Shams Dīn II b. Rukn al-Dīn Kart, the vassal ruler in Herat for the Il-Khanid Abaqa (B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*<sup>2</sup>, Berlin 1955, 158). Tīmūr conquered it and bestowed it on his grandson Pīr Muḥammad in 785/1383. In 821/1418 Kandahar became part of Soyurghatmīsh b. Shāh Rukh’s appanage, and in the later 9th/15th century it appears as a minting-place for Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bayqarā of Herat (875–912/1470–1506). It was under this latter ruler’s overlordship that the Arghunīd Dhu ‘l-Nūn Beg added the region of Kandahar and the adjacent parts of

what is now northeastern Baluchistan, sc. Sibi, Mustang and Quetta, to his other territories and made Kandahar his capital. This eventually led to conflict with the Timurid descendant Bābur, who was carving out for himself a principality on the Indo-Afghan fringes. Bābur captured Kabul from Dhu 'l-Nūn's son Muqīm in 910/1504, and Muqīm was allowed to fall back on Kandahar. However, Bābur felt that his hold on the Kabul River valley would be insecure whilst the Arghunids remained in eastern Afghanistan, so he attacked Muqīm and his brother Shāh Beg in Kandahar in 913/1507–8. Nevertheless, Shāh Beg was able to obtain Shaybānid help and return. Kandahar was not finally captured from him till 928/1522, after a drawn-out but intermittent siege (exaggeratedly enumerated in the sources as of five years' duration), the city's strong fortifications long preserving it; Shāh Beg now retreated southwards permanently to Sibi, Quetta and Sind (Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Dughlat, *Tā'rikh-i Rashīdī*, tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, London 1895, 202 ff., 357; *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, London 1921, 227, 332–9, 365–6, 429–36).

The Mughals did not enjoy unchallenged possession of Kandahar for long. After Bābur's death it was held by his son Kāmran Mīrzā, but was also coveted by the vigorous and aggressive Ṣafavid state in Persia under Shāh Ṭahmāsp I. After prolonged warfare with the Özbegs, the Ṣafavids had fallen heir to most of the Timurid inheritance in Khurasan, being in firm control of Herat after 934/1527–8; they accordingly wished to consolidate their position by the addition of Kandahar. Kāmran Mīrzā held the city against Ṣafavid attacks in 941/1534–6. In the internecine disputes of Kāmran and his half-brother Humāyūn, the latter was in 950/1543 forced to take refuge with Shāh Ṭahmāsp. In 952/1545 Humāyūn and a Persian army took Kandahar, but a month later Humāyūn turned on his Persian allies and seized the city for himself. In 965/1558 Ṭahmāsp recaptured it from the Mughal Emperor Akbar, and the latter did not regain it till 1003/1594–5. The Persians again took it from Jahāngīr b. Akbar in 1031/1622, and after ten years' reversion to Mughal control it passed in 1058/1648 into the hands of 'Abbās II, remaining with the Ṣafavids till 1121/1709. The Ṣafavid province of Kandahar also included the southerly districts of Mustang, Sibi, Kākārī, etc.; at various times in the 10th/16th century it was governed by royal princes of the Ṣafavid house (cf. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentral-*

*gewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*). It is from the mid-11th/17th century that we have a drawing of the walled city of Kandahar as it existed before Nādir Shāh's destructions, given by J.B. Tavernier in his *Travels*; he passed through Farah, Kandahar and Kabul on his way from Isfahan to Agra (the picture is reproduced in Fischer, *Zur Lage von Kandahar*, 149).

The end of Ṣafavid rule in Kandahar came at the hands of the Ghalzays, an Afghan tribe who had settled in the vicinity of Kandahar on lands left vacant when Shāh 'Abbās I had moved a considerable part of the original Abdālī occupants to the Herat region. In the course of the 11th/17th century, the Ghalzays had generally supported the Ṣafavid cause rather than that of the Mughals, but the leader of the Hōtak clan of the Ghalzays, Mīr Ways, now rebelled against the Ṣafavids, and in 1121/1709 declared his independence, though he contented himself with the title of *wakīl* "regent". On his death in 1127/1715, Mīr Ways was buried in Kandahar, and his grave was, until recently at least, regarded as a source of *baraka* or blessing, despite its being overshadowed by that of Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī (see below). Mīr Ways's son Maḥmūd (d. 1137/1725) consolidated his power, and it was from Kandahar that the Ghalzays streamed westwards into Persia and overthrew the decrepit Ṣafavid monarchy (see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafawī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958). However, the Ghalzays were unable to build a lasting state in Persia out of their conquests, and in 1150/1738 their original centre of Kandahar was lost when Nādir Shāh, with support from the Abdālīs of Herat, captured it after a lengthy investiture (Shawwāl 1149–Dhu 'l-Qa'da 1150/February 1737–March 1738; Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 114). Kandahar was at this time apparently called Ḥusaynābād after the city's Ghalzay governor Ḥusayn Sulṭān. Nādir now destroyed the "Ghalzay fortress", meaning here the whole of the walled city and not just the citadel. Today, the walls of the Islamic city are somewhat reduced in height, Nādir's destruction being aggravated by the depredations of local seekers of building materials, although as late as A. Le Messurier's time, substantial remnants of the triple enceinte were still visible (*Kandahar in 1879*, 245–6). Nādir built a new military encampment, Nādirābād, to the southeast of the old city and of the modern one; coins were minted by him with the names of both Nādirābād and Kan-

dahar, but the former was abandoned on his death in 1160/1747.

The development of the present-day city of Kandahar is connected with the replacement of Ghalzay power in the area by that of the Abdālī Afghans, for Nādir (in whose army Aḥmad Khān Abdālī had been prominent) allowed the Abdālīs to return to their original home. After Nādir's assassination, Aḥmad established his power in eastern Afghanistan. He founded a new city of Kandahar to the east of the old one, enclosing it with a wall and making it his capital; the city was named Aḥmad-Shāhī and this name, together with the epithet *Ashraf al-bilād*, "most noble of cities", appears on the coins which he minted there. He was buried there, and Elphinstone reports that 40 years after his death his tomb was much venerated by the Abdālīs or Durrānīs, and that a right of sanctuary existed at it (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*<sup>2</sup>, London 1839, ii, 132).

Under the Durrānī *Amīrs*, Kandahar still remained liable to vicissitudes. In the civil warfare among Aḥmad's grandsons Zamān Shāh, Maḥmūd and Shujā' al-Mulk possession of the city fluctuated between the contenders. The Bārakzay amīr Dūst Muḥammad became unchallenged ruler in Kabul in 1241/1826 and transferred the capital thither, leaving his brother Kūhandīl Khān as governor in Kandahar. During the latter's governorship, Shāh Shujā', of the line of Sadōzay Durrānīs dispossessed from control of eastern Afghanistan, had endeavoured to reconquer Kandahar (1250/1834); during the First Afghan-British War, Shāh Shujā' temporarily became amīr of both Kandahar and Kabul (1255/1839). In the Second Afghan War, Kandahar became for a few months in 1297/1880 the centre of an independent Afghan state under a member of the Sadōzay family, Sardār Shīr 'Alī. But after the attempt to seize Kandahar made from Herat by Ayyūb b. Shīr 'Alī b. Dūst Muḥammad, and Ayyūb's subsequent defeat by the British general Roberts, separate existence of this state based on Kandahar was ended, and the united country handed over to 'Abd al-Raḥmān Khān.

The modern city of Kandahar had a population estimated in 1962 at ca. 120,000, and the province of which it is the capital had in 1969 an estimated population of 724,000. The whole area round the city is a rich agricultural one, supplying the colder regions of northern Afghanistan, and also Pakistan, with fruit and vegetables; water is brought to many

parts of this agricultural hinterland by a complex system of underground channels or *kāriẓs* from the nearby hills. In the 1960s Kandahar acquired an airport of international dimensions, and the roads connecting it with Kabul and Herat were metalled. As opposed to the capital Kabul, Kandahar is in the centre of a strongly Pashto-speaking region, and has thus had an important rôle in the governmental policy of the mid-20th century of encouraging that language; it was, for instance, in Kandahar that the Pashto propagandist society *Wīsh Zalmīyān*, "Awakening Youth", was founded in 1947. It has nevertheless lagged behind the capital in social and educational progress. Holdich remarked on the tolerance towards foreigners of Kabul compared with the fanaticism of Kandahar (*The gates of India*). In connection with this, Kandahar was the scene of anti-government riots in 1959, primarily caused by grievances over taxation, but also involving an element of conservative protest at the permissory abolition of the veil for women. The reputation of Kandahar and its region as a focus for Islamist extremism has meant that it has been in recent times a centre for the Taliban. In 2002 the population was estimated at 886,000.

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**KANO**, a city in northern Nigeria, the administrative centre of Kano State, situated in lat. 12° 00' N, long. 8° 31' E.

# I. HISTORY AND POLITICS

Kano is reputed to have originated before the 4th/10th century as a pagan settlement at the foot of Dalla hill, a large rocky outcrop which dominates the present city. The traditional accounts of this early period suggest that the inhabitants adhered to an animist, spirit-possession cult similar to the *bori* cult which has survived in northern Nigeria to the present day, and that the cult head combined his priestly functions with those of a temporal ruler.

In the 4th/10th century the city was visited by “strangers” under their leader, Bagauda, who are described as having come from the north under pressure of famine in their own country. They settled in Kano with the consent of the indigenous inhabitants and then, by superior skills and cunning, established mastery over them. Whether these immigrants were Muslims is uncertain, although according to the traditional account Bagauda also bore the name Dāwūd. But they clearly did not belong to the indigenous cult and the Kano Chronicle (see *Bibl.*) records that some generations passed before they became integrated into it. Their contribution to the development of Kano seems to have been that they set up a city state, with fairly clearly defined territorial boundaries and an administrative centre within the walled city, where previously there had existed only a stateless, hunting and primitive agriculturalist society living in scattered open hamlets and clearings in the bush.

After Bagauda, the first Islamic name to occur in the king-list is that of Osumanu Zamnagawa, who reigned from 743/1343 to 750/1349 by the Kano Chronicle dating. According to the same source, his reign was followed by the arrival in Kano of the Wangarawa, that is Islamic missionaries from Mali, during the reign of Yaji (750–87/1349–85), but a recent account based on the discovery of a 17th-century chronicle of the Wangarawa (Muḥammad al-Hājj, *A Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of the Origins and Missionary Activities of the Wangarawa*, in *Kano Studies*, i/4 [1968] suggests that this event took place in the 9th/15th century and not in the 8th/14th century. Other evidence also tends to support the view that the 9th/15th rather than the 8th/14th century was the point at which an Islamic presence became firmly

established in Kano, even though some indeterminate Islamic influences may well have been abroad at an earlier date. For instance, it is between 793/1390 and 813/1410 that the quilted horse armour (Arabic *al-libd*, Hausa *lifidi*) together with mail shirts were introduced, a fact which suggests contacts with Islamic North Africa. Also, between 824/1421 and 841/1438 a “prince” and his followers arrived in the city from Bornu, a kingdom where Islam had already been established since, reputedly, the 5th/11th century. This was followed by the opening of trade relations with Bornu. By 856/1452 camels are said to have appeared in the city and slave-raiding in the country south of Kano had become a profitable occupation of the aristocracy. All of this suggests that Kano had, by the middle of the 9th/15th century, become involved in the trans-Saharan caravan trade and this, of course, offers a reliable indication for the chronology of islamisation.

The next major landmark in this chronology is the arrival in Kano of the well-known Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Maghīlī al-Tilimsānī (d. 909/1504), a Muslim *‘ālim* and missionary from North Africa. This personality became the focus of the Islamic tradition in Kano, and indeed in Hausaland as a whole. He is credited with introducing the Shar‘a and Sufism and, indeed, all things Islamic are said to go back to al-Maghīlī. No doubt he was personally important; but the true significance of his presence in the city is that it signals the time when, as a result of increasing involvement in the Saharan trade complex and political contacts with Bornu, Kano became opened up to the surrounding Islamic areas of North Africa and Egypt.

A further step on the way toward fuller islamisation took place during Muḥammad Rumfā’s reign (867–904/1463–99). He is said to have introduced Islamic segregation of the sexes, the public observation of Islamic festivals and he also appointed eunuchs to office, thus possibly copying a practice common in courts elsewhere in the Islamic world during the Mamluk and Ottoman periods.

Kano’s relations with the other Sudanese and Saharan states during the period before the Fulani *jihād* are both involved and sometimes obscure. They are treated in Johnston and Hogben and Kirk-Greene (see *Bibl.*) and need only be reviewed in outline in an article essentially concerned with Islamic aspects. In the 9th/15th century Kano was probably subject to

Bornu, to the extent of paying tribute. In the early 10th/16th century it was defeated by Songhai, but the native dynasty remained in power, paying tribute to Songhai but apparently otherwise undisturbed. Songhai control seems soon to have lapsed and later in the century Kano came under the domination of the Kebbi kingdom after a period of debilitating wars against its neighbour Katsine. Throughout the 11th/17th century, both the city and the state of Kano were the targets for constant attacks by the warlike Kwararafa from the Benue area. During the first half of the 12th/18th century Bornu again became overlord of Kano, but its place was later taken by the Gobir kingdom, whose king, Babari (1155–84/1742–70), established mastery and levied tribute. These military defeats, however, seem to have had little detrimental effect on the wealth and prosperity of the city, while the rulers appear to have retained all their authority within their kingdom and to have increased in pomp and circumstance. For instance, Babba Zaki (1182–90/1768–76) introduced a uniformed bodyguard of musketeers into his court and is described as having deliberately imitated the ways of the Arabs – in the first instance presumably the life-style of the Arab merchants resident in Kano, but through them the ceremonial and protocol of North African and Egyptian courts. He ruled as an able but ruthless despot. There is evidence of some factional divisions in his court, however, while the account of the reign of one of his near predecessors, Kumbari (1143–56/1731–43), tells of popular resentment against excessive taxation. These scraps of evidence may point to a state of affairs that brought about the events of the reign of Muhammad Alwali (1195–1222/1781–1807), namely the successful Fulani *jihād* in Kano, the expulsion of Alwali and the installation of the first Fulani amir of Kano, Sulaymanu (1222–35/1807–19), who founded the Fulani dynasty which has ruled the emirate since that time. Sulaymanu was followed in 1235/1819 by Ibrahim Dabo, a renowned warrior who earned the Hausa epithet *Ci gari*, “conquer city”. During the following half-century frequent attacks on the city by the ousted Habe dynasty were defeated, while intermittent war was carried on against the Ningi pagans, a powerful group who still held an enclave on the southern border of the amirate which had not been pacified during the *jihād*.

During the reign of the amir Usuman (1262–72/1846–55) the German explorer, Heinrich Barth,

visited the city. He describes it as a thriving centre of trade, with a market plentifully stocked with goods of European and North African origin. He also provided a sketch map of the city as it was at that time and estimated its population at 30,000.

In 1311/1893 a civil war broke out in Kano, occasioned by a succession dispute between two contenders for the throne, Yusufu and Tukur. Tukur, the nominee of the caliph in Sokoto, proved unacceptable to Kano, but at the root of the trouble lay Kano’s resentment at Sokoto’s interference. The civil war subsided on the death of the two principal protagonists but served to establish the limitations on caliphal authority. The tension between Sokoto and its powerful feudatory Kano has continued to be a factor in their relations ever since.

Kano figured prominently in the events leading to the British occupation of Hausaland early in the present century. It was visited at the end of the 19th century by the British missionary Canon C.H. Robinson and again early in the 20th century by a party of which Dr. Walter Miller was a member. Both gave somewhat unfavourable accounts of Islam and of the Kano administration, which probably contributed to the climate of opinion in the United Kingdom which made the occupation possible. On the eve of that occupation the amir of Kano, Aliyu (1312–21/1894–1903), gave asylum to the Magajin Keffi, the murderer of Sir Frederick Lugard’s emissary, Captain Moloney. This provided Lugard with part of his justification for military intervention and in February 1903 the city fell to a British force after a brief and ineffective resistance.

During the colonial period, Kano developed both as a centre of the newly introduced Western system of education and as the emporium of the new groundnut trade upon which the economy of northern Nigeria came largely to depend. It was the locale of the School for Arabic Studies, an institution set up by the colonial government to train teachers of Arabic and the Islamic sciences in modern pedagogic methods. Abdullahi Bayero College, a college of Ahmadu Bello University, was also founded in Kano.

The city has always been, and still is, an important centre for Sufi activities. Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Maghīlī is traditionally supposed to have introduced Ṣūfism to Hausaland, and Kano and Katsina were the two centres he visited. It may be assumed that the Qādiriyya order was the first of



the *ṭarīqas* to be established and it is still probably the *ṭarīqa* of the majority even at the present day. But the Tijāniyya are also strong, reflecting, perhaps, the rivalry with Sokoto referred to above. The Sokoto ruling family is identified with the Qādiriyya, and indeed bases its claim to political authority largely on the *silsila* of Shehu Usman dan Fodio ('Uthmān b. Fūdī) linking him to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī. This is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that the former *amir* of Kano, Muhammadu Sanusi, became at one time the official head of the Tijāniyya in northern Nigeria.

During the closing era of the colonial period, which saw the rise of European-style political parties in northern Nigeria, the two *ṭarīqas* were deeply involved in the political struggle for power which the prospect of independence provoked. The Qādiriyya in Kano was, on the whole, identified with support for NPC, the party of the establishment led by the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello, a scion of the Sokoto ruling house, while the Tijāniyya tended to favour the northern Nigerian opposition party, NEPU, led by Malam Mainu Kano. While the Kano ruling dynasty was bound by its essential interests to support NPC, the rivalry with Sokoto was by no means healed, and in 1963 the reigning *amir* of Kano, Sir Muhammadu Sanusi, "resigned" under pressure from the central government headed at that time by the premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria, the late Alhaji Sir Ahmadu Bello. This event, symptomatic of the clash of interest between the traditional "given" authority of Sokoto arising out of the Fulani *jihād* in the early 19th century, and the rising economic and political power of Kano in a changing world, gave rise to agitation for an autonomous Kano state. This has, in some measure, been conceded by the present military administration. These tensions, which were real and which at times manifest themselves in a violent fashion, should however be seen in a proper perspective. They were inevitable in a society that has a long and sophisticated political tradition. But at a social and cultural level the people of Kano, and indeed their rulers, shared, and still share, with those of the rest of northern Nigeria, including Sokoto, a strong sentiment of their common Islamic identity and a corresponding sense of solidarity.

In December 1980 Kano was the locus of a violent Muslim sectarian outbreak. The *mallam* or religious leader Muhammadu Marwa, nicknamed Mai Tatsine,

previously exiled for his inflammatory views, had returned to Kano in 1966, after the weakening of traditional bonds with the abolition in 1963 of the emirs' judicial authority. He built up a popular following on a basis of the pure Islamic community of believers separating itself from the impure Muslim majority. The outbreak was suppressed by the Nigerian Army, with Mai Tatsine himself killed and 4,000 people dying in the disturbances, although the movement survived.

In recent decades, Kano has become a considerable agricultural centre, especially for the peanut-growing of the region, and also a centre for industry and manufactures, benefiting from the city's oil boom. In 2004 the population of the city was 1,166,554.

## II. LEARNING AND LITERATURE

The tradition of Islamic literacy in Kano goes back to the late 9th/15th century 'ālim and Islamic missionary, al-Maghīlī, who composed a set of *fatāwā* for the benefit of Muhamman Rumfa, ruler of Kano from 867/1463 to 904/1499. Later scholars such as, for instance, Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Aqīt and a certain 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Qaṣrī are said to have visited Kano shortly after al-Maghīlī, although the exact chronology of their visits is uncertain. No record of any composition from their pens survives but they may reasonably be supposed to have nourished the tradition of Islamic learning established in the city by this time. Later, *ca.* 937/1530, Makhlūf b. 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ al-Bilbālī resided in the city and it is likely that, through his acquaintance with the *faqīh* al-'Āqīb b. 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣamunī al-Massūfī, he was a link with the Egyptian polyhistor, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, the influence of whose writings is known to have been seminal in the development of an indigenous Islamic literature in Hausaland, both in classical Arabic and in the two main vernacular languages, Hausa and Fulfulde (see E.M. Sertain, *Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī's relations with the people of Tākrūr*, in *JSS*, xvi [1971], 193–8).

As far as is known, the earliest extant work of a Kano 'ālim is *al-Atīyya li 'l-mu'ī* of 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Salām, known in Hausa as Abdullahi Sikka. This work is a long *manẓūma* or versification of forty *abwāb*, in the *basīt* metre, on the

*ibādāt* and matters relating to Islamic eschatology. Its importance lies in the fact that it demonstrates the thoroughness with which the basic religious sciences were established in Kano early in the 11th/17th century, when the author flourished. Moreover, certain of the *abwāb* such as *Bāb al-julūs min al-dunyā*, *Bāb ‘alāmāt qurb al-sā’a*, and the like, suggest the presence of Sufi influences and the currency of Mahdist expectations even at this early date.

Kano was not subsequently remarkable for creative literary activity but seems to have relied on imported literary materials from peripheral Islamic areas and, later, on the writings of the prolific literary families of Sokoto. The first Kano scholar to have contributed to the vernacular Islamic literature which developed in Hausaland from ca. 1164/1750 onwards was Usuman, an *imām* of Miga, in Kano amirate. Born in Sokoto, he came to live in Kano during the reign of Sulaymanu, composing there his long Hausa *manzūma*, *Mu san samuwar Jalla* “Know the Existence of the Glorious God”. This is a typical versification on *tawhīd*, manifestly based on such classical Arabic sources as the well-known *Umm al-barāhīn* of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī and the *Jawharat al-tawhīd* of Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī.

Another, rather later contributor to the vernacular Islamic literature in Kano was Asim Degel, who flourished ca. 1262/1846. Also a native of Sokoto, he moved to Kano when he was a young man and composed a Hausa *naẓm* on astrology, drawn from the Arabic works of such locally popular North African authors as the 8th/14th-century Muḥammad ‘Abd Ḥaqq, known as Abū Muqri’ and the 11th/17th-century ‘Abd Wāḥid b. Ḥusayn b. Ismā‘īl al-Rajrājī. Of greater literary interest is his *Wakar Muḥammadu* the “Song of Muḥammad”, a long Hausa versification in the Arabic *ṭawīl* metre, giving great prominence to the *mi‘rāj* and displaying late accretional influences which seem to reflect his familiarity with the writings of Ibn ‘Arabī and such later popular writers on this sense as al-Ghayṭī and al-Dardīr.

Another well-known literary personality who was a native of Kano and received part of his schooling there before settling in Salaga, northern Ghana, was Alhaji Umaru Salaga (b. ca. 1271/1854; d. 1934). One of his well-known Hausa works is *Wakar Nasara*, the “Song of the Christians”, in which he gives an account of the British occupation of Hausaland as seen through Hausa eyes. Some also attribute to him

the otherwise anonymous works *Wakar Bagauda* (see *Bibl.*), and *Bakandamiya*, also a Hausa versification on the occupation, but these attributions are uncertain. He composed a number of works in Arabic as well as in Hausa.

Among mid-20th-century authors in the Islamic tradition the best-known is probably Alhaji Muhammadu dan Amu, a writer of *madīḥ* in Hausa, whose long Hausa *manzūma* with the Arabic title *Manzūma fī bayān al-dīn* is widely read in Northern Nigeria. Much of this Islamic writing consists of panegyric to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī and Aḥmad al-Tijānī. Typical of this genre is the composition of Malam Abubakar Atiku, a well-known member of the Tijāniyya in Kano, which bears the Arabic title *‘Aybat al-fuqarā’* and is a macaronic poem in Arabic and Hausa praising al-Tijānī.

An important part in the Islamic life of Kano City is played by the *makarantan ilmi*, the schools of higher Islamic learning. There are at least twelve substantial establishments of this type in Kano city, although in fact the total number is much greater than this, for any Muslim literate may set up such a school. In these institutions higher Islamic learning – *fiqh*, *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr* and such classical literary masterpieces as the *Mu‘allaqāt*, the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī and the works of Ibn ‘Arabī – is taught. Kano is now well known for the excellence of its higher Islamic schools and is a centre to which students come from all over the western and central Sudan. The *makarantan ilmi*, which exist independently of the secular, state education system, foster a continuing and still vigorous tradition of Islamic scholarship in the city and it seems probable that Kano has now overtaken Katsina and Sokoto – both earlier centres of learning – as the focus of traditional Islamic education in northern Nigeria.

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**KARBALA**, Kerbala, in Arabic, Karbala, a town of central Iraq, one of the most important Shi'ite shrines. It is situated in lat. 32° 37' N., long. 44° 03' E., to the west of the middle course of the Eurphrates, where the agricultural zone merges into the desert, and about 88 km/55 miles to the south-southwest of Baghdad. Its significance for the Shi'a arises from the fact that the Prophet Muhammad's grandson al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī was buried there after the failure in 61/680 of his attempted rebellion against the Umayyad caliphate, in which he was killed, and his tomb speedily became a place of pilgrimage as the Mashhad al-Ḥusayn.

The name Karbala probably comes from the Aramaic Karbelā (Daniel, iii, 21) and from the Assyrian Karballatu, a kind of headdress. It is not mentioned in the pre-Islamic period. Khālīd b. al-Walīd camped there after the capture of al-Ḥīra. At al-Ḥā'ir, where al-Ḥusayn was buried, the Qabr al-Ḥusayn was built and very soon began to attract pilgrims. As early as 65/684–5 we find Sulaymān b. Ṣurad going with his followers to Ḥusayn's grave where he spent a day and a night. The custodians of the tomb at quite an early date were endowed by the pious benefactions of Umm Mūsā, mother of the caliph al-Mahdī (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 752).

The caliph al-Mutawakkil in 236/850–1 destroyed the tomb and its annexes and had the ground levelled and sown; he prohibited under threat of heavy penalties visiting the holy places (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1407; Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 32). Ibn Ḥawqal, however, mentions about 366/977 a large *mashhad* with a domed chamber, entered by a door on each side, over the tomb of al-Ḥusayn, which in

his time was already much visited by pilgrims. Ḍabba b. Muḥammad al-Asadī of 'Ayn al-Tamr, supreme chief of a number of tribes, devastated Mashhad al-Ḥā'ir (Karbala) along with other sanctuaries, for which a punitive expedition was sent against 'Ayn al-Tamr in 369/979–80 before which he had fled into the desert. In the same year, the Shi'ite Buyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla took the two sanctuaries of Mashhad 'Alī (= al-Najaf) and Mashhad al-Ḥusayn under his special protection. Ḥasan b. Faḍl, who died in 414/1023–4, built a wall round the holy tomb at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn, as he also did at Mashhad 'Alī.

In Rabī' I 407/August–September 1016, a great conflagration broke out caused by the upsetting of two wax candles, which reduced the main building (*qubba*) and the open halls (*al-arwiqa*) to ashes.

When the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shāh came to Baghdad in 479/1086–7, he did not neglect to visit the two Mashhads of 'Alī and al-Ḥusayn. The two sanctuaries at this time were known as al-Mashhadān, on the analogy of the duals al-ʿIrāqān, al-Baṣratān, al-Ḥīratān, al-Miṣrān, etc. The Il-Khanid Ghazan in 702/1303 visited Karbala and gave lavish gifts to the sanctuary. He or his father Arghūn is credited with bringing water to the district by leading a canal from the Frāt (the modern Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya).

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 99, tr. Gibb, ii, 325–6, visited Karbala in 727/1326–7 from al-Ḥilla and describes it as a small town which lies among palm groves and gets its water from the Frāt. In the centre is the sacred tomb; beside it is a large *madrasa* and the famous hostel (*al-zāwiya*) in which the pilgrims are entertained. Admission to the tomb could only be obtained by permission of the gate-keeper. The pilgrims kiss the silver sarcophagus, above which hang gold and silver lamps. The doors are hung with silken curtains. The inhabitants are divided into the Awlād Rakhīk and Awlād Fāyiz, whose continual feuds are detrimental to the town, although they are all Shi'ites. About the same date, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī gives the circumference of the town as 2,400 paces; he mentions there also the tomb of Ḥurr Riyā (b. Yazīd), who was the first to fall fighting for Ḥusayn at Karbala.

The Safavid Shāh Ismā'īl I (d. 930/1524) made a pilgrimage to al-Najaf and Mashhad al-Ḥusayn. The Ottoman sultan Süleymān the Magnificent visited the two sanctuaries in 941/1534–5, repaired the canal at Mashhad al-Ḥusayn (al-Ḥusayniyya) and transformed

the fields which had been buried in sand into gardens again. The Manārat al-ʿAbd, formerly called Engusht-i Yār, was built in 982/1574–5. Murād III in 991/1583 ordered the governor of Baghdad, ʿAlī Pasha b. Alwand, to build or more correctly, restore, a sanctuary over the grave of Ḥusayn. Soon after the capture of Baghdad in 1032/1623, ʿAbbās the Great won the Mashhads for the Persian empire. Nādir Shāh visited Karbala in 1156/1743; while he is credited with gilding the dome in Mashhad ʿAlī, he is also said to have confiscated endowments intended for the clerics of Karbala.

The great prosperity of the place of pilgrimage and its large number of inhabitants is emphasised on the occasion of the pilgrimage of ʿAbd Karīm, a favourite of Nādir Shāh. Radiyya Sulṭān Bēgum, a daughter of Shāh Ḥusayn (1105–34/1694–1722), presented 20,000 *nādirīs* for improvements at the mosque of Ḥusayn. The founder of the Qajar dynasty, Āghā Muḥammad Khān, towards the end of the 12th/18th century, presented the gold covering for the dome and the *manāra* of the sanctuary of Ḥusayn.

In Dhu ʿl-Hijja 1215/April 1801, in the absence of the pilgrims who had gone to al-Najaf, 12,000 Wahhābīs under Shaykh Suʿūd entered Karbala, slew over 3,000 inhabitants there and looted the houses and bazaars. In particular, they carried off the gilt copper plates and other treasures of the sanctuary and destroyed the shrine. But after this catastrophe contributions poured in for the sanctuary from the whole Shiʿite world. After a temporary occupation of Karbala by the Persians, Najīb Pasha in 1259/1843 succeeded by force of arms in enforcing the recognition of Turkish suzerainty over the town; the walls of the present old town were now for the most part destroyed. The Ottoman governor Midḥat Pasha in 1288/1871 began the building of government offices, which remained incomplete, and extended the adjoining market place.

Karbala has always been a particularly rich town, not only because of its possession of the shrine but also because it has been a starting-point for Persian pilgrim caravans to Najaf and Mecca and a “desert port” for trade with the interior of Arabia. The old town with its tortuous streets is now surrounded by modern suburbs. About half of the resident population is Persian, and there is a strong mixture of Indian and Pakistani Muslims; there have long been Indian connections

through the shrine’s benefiting from the former ruler of Oudh’s bequests. Of the remaining Shiʿite Arabs, the most important tribes amongst them are the Banū Saʿd, Salālma, al-Wuzūm, al-Tahāmza and Nāṣiriyya. The Dede family has been especially prominent; it was rewarded with extensive estates by Sulṭan Selīm I for constructing the Nahr al-Ḥusayniyya.

The name Karbala strictly speaking only applies to the eastern part of the palm gardens which surround the town in a semi-circle on its east side (Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, 41). The town itself is called al-Mashhad or Mashhad al-Ḥusayn. The sanctuary of the third Imām lies in a court yard (*ṣaḥn*) 354 × 270 feet in area, which is surrounded by *līvāns* and cells. Its walls are decorated with a continuous ornamental band which is said to contain the whole Qurʾān written in white on a blue ground. The building itself is 156 × 138 feet in area. The rectangular main building entered by the “golden outer hall” (picture in Grothe, *Geogr. Charakterbilder*, pl. lxxviii, fig. 136) is surrounded by a valued corridor, in which the pilgrims go round the sanctuary (*ṭawāf*). In the middle of the central domed chamber is the shrine (*ṣandūqa*) of Ḥusayn, about 6 feet high and 12 feet long surrounded by silver *mashrabīyya* work, at the foot of which stands a second smaller shrine, that of his son and companion-in-arms ʿAlī Akbar. “The general impression made by the interior must be called fairy-like, when in the dusk – even in the daytime it is dim inside – the light of innumerable lamps and candles around the silver shrine, reflected a thousand and again a thousand times from the innumerable small crystal facets, produces a charming effect beyond the dreams of imagination. In the roof of the dome the light loses its strength, only here and there a few crystal surfaces gleam like the stars in the sky” (A. Nöldeke). The sanctuary is adorned on the *qibla* face with magnificent and costly ornamentation. Two *manāras* flank the entrance. A third, the Manārat al-ʿAbd, rises before the buildings on the east side of the *ṣaḥn*; south of it the face of the buildings surrounding the court recedes about 50 feet; on this spot is a Sunnī mosque. Adjoining the *ṣaḥn* on the north side is a large *madrasa*, the courtyard of which measures about 84 feet square with a mosque of its own and several *miḥrābs*.

About 600 yards to the northeast of the sanctuary of al-Ḥusayn is the mausoleum of his half-brother

‘Abbās. On the road which runs westward out of the town is the site of the tent of al-Ḥusayn (*khaymagāh*). The building erected there (plan in Nöldeke, pl. vii; photograph in Grothe, pl. lxxxiv, fig. 145) has the plan of a tent and on both sides of the entrance there are stone copies of camel saddles.

On the desert plateau (*ḥammād*) west of the town stretch the graves of devout Shi‘ites. North of the gardens of Karbala lie the suburbs, gardens and fields of al-Bqere, to the north-west those of Qurra, and to the south those of al-Ghādhirīya. Among places in the vicinity, Yāqūt mentions al-‘Aqr and al-Nawāyih.

A branch line diverging north of al-Hilla connects Karbala with the Baghdad-Basra railway. The sanctuary of al-Ḥusayn still has the reputation of securing entrance to Paradise for those buried there, hence many aged pilgrims and those in failing health go there to die on the holy spot.

Modern Karbala is the administrative centre of a *muḥāfaẓa* or province of the same name. The permanent population in 2006 was 741,744, but the population is much swollen during the Shi‘ite pilgrimage time of the month of Muharram.

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**KASHGHAR**, in Arabic script Kāshghar, in Chinese Ka-shih, Ko-shih, an ancient city of Eastern Turkestan, what has been for the last three centuries or so the Chinese province of Sinkiang/Xinjiang. It

is situated in lat. 39° 29' N., long. 76° 02' E., at the extreme western end of the Tarim basin and to the south of the Tien Shan range which separates Sinkiang from the modern Kirghiz Republic, in a fertile oasis region watered by the Kashghar river which flows eastwards into the Tarim river.

The name *Kāshghar* first appears in Chinese transcription (K’iu-cha) in the *T’ang-shu*; cf. E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 121–2. On the pre-Islamic Kashghar and the ruins of Buddhist buildings in the vicinity, see A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford 1907, i, 52–3; idem, *Serindia*, Oxford 1921, 80–1. Arab armies did not reach Kashghar; the story of Qutayba’s campaign in 96/715 is, as shown by H.A.R. Gibb in *BSOS*, ii (1923), 467–8, to be a mere legend. Since ca. 132/750, Kashghar was under Qarluq rule and turkicised by them. In the Samanid period, a *Dihqān* of Kashghar with the name or title Ṭoghān Tigīn is mentioned (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 37), with whom the rebel prince Ilyās b. Ishāq took refuge; whether this *Dihqān* had already adopted Islam is not mentioned. At a later date, Satuq Boghrā Khān is mentioned as the first Muslim Khān of Kashghar; in the oldest reference to him that we have (Jamāl Qarshī, in Barthold, *Turkestan*<sup>3</sup>, 255, 257) the date of his death is given as 344/955–6. This story already contains features which are certainly legendary; in the story of the building of the first mosque we have the well-known folklore motif of the cutting of an ox-skin into strips. The later legend, reproduced by F. Grenard (*Jā*, Ser. 9, vol. xv, 1–2), has not this feature but contains many other legendary traits and absolutely false dates. The year 344 A.H. is perhaps too early, as probably the story of the adoption of Islam by a numerous Turkish people (200,000 tents) in 349/960 must be referred to the Turks of Kashghar; this story is found not only in Ibn al-Athīr but also in Miskawayh; the original source is probably Thābit b. Sinān al-Ṣābi’. The tomb of Satuq Boghrā Khān is in Artūch (now pronounced Artush) north of Kashghar, where it is still shown.

Under the rule of the Ilig Khāns or Qarakhanids, who confessed Islam since ca. 950, Kashghar was politically the most important town in the Tarim basin; perhaps it was also the most important from the point of view of culture. In the 5th/11th century there was already in existence a work in Arabic on the history of the town, composed by Abu ‘l-Futūḥ ‘Abd

al-Ghāfir (or 'Abd al-Ghaffār) b. Ḥusayn al-Alma'ī al-Kājgharī (*sic*); the author's father, who survived his son (according to al-Sam'ānī by about ten years), died in 486/1093. On father and son and the works of the latter, see al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, and Jamāl Qarshī in Barthold, *Turkestan*, i, 123–4. The rulers – since 1130 under the overlordship of the Qara Khitay – were in a special mausoleum (Arabic *al-junbadha al-khāqāniyya*) on the bank of the Tūmen; the first prince buried there died in Muḥarram 424/December 7 1032–January 5 1033, and the last in Rajab 601/22 February–23 March 1205. During their rule, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī wrote his great Turkish dictionary in Baghdad, and Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥajīb his *Qutadghu bilig* in Kashghar. During Mongol rule, a *madrassa* was built in Kashghar by Mas'ūd Beg; in its library was the copy of the *Shihāh* of al-Jawharī used by Jamāl Qarshī for his translation. Kashghar was later under the rule of the Dughlat Amīrs; the last of them, Abū Bakr, reigned till 920/1514, according to the statement of his relative Ḥaydar Mīrzā for forty-eight years (Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E. Denison Ross, London 1895, 253, 326); but this is contradicted by the author himself, who says that Kashghar was not conquered by Abū Bakr till 885/1480–1. Abū Bakr is the founder of the modern town. He destroyed the old fortress and in the last years of his reign rebuilt it on a new site, on the other side of the Tūmen on the tongue of land between this river and the Qizil Sū.

Eastern Turkestan and Kashghar came within the Khanate of the Chaghatayids, descendants of Chingiz Khan's son Chaghatay (see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 248–9 no. 132), and the Chaghatayids latterly shared power in Kashghar with the Dughlat tribe of Turks until the final extinction of the Chaghatayids in 1678, although their capital tended to be at Yarkand rather than at Kashghar. They were succeeded by the Khojas, lines of political and spiritual leaders in the towns of western Sinkiang, who endured till the Manchu Ch'ing emperors incorporated Eastern Turkestan into their empire in the mid-18th century as Sinkiang "the new dominion."

In the 19th century, Kashghar was the centre, from 1865 onwards, of the rebellion against Chinese rule by Ya'qub Beg (d. 1877), and briefly, till 1878, of his son Beg Qulī Beg. Ya'qub Beg endeavoured to involve

the Ottoman sultan and the European powers in his movement, and diplomatic contacts of this time are described by H.W. Bellew in Sir Thomas D. Forsyth, *Report of a mission to Yarkand in 1873*, Calcutta 1875. With the re-imposition of Chinese rule under a Tao-t'ai or governor and the official incorporation of Sinkiang into the Chinese empire, Russian and British consuls were appointed to Kashghar, now once more the capital in place of Yarkand.

In the early 20th century, Kashghar was involved in another Muslim rebellion against the Chinese, that of Khoja Niyāzī Ḥājīr, only suppressed in 1934 with Soviet Russian help to the Chinese government. Further Muslim outbreaks and secessionist movements followed in the later 1930s and 1940s. After the Chinese Communists took over in 1949, repression of the Turkish Muslim population increased and there was mass implantation of ethnic Chinese into Sinkiang, so that the Uyghur, Sunni Turkish element in cities like Kashghar is probably now a minority. A population estimate of *ca.* 1970 put the population of Kashghar at 100,000; there do not seem to be any reliable more recent figures. The most important Muslim shrine in the vicinity of Kashghar is Hazrat Apāq, the tomb of a celebrated 17th century holy man.

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**KAZAN**, in Arabic script Qāzān, a city on the middle Volga, in the eastern part of Russia, some 760 km/465 miles east of Moscow, and situated in lat. 55° 45' N., long. 49° 10' E.

The ethnogenesis of the Tatars, who by the 15th century formed a state along the middle and lower

course of the Volga as far south as what is now Saratov and eastwards to the Urals, has been the subject of much discussion. One suggestion has been that, since the territory controlled from Kazan in the 15th and 16th centuries corresponds *grosso modo* to that of the northern part of the Bulgar kingdom known to us from the travel account of Ibn Faḍlān in the early 10th century A.D. and from archaeology, these later Tatars were descendants of the Bulgars. Hence there would be a continuum of Bulgar culture which survived the cataclysms of the Mongol invasions and provided the basis for the political unit of the Volga Tatars which subsequently emerged; elements of the Finno-Ugrian peoples of the region were turcised and contributed to the Tatar nation by the time of the Golden Horde. Others, however, have regarded the Volga Tatars as essentially of Qipchaq origin, since Qipchaqs made up the greater part of the Turco-Mongol Golden Horde of the later 13th and 14th centuries, i.e. the Tatars of Kazan are the direct descendants of the Golden Horde.

Whatever the truth here, there is a consensus that the Khanate of Kazan was founded in the first half of the 15th century by a Chingizid descendant, Ulu Muḥammad, son of Jalāl al-Dīn and grandson of Toqtamīsh, at the time when the Golden Horde was breaking up. From the start, the Khanate took an active part in the internecine wars of the Russian principalities. In 1438 Muḥammad besieged Moscow and destroyed Kolomna. In 1445, his son Maḥmūdek defeated and took captive the Grand Prince of Moscow Vasili II, whom he released shortly afterwards. In the same year, Maḥmūdek seized the town of Kazan, where a prince called ‘Alī Beg was ruling. In the following year, Ulu Muḥammad was put to death by Maḥmūdek, and at the same time, two of his sons, Qāsim and Ya‘qūb b. Ulu Muḥammad, took refuge in Russia. Qāsim received from the Grand Prince of Moscow as an apanage the town of Gorodok, which in his honour assumed the name of Qāsimov and became the capital of a vassal Khanate of Moscow whose rulers were the aides of Russian policy. Maḥmūdek reigned till 1462; his successors were then his sons Khalīl (1462–7) and Ibrāhīm (1467–79). The latter waged war against Muscovy, at first with success, and in 1468 succeeded in temporarily capturing Viatka, but in 1469 the Russians went over to the offensive and came to besiege Kazan. They compelled Ibrāhīm to set free all the Russian

prisoners in Kazan, without however managing to place their protégé Qāsim on the throne there. After his death in 1479, Ibrāhīm was succeeded by his son ‘Alī (according to certain sources, Ilhām). In 1487, the brother of this last, Muḥammad Amīn, sought refuge in Russia and then appeared before Kazan at the head of a Russian army. After a three-weeks’ siege, the town surrendered; ‘Alī was exiled to Vologda and Muḥammad Amīn installed as Khan. In 1495 he was expelled from the town by an incursion of Tatars from the Khanate of Sibir, led by their Khan Mamūq b. Ibāq, who ruled in Kazan for a year, until in 1496, defeated by the Russians and at the wish of the local populace, he made over the throne to ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, younger brother of Muḥammad Amīn. In 1502 ‘Abd al-Laṭīf was summoned to Russia and the throne given back to Muḥammad Amīn. The latter was at first faithful to the Russian alliance, but soon rebelled against the tutelage of the Grand Prince of Moscow, and put to death and confiscated the goods of the Russian merchants who had come to the annual fair at Kazan. He carried on the war against Muscovy with success, and in 1506 the Khan even defeated a Russian army near Nizhniy Novgorod. A peace agreement made in 1507 established a state of equilibrium between the two rival principalities.

Muḥammad Amīn died in 1518, and with him the line founded by Ulu Muḥammad became extinct, ‘Abd al-Laṭīf having died in the previous year. The Khanate now entered upon a period of anarchy marked by unceasing warfare between the partisans of an orientation towards Russia and those of a “nationalist” policy backed by the Crimean Khanate and the Noghay Horde. For more than thirty years, various Russian-supported candidates succeeded to the throne – the Khans of Qāsimov Shāh ‘Alī and his brother Jān ‘Alī (sons of Awliyā Khan of Astrakhan) – and the Girāy princes Šāhib and Šafā’, supported by their cousins of the Crimea.

The Russians were the first to take advantage of the unsettled conditions in Kazan. In 1519 the Grand Prince Vasili III placed on the throne Shāh ‘Alī (first reign, 1519–21). The latter was expelled in 1521 by the Tatar nobles who asked the Crimean Khan Muḥammad Girāy to appoint his brother Šāhib (half-brother through his mother of the last Khan Muḥammad Amīn) over Kazan. In this same year, the two Tatar princes led a grand expedition against Muscovy and advanced right to the walls of

the Russian capital. The regions of Moscow, Nizhniy Novgorod and Riazan were totally laid waste, and hundreds of thousands of prisoners were taken and sold at Keфе in the Crimea, but the Tatars, victorious in open warfare, failed in their attacks against Moscow and Riazan, and their great expedition ended in a half-success.

In 1524, on the death of his brother, Muḥammad, Şāhib Girāy returned to the Crimea as Khan there, leaving in Kazan his thirteen-year old nephew Şafā' Girāy. From now onwards, the Russian pressure became more acute, not in the shape of reprisal raids, but in that of a slow and systematic advance. In order to ruin his rivals, the Grand Prince of Moscow forbade Russian merchants to trade in the Tatar capital and founded an annual fair at the monastery of St. Makarii which soon became the successive rival of that at Kazan. Also, with the beginning of the construction of the fortress of Vasilsursk at the confluence of the Volga and Sura in 1523, there began the occupation of the Middle Volga region by the Russians.

Şafā' Girāy was chased out in 1530 by the pro-Russian party and replaced by Jān 'Alī, but the latter perished in 1535 in a rising stirred up by the partisans of the Girāys. Şafā' Girāy was recalled and maintained himself in Kazan till 1546, defying Russian efforts to re-assert their suzerainty, until in that year he was once more driven out and briefly replaced by Shāh 'Alī. As soon as the Russian forces accompanying Shāh 'Alī withdrew, Şafā' Girāy returned to Kazan and retained the throne till his death in 1549. His successor was his twelve-year old son Ötemish, who in 1551 was deported to Russia, where he was baptised under the name of Alexander and lived till 1566. Shāh 'Alī was reinstalled in Kazan for the third time. In 1552 he was overthrown by a popular revolt, and the Tatars summoned to the throne Yādigār Muḥammad, of the line of Khans of Astrakhan. But shortly afterwards, the Russian armies of Tsar Ivan IV appeared before Kazan and took it by assault on 2 October 1552. The Khanate was then annexed to Muscovy.

The conquest was followed by the systematic occupation of the whole country by the Russians. The Tatars were expelled from Kazan. The best lands in the river valleys and round the towns were confiscated and distributed to the Russian nobles and the monasteries. Colonies of Russian peasants

were settled in the most fertile areas, and, in order to prevent popular risings and incursions of the Crimean Tatars, the land was covered by a network of Russian fortresses. Because of this, from the 17th century onwards, the population of the ancient Khanate became very mixed, the Tatars forming only 40% of the people there. Christian evangelism was actively pursued. After 1555, Kazan was the seat of an archbishopric and then a metropolitan see. Already by the end of the 16th century, there was an important group of indigenous converts, Tatars, but above all, Finnic peoples, the Kryashens (in Tatar, Kryash), who although Christian, conserved their usage of the Tatar language.

The Russian conquest led to a profound upheaval in Tatar society. The ancient nobility was stripped of its lands, and in order to survive, had to transform itself to a merchant oligarchy, which in turn gave rise in the 17th century to a mercantile bourgeoisie. From the time of Catherine II onwards, this class became the guiding one amongst the Tatar nation, and in the second half of the 19th century, out of all the Turkish and Muslim peoples of the Russian empire, it was from the Tatars of Kazan that the intellectual and political leaders of the Pan-Turkish movement in Russia arose.

The modern town of Kazan retains little from the time of the ancient Khanate. One of the towers in the citadel still today has the name of the Princess Sūyūmbigi, wife of Şafā' Girāy (she had previously been the wife of Jān 'Alī and was later to be that of Shāh 'Alī), but the manner and date by which her name was applied to this tower is unknown, and it is equally difficult to decide what is Tatar and what is Russian in the fabric of the tower.

From the 18th century, Kazan no longer had any military importance, and was occupied without any difficulty (with the exception of the citadel) by Pugachev in July 1774; at that time, the town had 2,867 houses. Even at this date, it was of more importance as an administrative and cultural centre than Nizhniy Novgorod. Kazan's university, founded in 1804, became famous above all for its Oriental Faculty (more exactly, the oriental section of the Historico-Philological Faculty). In 1855, as a result of the opening of the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, teaching of oriental languages was stopped at Kazan, and the library and other teaching equipment largely transferred to the capital.



After 1861, the teaching of oriental languages began again at the University of Kazan. According to the 1897 census, the town had 131,508 inhabitants, and in 1911, 182,477 of whom 30,781 were Tatars and the rest mainly Russians.

Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century there was a strong movement of reformist Jadidism "adherence to new teaching and ideas" in Kazan, espoused by Muslims who were concerned to preserve their Islamic heritage but who recognised the need for the traditional curricula of the *madrasas* to be supplemented by modern, secular subjects. This movement and the schools which favoured such new teachings aroused the suspicions of both the Imperial Russian authorities and reactionary Muslim elements, the Qadimis "supporters of the ancient ways." The promise of more liberal official attitudes given in Tsar Nicholas II's manifesto of October 1905 soon faded. Socialist Revolutionary and Social Democrat parties emerged amongst the Kazan Tatars. During the revolutionary events of 1917, Kazan was the venue for All-Russian Muslim Congresses and the First Congress of Muslim Women. By 1920, the Bolsheviks emerged victorious from the civil warfare in Russia, and the need for concessions to Muslim feeling in Kazan came largely to an end.

In 1920 a Tatarstan Autonomous Republic within the Soviet Union was set up, as part of a policy of establishing smaller units to prevent the emergence of wider groupings of Turkish and Muslim solidarity, but only one-and-a-half million out of the four-and-a-quarter million Tatars living in the Middle Volga area were included in the Republic's borders. By 1970, about 30% of the Tatarstan ASR's population was ethnically Russian, with the rest made up of Tatars, Mordvins, Chuvash and Udmurts, whilst in Kazan itself, Russians had a two-to-one majority over the indigenous Tatars; and to this present day three-quarters of the Kazan Tatars continue to live outside their national territory.

Dissatisfaction with the "second-rate" status of Tatarstan had been rife since the 1920s, and with the disintegration of Soviet power, Tatarstan in August 1990 made a Declaration of Sovereignty. In 1992 a referendum in Tatarstan gave a majority of for Independence and "equality" with Russia, and Tatarstan is now a member of the Russian Federa-

tion of States, with relations defined in the Tatarstan constitution of 2000. According to a 2005 estimate, the population of Kazan is 1,114,000.

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**KHIVA**, in Arabic script Khīwa, a city of Central Asia, lying on the western bank of the Amu Darya or Oxus, in lat. 41° 24' N., long. 69° 22' E. It was the last seat of the mediaeval Islamic Khanate of Khwarazm, subsequently called the Khanate of Khiva. Its origins are accordingly bound up with the region of Khwarazm, the classical Chorasmia, which lay along the lower course of the Oxus. Khwarazm was an independent state under a line of indigenous Iranian Khwārazm Shāhs, until the conquest of Khwarazm by Mahmūd of Ghazna in 408/1017. Henceforth under governors or rulers of Turkish origin, the region gradually became turcised over the next four centuries, and the known history of Khiva is that of a wholly Turkish city and surrounding region. The people of Khiva were distinguished from the rest of the population of Khwarazm by the fact that they were Shāfi'īs and not Ḥanafīs.

Archaeological investigations date its foundation to between the 6th and 8th centuries A.D., and Khiva is mentioned by the Arab geographers. It became the third capital of Khwarazm after Gurgānj (385–515/995–1221, capital of the Ma'mūnids, the governors of the Ghaznavids and Saljuqs, and the Khwārazm Shāhs of Anūshtegīn's line), and after Kāth, the ancient, original capital. Kāth became again the capital during the 8th/14th century when, with Khiva, it was ruled by the Chaghatayid line

of Mongols, whilst Gurgānj (subsequently called Urgench) was ruled by the parallel Mongol line of the Golden Horde. After the restoration of unity in Central Asia under the Shibanids in the 9th/15th century, Urgench became once more the capital; but neither the Shibanids nor their successors, the Toqay Temürids or Jānids, was able to restore stability to the region. Brigandage increased, and the closure of commercial routes which crossed the land hastened its economic decline and also its relative isolation.

During the latter part of the reign of 'Arab Muhammad (r. 1013–32/1603–23), which perhaps coincided with the drying-up of the left branch of the Oxus, the capital was transferred to Khiva, and it is now that the Khanate of Khwarazm begins to be called the Khanate of Khiva.

The Khanate was composed of various feudal districts (*begliks*) somewhat loosely linked together, and their chiefs (*hākīm*) recognised the sovereignty of the *khān* of Khiva. The degree of unity of the khanate depended on the personal power of the *khān*; it is relevant, in this regard, to make special mention of Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādūr Khān (1054–73/1643–63) whose *History of Khiva* has survived and is available to us. After the conquest of Mashhad by Anūsha, at the end of the 11th/17th century, the sovereigns of Khiva took the title of *Shāh*.

The dynasty of the Özbegs was followed by that of the Qazaq Chingizids, who were latterly mere fainéants, with real power held by the chiefs of the Qungrat tribe of the Özbegs, at first with the title of *Inaq*, lit. "trusted adviser [of the ruler]," and then subsequently as Khans of Khiva themselves (see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 293–4 no. 156).

The 18th century saw an acceleration in the process of disintegration, when to the effects of internal strife there were added the fruitless attempts at conquest made by Peter the Great in 1717, and by Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740, while invasions by nomads and attacks from the Turcoman Yomuts were particularly violent between 1153 and 1184/1740–70; however, in 1184/1770, the *Inaq* Muḥammad Amīn defeated the Turcomans, restored relative prosperity to the region and undertook the construction of a new city on the foundations of the old. In the course of this reconstruction, which lasted seventy years, a number of remarkable architectural monuments were

erected, including the palace of Tashkaul (1832), the mausoleum of Pakhmavan Shakhtuda (1835) and the *madrasa* of Allāh Qulī Khān (1835), which are still standing today.

Under the *Inaq* İltüz, who became the first Qungrāt *shāh* in 1804, the Khanate attained its greatest territorial extent of the modern period, stretching from the mouth of the Syr Darya on the Aral Sea as far as Qal'a-i Mawr on the Kushk; this sovereign frustrated an attempt by Bukhara at annexing the oasis of Merv, and he improved his relations with the Turcomans who became the first line of defence of the khanate. His successor, Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān, who was the most powerful *khān* of the 19th century, made a number of successful forays into the territory of the Qazaqs, subdued the Qara Qalpaqs and ravaged Khurasan.

Although Khiva had in 1839–40 repelled an attack by the Russians without striking a single blow, the ensuing peace treaty imposed stringent terms on the Khan. He had to pay an indemnity of two-and-a-half million roubles to the Russians; slaves in Khiva were freed; and the right bank of the Oxus was ceded to the Russians so that the Khanate's territory was much reduced. The Khan became a vassal of the Tsar, and although the Russians did not interfere internally at Khiva, the Khans' powers there were now much more circumscribed than those of their fellow-Khans in Bukhara.

The Turkmens of the region continued to harass the Khanate, and in 1918 the Khan Isfandiār (r. 1910–18) was assassinated at the instigation of the Turkmen chief Junayd, who reduced the new ruler in Khiva, Sa'īd 'Abd Allāh (1918–20) to the status of a puppet. The Bolshevik Revolution in Russia was soon extended to Central Asia. After an initial failure in 1918, the Bolsheviks ended the Khanate and on 26 April 1920 the People's Republic of Khwarazm was proclaimed, with a government of young Khivans. On 5 September 1921 this was replaced by the Bolshevik-controlled Soviet Socialist Republic of Khwarazm, which in November 1924 became an *oblast* or region of the Uzbekistan S.S.R., with Khiva as its provincial capital. During these years resistance to the Soviets, part of the general anti-Soviet movement in Central Asia of the Basmachis, continued, in this case led by Junayd and the deposed Khan Sa'īd.

The Soviets did nothing to assist the development of the town of Khiva, although it became a centre for cotton-growing and had a brickworks, dairies and a carpet-weaving industry. It no longer played any significant role in the political and economic life of the Uzbek S.S.R. Since 1991 Khiva has come within the independent Uzbek Republic. It still has important architectural remnants of its former glory, particularly in the old walled city with its mosques, *madrasas*, palaces, shrines, etc. The population (2000 estimate) is some 40,000.

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**KIRMAN**, Kerman, in Arabic script Kirmān, a city of southeastern Persia. It is situated in lat. 30° 17' N., long. 57° 05' E. at an altitude of 1,750 m/5,740 feet, and at the point of junction of three valleys which are surrounded by mountains, those to the south of Kirman rising to 4,374 m/14,346 feet.

Kirman province was accounted by the Arab geographers as mostly *garmstūr*, i.e. a warm region, but the mountainous regions as *sardsstūr*, i.e. cold regions with an extreme climate. Kirman city has a warm to hot-type climate with a January average of 13 °C/ 55.4 °F and a July one of 27 °C/80.6 °F, often with high surface winds in the spring.

In Sasanid times the province was governed by an official who held the title of Kirmān Shāh. The Arab conquest of Kirman province proved difficult, given the mountainous topography and extreme climate there. The caliph 'Umar's governor of Basra, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī, is said to have sent al-Rabī' b. Ziyād

against Sīrajān and Bam (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 315, 399 ff.). Zoroastrianism long persisted there, and in the 2nd/8th century the radical Islamic sect of the Khārijites was strong there.

In the first three Islamic centuries, the capital of Kirman province was at Sīrajān, to the southwest of modern Kirman city and near the modern town of Sa'īdābād and adjacent to the border with Fars. With the advent in the mid-4th/10th century of the Ilyāsids, nominally governors of Kirman province for the Samanids of Transoxania and Khurasan but in practice largely independent, the capital was moved to Bardasīr or Guwāshīr, and this is the present city of Kirman, regarded from this time onwards as the province's capital. The original names of the city may represent an early Beh/Veh Ardashīr, the name of a town built by the founder of the Sasanid dynasty, Ardashīr Pāpakān. The names Bardasīr and Guwāshīr persisted up to the 10th/16th century, but by then both the province and its administrative centre were generally known as Kirman. The Buyids replaced the Ilyāsids in 357/968, and the province remained substantially in their hands until the advent of the Saljuqs, when in 440/1048 Qāwurd, son of Chaghri Beg Dāwūd, seized Kirman and established a line of local Saljuq Shahs which endured till ca. 584/1188. The history of this branch is known to us from the *Tārīkh-i Saljūqīyān-i Kirmān* by a local author. Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm, who wrote in the early 11th/17th century, but there had been a virtually contemporary history of these Saljuqs by the local historian Afḍal al-Dīn Aḥmad Kirmānī, written in the late 6th/12th century but now lost (see Storey, *Persian literature, a bibliographical survey*, i, London 1927–39, 357–9).

In succeeding centuries, Kirman was ruled by governors for the Mongols (including those of the Qutlughkhānid line, of Qara Khitay origin) and Timurids, and by the Turkmen Aq Qoyunlu. Under the Safavids, Kirman city enjoyed a period of tranquillity and florescence; thus the governor for Shāh 'Abbās I, Ganj 'Alī Khān (governor 1004–30/ 1596–1621) built many caravanserais and markets. In the 12th/18th century, however, the city was affected by the chaos brought to Persia in general by the Afghan invasions. In 1171/1758 Karīm Khān Zand conquered Kirman, but his son Lutf 'Alī Khān had, after being besieged in 1208/1794, to surrender the city to the Qajar chief Āghā Muhammad, who

inflicted terrible massacres and devastations on the city and its inhabitants.

Only gradually did it recover in the early 19th century, when Fath 'Alī Shāh rebuilt the city, albeit on a reduced scale, slightly to the northwest of the former site. A good water supply could be obtained by means of *qanāts* or subterranean irrigation channels from the nearby mountains. It now became famous for its workshops which manufactured for export shawls and other woollen fabrics, felts and, above all, carpets. Some of the transit trade between India and Central Asia, that shipped via Bandar 'Abbās on the Persian Gulf coast, contributed to Kirman's prosperity. In 1904–5 a British trade mission visited southeastern Persia in order to encourage British commerce in the region, and Russian trade agencies were established in Kirman city and at Bam and Rafsanjān. On the basis of this long-distance trade, a prosperous merchant class grew up in Kirman, members of which are listed by the local author Ahmad 'Alī Vazīrī in his *Jughrāfiyā-yi mamlakat-i Kirmān* (tr. H. Busse, *Kermān im 19. Jahrhundert nach der Geographie des Waziris*, in *Isl.*, 1[1973], 284–312).

Although the population of Kirman had become Shi'ite after the advent of the Safavids, the city had in the 19th century groups of Shaykhīs and Bābīs/Bahā'īs, and the Ni'matallāhī dervish order had the domed shrine of their Shaykh, Ni'matallāh, at Māhān to the southeast of Kirman city. There were clashes and riots involving the Shaykhīs and the Bālāsārīs (i.e. the mainstream Shi'ites); see G. Scarcia, *Kerman 1905. La guerra tra Šēḫi e Bālasari*, in *AIUON*, xiii (1963), 186–203. There was also still a remnant of the earlier Zoroastrian community surviving into the early 20th century, and very small Jewish and Hindu ones. E.G. Browne travelled from Yazd to Kirman during his stay in Persia of 1887–8. He states that in no town of Persia which he visited did he make so many friends and acquaintances at all levels of society, from the Prince-Governor Naṣr al-Dawla down to dervishes and beggars. He had profound theological and philosophical discussions there, but seeking a palliative for his painful eye trouble, fell under the spell of opium smoking, from which he only with difficulty broke free (*A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1926, 469–693).

As Browne's experience implied, there appears to have been considerable intellectual and cultural life in Kirman towards the end of the 19th century,

and when the Constitutional Movement emerged in the early years of the 20th century, a number of Kirmanis became prominent in it, including Mirzā Āghā Bardasīrī Kirmānī, who became editor of *Akhtar*, the Persian newspaper published in Istanbul; see Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909*, Cambridge 1910, 148, 156).

The modern city of Kirman is the administrative centre of the *ustān* or province of that name. The weaving of shawls and carpets continues to be important there. Communications with Tehran and northern Persia have improved with the construction of roads which link Kirman with the capital via Yazd and Qum, skirting the southwestern fringes of the great Desert, whilst the railway which already links Kirman with Isfahan and the main line northwards to Tehran, is being extended beyond Bam to Zahedan. Kirman has an Islamic Azad University and a University of Medical Sciences. The population of the city in 2000 was *ca.* 400,000.

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**KONYA**, in Arabic script Qūniya, an ancient town of Asia Minor, the classical Ikonion/Iconium. It lies on the southwestern edge of the Anatolian plateau in a narrow fertile plain, at lat. 37° 51' N., long. 32° 30' E., and at an altitude of 1,027 m/3,370 feet. It is now one of the most important cities of the Turkish Republic.

#### I. HISTORY

Konya is one of the oldest continuously-inhabited cities in the world, since excavations on the hill of the Alaeddin Tepesi in the centre of the old town

indicate settlement from at least the third millennium B.C. Hittites, Phrygians and the Greeks controlled it and moulded its culture, and it became the capital of the Roman province of Lycaonia, hence well-chosen by St. Paul for him to begin his apostolic missionary work (Acts, xiv. 1, 21, xvi. 2). During the centuries of Arab and then Turkmen raids into Anatolia, it was a Byzantine military base which the attackers seem for this reason to have more or less deliberately avoided and circumvented, in preference either for Tarsus to the south or especially for Cappadocia by the northern routes; this would seem to explain the fact that the town is seldom mentioned in military histories. It is probable, however, that Konya, like other towns, had suffered previously in the Persian invasion, and that it occupied only a section of its former territory. It is difficult to describe with certainty its history in a period for which no archaeological investigation has been performed, but the common and widespread re-use of older materials in the Saljuq monuments would seem to indicate that many buildings were in ruins and the town only partially reconstructed. It reappears, however, in a better light at the time of the Turkish invasions of the 5th/11th century and at the time of the Crusaders who passed that way in 1097. The latter found no serviceable fortifications there, but were able to derive benefit from the gardens in the vicinity of the town.

It was the Saljuq régime which marked the zenith of the history of Konya. The site, well irrigated in contrast to the neighbouring desert, commanded the southern route at a time when the Dānismendids denied the Saljuqs access to the northern route to the Dardanelles, and it must have found favour with the new masters when they became aware of the need for a secure political and military base as a focus for their still semi-nomadic peoples. The real development of the town dates from the reign of Mas'ūd (512–50/1118–55), who resolving to make Konya a capital, built a mosque there and other monuments which his successors must have completed. It was already a city of note when in 1190 the German army raised in Cologne by Frederick Barbarossa passed through it. The progressive unification of Turkish Asia Minor under the rule of the Saljuqs evidently contributed to the prosperity of the capital. Besides the principal mosque, from about 1190 onwards the city possessed a number of smaller ones, as well as *madrasas*, Sufi *khānqāhs*, flourishing

markets and reconstructed ramparts. The development of the power of the sultans in the first half of the 7th/12th century was also reflected in the town, where apparently social hierarchy was judged by the importance and height of houses rather than by the allocation of separate quarters to the various ethnic groups. In Konya there were evidently Greeks (with their monastery, reputedly dedicated to Plato), Armenians and some Jews; the records make few references to Turks, a term reserved in this context for the Turcomans of the plains, but rather speak of Muslims, a designation normally embracing both indigenous Turks, who in a town of this kind were largely Iranised, and Iranian immigrants, arriving especially in the period following the Khwarazmian and Mongol invasions, who, besides their involvement in craftsmanship, were sometimes promoted to the most important civil posts of the régime. Three social groups deserve special attention, the *idgish*, the *akhis* and the Sufis or dervishes. The *idgish* were a kind of militia recruited among the half-breed sons of indigenous fathers converted to Islam and married to Turkish women; the *akhis* were a Turkish form of the Muslim *futuwwa*, and were to play an important role especially in the period of the Mongols and their immediate successors; as for the Sufis, there were a number of different orders, but, from the middle of the 7th/13th century the prestige of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī must have drawn numerous disciples to him, although this was not an organised order (that of the Mevlevīs or Mawlawiyya, from Mevlānā/Mawlānā) until the 8th/14th century. Naturally, Konya also had a military garrison, composed to a large extent of slaves of Byzantine stock captured on the north-western marches of the kingdom. The sultans lived in the palaces which they had built in Konya and the surrounding area. The ramparts of the town had been extended and strengthened in the time of the great sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Kayqubād with the compulsory co-operation of the senior *amīrs* of the region. The buildings erected in this period are studied below, but the abundance and importance of the mosques, *madrasas*, *khānqāhs*, hospitals, *khāns*/caravanserais, etc. testify to the considerable development of the Saljuq capital, which the present-day remains continue to evoke, in an original and compelling style.

The progressive establishment of the Mongol protectorate over Saljuq Anatolia in the second half

of the 7th/13th century was naturally prejudicial to the importance of Konya, although in a slow and partial fashion. The rivalry between the brother sultans 'Izz al-Dīn Kaykāwūs and Rukn al-Dīn Qilij Arslan represented in fact the struggle between the partisans of collaboration with the Mongols, the naturally dominant force in eastern Asia Minor beyond Kayseri, and the partisans of resistance, whose headquarters was at Konya and who relied to a large extent on the Turcomans of the southern and western frontiers. The decline of central authority was accompanied by a boost to the prestige of peripheral Turcoman principalities in such a way that centres of political activity, etc. were transferred to new regions, to the detriment of Konya in particular. The episode which marked this evolution for the first time was the temporary occupation of Konya in 675–7/1277–8 by the Qaramānids of the western Taurus, who installed there a bogus Saljuq known by the name of Jimri. Their independent government survived however until 713/1313; but in that year it was definitively annexed, although the Qaramānids did not lose their capital, henceforward to be situated at Laranda/Qaramān. The cultural and religious importance of the town and the relative importance of its population ensured, however, that it retained a certain vitality, as is attested by a number of buildings and pious foundations erected by Qaramānid princes and dignitaries. Once occupied by Bāyezīd Yıldırım, the town was definitively annexed to the Ottoman state, together with the remainder of the Qaramānid state, in 880/1475, and Ottoman documentary archives give evidence that *waqfs* and Saljuq and Qaramānid institutions were in general maintained there. Naturally in this vast empire, far removed from all the important areas, Konya could no longer be more than a provincial centre. The fact that it was under its walls that the Ottoman army of Reshīd Pasha was crushed by the Egyptian army of Ibrāhīm Pasha, the son of Muḥammad 'Alī, at the end of 1832, proves that the town could still occasionally play a strategic role.

A number of travellers visited and briefly described Konya. One of the most valuable accounts is that of Henri de Laborde, who left us plans of the town as it was in 1828, a period in which many buildings today in ruins were still standing.

The decline of Konya was reversed after 1896, when there reached the city the railway from Haydar

Paşa station on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, subsequently extended to the fringes of Syria, and when improvements in irrigation were made to the region; before Ankara became the capital of the Turkish Nationalists in 1923 and eventually of the new Republic of Turkey, Konya was the most important city of central Anatolia. It is today an industrial centre for the processing of agricultural produce, but also a tourist centre, with its impressive architectural heritage (see II. below) and the spectacle of the whirling dancing (*dhikr*) of the Mevlevi dervishes, recently revived; Konya is still known as a conservative religious city. Administratively, Konya is the centre of an *il* or province of the same name, with a city population in 2000 of some 2.2. millions.

## II. MONUMENTS

There are some eighty monuments surviving in Konya, but many are so heavily restored that only fragments of decoration survive of the first foundation. An example is the Hoca Hasan Mescid, *ca.* 1200. Major buildings lost but recorded include the *bedesten*. The number of houses and *qonaqs* dating from the 18th to the 20th centuries is declining rapidly, but the private Koyunoğlu Museum survives. A study of relative documents was made by İ.H. Konyalı, *Konya tarihi*, and of ceramics by M. Meinecke, *Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien*, Tübingen 1976. His datings are here accepted unless otherwise stated, while an asterisk indicates buildings dated by inscriptions.

### 1. Walls and palaces

The walls were destroyed almost within living memory. Texier and others recorded the wealth of antique and Saljuq decoration incorporated in them, especially in the vicinity of the 108 towers, including fabulous beasts, a decapitated Hercules and extensive verses, all of which were gilded. The grandeur of the city is confirmed by the ruined kiosk of Qilij Arslan II (1155–92), which was once a square chamber clad in ceramics with balconies carried on large consoles above a vaulted hall. Illustrated in F. Sarre, *Der Kiosk von Konya*, it is situated in the citadel area which has yet to be excavated in depth and where such remains of the *kale* as exist are attributed by Konyalı to 618/1221, although it was founded in 569/1173.

## 2. Mosques and complexes

Adjacent is the Alaeddin Cami begun by Kaykāvūs I. The consequences of frequent repairs are as important as the damage they mask. The area immediately round the *mihrāb* is the oldest dated by the inscription to Sultan Mas'ūd on the outstanding *mihrāb*, ca. 1155. The west half of the prayer hall was completed in 617/1220\* and the east pillared hall was added in 1235 when the *mihrāb* (its heart mutilated irreparably) in the typical Anatolia ceramic manner was added. Among inscribed names are those of Ustād Ḥajjī Mengubirtī (reading provisional) al-Khilāfī (on the *minbar*), Muḥammad b. Khawlān of Damascus, an overseer, and of Atabeg Ayāz, the official in charge of work 1219–20.

Contiguous with the enlarged mosque and now entered from it is the duodecagonal *türbe* named after Qilij Arslān and dated 616–17/1219–21g. The cenotaphs are covered in white inscriptions on deep cobalt blue grounds. Except for Kaykāvūs I, buried at Sivas, from 1192 onwards this was the mausoleum of the dynasty.

Externally, the courtyard wall is monumental, with two marble portals in a style developed from that of 12th century Zangid Damascus. The İplikçi Cami, 1220–30, was first rebuilt in 733/1332\*, but the *mihrāb* survived. The central aisle has three domes, and the three on each side are vaulted. The mosque is now the museum. The Larende or Sahip Ata Cami, 656/1258\*, has lost its second brick minaret in the Iranian or Central Asian style. The stalactite porch, incorporating detritus from Christian monuments, is 13th-century workmanship at its apogee, which was increasingly heavy and flamboyant. The fine faience *mihrāb* and semi-domed *iwān* survived rebuilding. It is united with the *khānaqāh* (of the four-*iwān* type retaining some original decoration) by the family tomb in a manner suggestive of ancestor worship. This mausoleum is of the domed *iwān* type with a crypt, where the cenotaphs retain some of their faience-work. The inscription on the mosque to the master Kalūk b. 'Abd Allāh (reading provisional) makes this his only dated building. The Sadreddin Konevi Cami, 673/1274–5\*, has lost two deeply-carved shutters to the Türk ve İslām Eserleri Museum, Istanbul.

Kayqubād I, as patron of the poet and mystic Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, created Konya's greatest spiritual

memorial, which is expressed materially as the Mevlevi complex and museum, to which the mosque of Selīm II is related. The *tekke* originated in 628/1231 (Meinecke, 342; Konyalı, 630), but the earliest *iwān* which contains the cenotaph of the poet is dated 672/1273–4. Its scalloped dome was-recovered in Kütahya tiles externally in 1818, 1909 and 1949 (Konyalı, 654) and the wooden cenotaph, 674/1277, completely covered in inscriptions, is hidden under the gold embroidered velvet cloth donated by 'Abd Ḥamīd II. A second dome was built over the tombs of the successors of the Mewlānā, but the complex is largely 16th century in date. Bāyezīd II restored the mausoleums and added three domed units together with a typical Ottoman minaret in 910/1504, while Selīm I installed the garden fountain, 918/1512. Süleymān I rebuilt the *maşjīd* and *samā'-khāna*, 973/1565, and Selīm II the *'imāret*, now destroyed. The cells of Murād III were transformed in the 19th century. Important repairs were effected by Murād IV, 1044/1634 and 1048/1650, and by Meḥemmed IV, 1060/1650. Four typical Ottoman *türbes* in the garden court are dated 934/1527\*, Khürrem Pasha; 981–2/1573–4, Sinān Pasha; 994/1585, daughters of Küçük Murād Pasha; 1006/1597, Shaykh Khalīl. The museum houses textiles and other treasures of the order which is active again. The Selimiye Cami, begun by Süleymān I and completed by Selīm II, has a seven-domed portico carried on six Byzantine limestone columns. Its plan is based on that of the Fatih mosque in Istanbul, but without a *mihrāb* apse. Erroneously attributed to Sinān, it is typical of the stark style that preceded his appointment as *mi'mār bashī*. Beside the mosque is the library of Yūsuf Agha, 1209/1794. Pir Paşa Cami, ca. 926/1519, is a typical Ottoman mosque, but with a *türbe* incorporated into a corner of the portico. Şerefeddin Cami was founded 1220–30, rebuilt by the Qaramānoghlu Ibrāhīm II, 848/1445, and transformed in 1046/1636 into an imitation of Qilij 'Alī Pasha mosque, Tophane, Istanbul. Fragments of 13th-century ceramic can be seen in the mortar, and there are patches of brickwork amid the ashlar. Heavily restored, 1299/1881, the interior painting is in the 19th century fairground manner and includes a typical folk art representation of the Süleymaniye Cami, Istanbul, over the *mihrāb*. Kapı Cami, 1060/1650 (Konyalı, 429), owes its light, open style to the repairs in 1226/1811\*. Abdülaziz

Cami, *minbar* 1293/1876; also replaces an older building, and its florid École des Beaux-Arts appearance is likely to be the work of Sarkis Balyan of the 19th-century dynasty of court architects.

### 3. *Colleges or medreses*

The Sirçalı Medrese, 640/1242–3, is a partially-ruined two-*ūwān* type. The outstanding faience *mihrāb* is set in an *ūwān* which retains a quantity of its décor. The carving of the portal is also notable. Inscriptions include those to the founder Badr al-Dīn Muşliḥ and the master Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Tūsi.

The Karatay Medrese, 649/1251–2\*, ruined, but retaining its famous marble portal, which was an Anatolian variant of the Damascus style (see Alaeddin Cami), and also the starscape dome with an oculus over the pool of the court-hall supported by deep fan-shaped tiled pendentives. This monument now houses a collection of Saljuq ceramics. Only the *ūwān* remains of the Küçük Karatay Medrese nearby, 646/1248–9.

The İnce Minareli Medrese, ca. 663/1264–5, built by Kalūk (Kölüg) b. 'Abd Allāh, heavily-restored, lost two-thirds of its brick minaret in 1317/1899. It was a foil to the portal's giant inscriptive bands developed out of simple established decorative forms more appropriate to wood. Overweighted decoration which masks structure was the Achilles heel of later Saljuq architecture.

### 4. *Mosques*

These include Beşarebey Mescid, 610/1213 (inscription disputed), and Abdülaziz Mescid, 611/1214–15, both rebuilt with fragments of original ceramics remaining, as with Şekerfurus Mescid, 617/1220\*. The Taş (Stone) or Hacı Ferruh Mescid, 612/1215 (Konyalı, 364), has an inscription to the master Ramaḍān and idiosyncratic carved stone porch and *mihrāb*. The Hatuniye Mescid, 627/1229–30\*, retains most of its thick Güdük Minaret, built of glazed brick. The Bulgur Tekke Mescid 1240–50, still has its plain, hexagonal dado tiles, as does the Karatay Mescid, 646/1248–9, but the Sirçalı Mescid of the same date retains its brick minaret and its renowned *mihrāb*. The *mihrāb* of the Beyhekim

Mescid, 1270–80, is now in the Staatliche Museum (Islamische Museum, Cat. no. 81), Berlin. Both the Kararslan and the Tahir ile Zühre Mescids, ca. 1280, have restored *mihrābs*.

Of many later examples, the Kadı Mürsel Mescid, 812/1409, has lost its dependencies which once were distinctively Qaramanid in style, including the *mihrāb*.

### 5. *Lesser monuments*

The Hasbey Darülhuffaz, 824/1421\* built by Qaramānoghlu Mehmed Bey, has a traditional ceramic *mihrāb*. The marble panels have fallen from the façade below the sixteen-ribbed dome. A rare, extant *namazgāh* is the Musalla, 948/1541.

Among several, a typical *ūwān*-type *türbe* is the Gömeç Hatun, 674–84/1275–85, built of brick above ashlar with an ornamental tile façade and crenellations. It has two triangular buttresses and double stairs raised over the sepulchral vault. Fakidede Türbe, 824–60/1471–56, built of stone is transitional in style.

Of the fountains, Kapu çeşme rebuilt in Ottoman times has claim to Saljuq origins. A standard Ottoman example is the Ak çeşme, 936/1555\*. The Balıklı çeşme incorporates a Byzantine plaque depicting two fishes.

### 6. *Monuments in the vicinity*

The large, pillared mosque at Meram of Qaramānoghlu Mehmed Bey, 805/1402\*, stands beside the *ḥammām* of Ibrāhīm Bey, 837/1424\*, which is fed by the lime springs.

Local mid-13th century caravanserais each with portal, court and hall and all partially ruined, are Kandemir (Yazıönü) Han, 603/1206\* Kızıl Ören Han, ca. 604/1207; Dokuzun Han, 607/1210\*; Altunba (Altunapa) Han, early 13th century. The Zazadin (Sadaddin) Han, 633/1235–6\*, is in better repair and noteworthy for the extensive re-use of classical material and early Christian tombstones.

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**KUFA**, in Arabic al-Kūfa, a military encampment, later a city, founded by the incoming Arabs in central Iraq. It lay on the middle course of the Euphrates. In its heyday during the period of the Arab conquests, the Umayyad caliphate and the early 'Abbasid caliphate, Kufa controlled the whole of the Sawād, the fertile agricultural lands of central Iraq. During this time, it was moreover a hotbed of political and religious ferment and disturbance, but it was also, with its twin military encampment/city of Iraq, Basra, the birthplace of much emerging Arab-Islamic culture and learning. It flourished until the early 4th/10th century, but thereafter declined and fell into ruins, with few traces of it remaining today.

Kufa was founded in 17/638 by Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ, the victor over the Persians at al-Qādisiyya, after the whole of 'Irāq had been wrested from the hands of the Sasanids and notably after the capture of Madā'in-Ctesiphon (16/637), whose climate the Arabs could not endure. But other no less important reasons must be added to this: given the existence of a willingness to settle and immigrate, 'Umar preferred to keep the Arabs grouped together and segregated from the peoples and territory conquered, in a relationship of spatial continuity with Arabia. This presupposes that, very swiftly, these main ideas

were issued which set out to dictate the relationship of conquering people-conquered peoples: no dispersal in the *Sawād* or agricultural settlement, maintenance of the military striking force, the setting-up of a newly-originated fiscal system which would tap the revenues of the Iraqi territory without direct exploitation on the part of the Arabs, all this resting upon the co-existence of Arab clans very dissimilar in their origin. The role of the new state and the new religion as tutelary power and unifying principle was also implicitly taken into consideration. There is no doubt that 'Umar wished to make of it the experimental melting-pot of his system, given concrete form by the establishment of the *dūwān* between 20 and 23/640–3.

## I. THE CITY OF KUFA

Kufa, a creation *ex nihilo*, was placed at the edge of the Arabian steppe, but on the bank of the principal branch of the middle Euphrates, guarding the passage to Bābil and, from there, Ctesiphon, a few miles to the north-east of al-Ḥira; an excellent position of contact, astride two worlds, somewhat familiar to the Arab army due to its being situated in the region of al-Qādisiyya. Kufa, placed on the right bank of the Euphrates, on a tongue (*lisān*) of dry, grey sand mixed with gravel, was slightly above the water level. It escaped floods, was well-supplied with water, and enjoyed a salubrious climate.

We do not know with exactitude the origin of the word *Kūfa*. The Arab historians and geographers, as they were accustomed, made of it a common noun designating any surface of rounded sand, but obviously, this appears to be a reconstruction *a posteriori*. Massignon derived it from the Syriac 'Aqūla, basing it in particular on Chinese testimony; a text of al-Ṭabarī situates the place 'Aqūl between the Euphrates and the houses of Kufa, probably to the north of the *miṣr*. Perhaps it is nearer the truth to see its origin in the Persianised form Kūba. Only a text of Sayf b. 'Umar gives some detailed information on the first settlement, on the *takhṭīl* of the mosque and the palace, and the apportioning of land to the tribes, clans and fragments of tribes, who constituted the army of Madā'in. This has to be rectified and completed in the light of other historical and geographical texts. A public area was at first delimited; this was to include essentially the mosque and the governor's

palace, and to become the focal point from which the whole encampment branched out. Fifteen *manāḥij* or avenues separating the tribal lots, each forty cubits wide, radiated from this central area. Along the five *manāḥij* of the north were settled the tribes Sulaym, Thaqīf, Hamdān, Bajīla, Taghlib and Taym Allāt; to the south, the Asad, Nakha', Kinda and Azd; to the east, the Anṣār, Muzayna, Tamīm and Muḥārib, Asad and 'Āmir; finally, to the west, Bajīla, Jadīla and Juhayna. This picture, it may be seen, contradicts a tradition of al-Sha'bī cited by al-Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 276) according to which all the Yemenīs were placed to the east, between the mosque and the Euphrates, and the Nizārīs to the west, a tradition which study of the topography of Kufa as it appears from the narratives on the great revolts of the 1st/7th century does not corroborate. But it is beyond doubt that some alterations were effected by historical evolution in this picture of tribal geography: the Tamīm, in particular, migrated from the east to the west with the 'Abs. The problem of the great tribes of Rab'ā, Bakr and 'Abd al-Qays still remains. For the most part, the Bakr migrated to Basra, but a certain number of them settled at Kufa – including the ancient family of Dhu 'l-Jaddayn. As for 'Abd al-Qays, initially established at Basra, they were possibly moved on a large scale to Kufa at the time of the caliphate of 'Alī, to leave it again in 40/660 for Basra. In any event, a certain number of characteristic features of the tribal establishment at Kufa are to be noted: settlement of the main part – but not the whole – of the Arab *muqātila* who had to confront the Sasanid armies; heterogeneity of the tribal structure, in contrast to Basra; presence of a majority of Muḍarī and Qaysī elements formed either from large Bedouin clans (Tamīm, Asad), or from clans of the Ḥijāz (Thaqīf, Sulaym, Juhayna, Muzayna), but nevertheless a concentration of a strong Yemenī minority, completely uncustomary elsewhere. It may even be asked if early Kufa did not contain a majority of Yemenīs, who later became a weaker and weaker minority; certain modern authors have gone as far as to assert that the *takḥḥīl* of Kufa was conceived to shelter these distant migrants, together with those of the Ḥijāz, rather than the others (M. Hinds, in *IJMES*, ii [1971], 346–67). The pure Yemenī elements are here massively present (Ḥimyar, Hamdān, Ḥaḍramawt, Madhḥij) alongside tribes newly Yemenised (Kinda and Bajīla in particular, Azd Sarāt and Ṭayyi'), but

the tribe which became the most numerous of the Yemenīs and without doubt of all the tribes, that of Hamdān, was not settled at Kufa as early as the Madhḥij, Bajīla and Kinda, and it was made up for the most part of recent immigrants (*rawādif*), who had come under 'Uthmān, 'Alī and perhaps Mu'āwiya. It remains a fact that the Yemenī phenomenon was to determine the political destiny of Kufa as well as the colour of its civilisation. According to Massignon, it was through the influence of the old Yemenī element, city dwellers for a long period, that the sedentarisation of the Arab tribes at Kufa was effected; hence a civilising and urbanising role of the first order may be attributed to it from very early onwards.

Figures for the total population vary according to the sources and periods. It may be admitted that during the very first phase, there were between 20,000 and 30,000 inhabitants (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 276), although Yāqūt gives the figure of 40,000 (*Buldān*, iv, 491). A text of Abū Mikhnaḥ speaks of the mobilisation by 'Alī of all the 57,000 *muqātila*, of whom 40,000 were adults and 17,000 adolescents. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān, having enlarged the mosque, foresaw it as accommodating 60,000 people, a figure corroborated by a reliable piece of information given by al-Balādhurī concerning the people registered in the *dīwān*. So there would have been, around the year 50/670, 60,000 men and 80,000 women and children, that is, 140,000 Arabs of whom a census had been made, to which it is reasonable to add the clandestine residents and the non-Arabs, slaves or *mawālī*. Certainly, at the same period the figure for the population of Basra (200,000 registered) rather outnumbered that of Kufa, but the demographic inflation in the space of a generation was nevertheless considerable. This may explain the transplantation by Ziyād to Khurasan of 50,000 people, of whom 40,000 were from Basra and 10,000 from Kufa. It is probable that after Ziyād, and throughout the Umayyad régime, the number of Arabs drawing stipends and registered remained stable or even had a tendency to diminish from al-Ḥajjāj (75–95/694–713) onwards, but the number of non-Arabs, uprooted from the land, new *mawālī* flocking to the *miṣr*, cannot be known for certain. The fact that this last governor took drastic measures to repulse them is clear proof of the existence of this disordered influx, dangerous for the equilibrium of the city. The history of the

population of Kufa, in the earliest and the Umayyad periods, is that of a very swift and essentially Arab expansion in a first phase (17–53/638–73), followed by a stabilisation, at times disrupted by the rural non-Arab immigration.

The topographic framework of Kufa during the 1st/7th century evolved while remaining faithful to the original plan. The first Kufa, that of 'Umar (17–23/638–43) was a military camp, geometrical, airy and open, where tents quickly raised for an expedition were drawn up in lines. Soon, without doubt after the pacification of the Persian territories, the need arose for a more permanent settlement, where tents were replaced by huts of reeds, which were abundant in the region. A third stage saw the substitution of houses (*dūr*) for huts, in *labin* or clay dried and cut up in large rectangular blocks, a stage inaugurated under the first governorship of al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba (22–4/642–4). In fact, all this is information given by Yāqūt and reproduced by Massignou. Nevertheless, it is contradicted by Sayf, who compresses the stages, stating that the building of Kufa in *labin* was decided very rapidly, before the *takhtūl* itself, in 17/638. Finally, it is with Ziyād (50–3/670–3) that the *ājūr* or Mesopotamian fired brick was introduced, at first to construct the cathedral mosque and the governor's palace which adjoined it on the south, later no doubt for the houses of the aristocracy or *dūr*. Considerable expenses were incurred to give to the mosque an architectural form: materials brought from al-Ahwāz for the columns, and the calling in of Aramaean or Persian masons. Kufa was changed into a well-built city and began to take on, with this governor, the features of its topography which would only really change with the end of the Umayyad period and the beginning of the 'Abbasid period.

Umayyad Kufa was not surrounded by ramparts; it may be supposed that its diameter did not exceed two kilometres. The monumental centre was composed of the *jāmi'*, of the fortified *qaṣr*, of the *raḥba* or *maydān* where various ceremonies took place, and of markets or *aswāq*, constructed under the governorship of Khālīd al-Qasrī (105–20/723–37) but given a specialised use much earlier. Massignou saw here the prototype of the future *aswāq* of Baghdad, but it is permissible to consider them as the model for the markets of all the Islamic towns of the Middle Ages by virtue of their vaulted form as well as the

structure of their activities, where a special place had to be accorded to the *ṣayārifa* or moneychangers, at the time bankers of the governors and moneylenders of the Shi'ite conspiracies.

From the monumental centre, there radiated out the *khiṭaṭ* or tribal lots which constituted the main part of the dwellings of Kufa. Nevertheless, *qaṭā'i'* or individual lots were assigned from the earliest period as exceptional favours to the Companions and to certain great figures who had their aristocratic houses built there, always situated in the centre. Al-Ya'qūbī gives a list of 25 *dūr*, in which are to be noted the names of Ṭalḥa, al-Zubayr, Sa'd and his son 'Umar, Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and his descendants who played an important role in Kufa before emigrating to Qumm, 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, Khālīd b. 'Urfuṭa, one of the principal leaders of the army of conquest, 'Adī b. Ḥātim, Jarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Bajālī, al-Ash'ath al-Kindī and Umm Hānī sister of 'Alī. Other sources speak of the private houses of al-Walīd b. 'Uqba, al-Mukhtār al-Thaqafī and 'Amr b. Ḥurayth.

In addition to the monumental centre, to the collective *khiṭaṭ* and the private *dūr*, let us cite as essential elements of the topography of Kufa the *manāḥij* or avenues, the *sikak* or streets, the *ṣaḥārī* (waste pieces of ground? e.g. *ṣaḥrā' al-Bardakht*), the *ḥammāmāt*, the *masājīd*, small mosques of a clan or quarter, and especially the *jabbānāt* of Kufa. The *jabbānāt*, numbering a dozen, riddling the city everywhere almost certainly from the time of 'Alī, played the role of tribal cemeteries, but they owed their importance to the fact that they served as places of assembly, mobilisation and taking-up arms. Their name was linked with some major historical episodes, such as the revolt of al-Mukhtār. It may be that we have there a privileged example of the influence of old Yemen on the urban structure of Kufa. Among the principal *jabbānāt* may be cited that of Sabī' devolved to the Hamdān, Mikhnaf (Azd), Murād (Madhḥij), Kinda (Kinda and Rabī'a), Ṣā'idiyyīn (Asad), Uthayr ('Abs), etc. Other topographical features, whether in Kufa itself or in its immediate environs, are often mentioned in the sources and assume a certain importance: the *Kunāsa*, at first a dumping-ground situated to the west of the camp-town, having become later, from the Umayyad period, a place of unloading for caravans from Arabia, a market for animals, on occasion a place of execution, and above all a fair for the poets similar to the *Mirbad* of Basra; the *dār*

*al-rizq*, the *sikka al-barīd*, the *bāb fil*, the *qinṭara*, all this within the city; *ḥammām* A'yan, *sūq* Asad, *dayr* Hind, *dayr* Ka'b, *dayr* al-Jamājim and *qaṣr* Muqātil, situated immediately outside but all places intimately involved in the city's existence.

Umayyad Kufa, marked by the attempts at urbanism of Ziyād and Khālīd al-Qasrī, evolved, while remaining faithful to the earliest plan, from a Bedouin-style camp to a well-built, articulated, functional city, an evolution which was to be completed in the 'Abbasid period by the mere fact of the maturing of the Arabo-Muslim civilisation of which Kufa was precisely one of the two primordial melting pots. Throughout the 1st/7th century, Kufa no doubt remained airy, not yet surrounded by ramparts and open to the Arab steppe, as is witnessed by the traffic of men and poetry and the obstinate presence of the Bedouin model. Sedentarisation, a rapid and undeniable success, would have been inexplicable without the maintenance of the umbilical cord with Arabia, but the Arabs of Kufa were well and truly settled people, almost totally cut off from the nomadic way of life. For it was the first time in their history that the Arabs united to form such a great urban concentration, a melting-pot where specimens of the whole of Arabia came to live and dwell together. If we continue to consider the urban sphere, we have to notice that Kufa was to undergo profound changes during the high 'Abbasid period. The early 'Abbasids considered making it their capital and established themselves there for some time, but the 'Alid presence and sympathies were so strong that they wavered for some time between Kufa, Anbār and the new city of Hāshimiyya which was coupled with Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra, before al-Manṣūr founded Baghdad (145–6/762–3) and moved the *bayt al-māl* and *dawāwīn* there from Kufa, which indicates clearly that Kufa had assumed the role of administrative capital of the empire, even if the caliphs did not always reside there.

During this short period of thirty years (132–46/750–63), there took place a Persianisation of a part of the Kufan toponymy, following the influx of Khurasanian soldiers: for example, the streets of Laḥḥām Jarīr and Ḥajjām 'Antara and the naming of crossroads by the Persian form of *chahārsūj*, such as the *chahārsūj* of Bajīla. On the other hand, the early 'Abbasids undertook the building at Kufa of al-Ruṣāfa and the castle of Abu 'l-Khaṣīb; above

all, al-Manṣūr, after the move to Baghdad, had the city surrounded by ramparts and a moat, making the inhabitants bear the costs of it. It is probable that the enclosure did not surround the *Kunāsa* and some *jabbānāt* outside the centre, thus creating a differentiation between a *madīna* and suburbs. The term *madīna* in the sense of a historical urban nucleus, elaborated, closely-packed and protected by walls with gates, makes its appearance for the first time in the account given by al-Ṭabarī with regard to the revolt of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (199/814). The same author remarks that the *Kunāsa* contained dwelling houses, just as there appears in his writing the idea of a suburb or *rabaḍ*. Thus we are in the presence of the "process of civilisation" of Kufa in every sense of the term: it became a classical Muslim town after having been an Arab camp-town, and it became a civil centre after having been a military camp. Finally, during the 3rd/9th century, and although it always remained clearly Arab, its population was mixed and the city began to live in osmosis with the Sawādiyyūn or people from the Sawād who started to become Muslim. Nevertheless, there is a problem of knowing whether, at its apogee as a city, in the 3rd/9th century, Kufa entirely lost its character of a spacious town and came to resemble those Islamic cities of a latter age where the *madīna* became an assemblage extremely crowded with houses and almost stifling. It does not seem so, because the geographers of a later period, such as al-Maqdisī and much later, the traveller Ibn Jubayr (though the latter was writing in a period of the city's complete decadence), allow one to catch a glimpse of the existence of green or garden spaces in the heart of the town. But these same geographers, as the archaeological remains stretching as far as Najaf also indicate, testify to the expansion of Kufa towards the west, far beyond the early boundaries. But then, Kufa was no longer one of the centres from which early Islam, i.e. conquering Arab Islam, radiated, but an important city of Iraq, the simple capital of an administrative area.

The provincialisation of Kufa, and even its decadence, became an established fact in the 4th/10th century. The old structures (the military *arbā'*, the tribal spirit, the financial system) began to break down, because the whole edifice of the conquest, inherited from the Arab empire, and of which Kufa was merely the concrete form, became obsolete, and it is known that at its height the caliphate submitted

to the tutelage of the Buyids at the same time as the unity of the Muslim world broke up. Because of this, the decadence of Kufa was only one of the manifestations of this profound change which intercontinental commercial activity was unable to sustain and prolong, as at Basra, for one or two centuries. One may speak of a crisis of the Islamic city (Massignon), but in reality we are concerned with a general crisis of early Islam as a state and society, indeed as a civilisation; even more, one might say, with a historical mutation for which a town like Kufa should certainly pay the price. On the concrete level, there was the great Ismā'īlī outbreak at the end of the 3rd/9th century, of which Kufa was the primordial crucible and of which the Carmathian violence was one of the destructive elements. In 293/905, 312/924 and 315/927, Kufa underwent the assaults and pillage of the Carmathians. It was never to recover from these. It is this which explains the emergence in 334/945, not far from it, thanks to the protection of the Buyids, of Najaf or Mashhad 'Alī as a centre of Shi'ite devotion which, since the 3rd/9th century, had become the specifically distinguishing dimension of Kufa. Shi'ite religious symbolism was concentrated there, but as it happened, the old Arab Kufa which was far from being identified with the Shi'ite phenomenon vanished. The urbanised tribal structure also collapsed at the same time as there arose a "re-bedouinisation" or, at any rate, a growing threat from a new nomad world of the Arabo-Iraqi steppe. Thus it was in 386/996 that Bahā' al-Dawla ceded Kufa as an *iqṭā'* to the chief of the 'Uqaylids. The Banū Asad, the Ṭayyi', of whom a large fringe remained outside the city limits, because undoubtedly living in symbiosis with it, and also the Shammār, newly arrived on the scene, dominated Kufa and ruined it. Thus these same Asad (to differentiate them from the settled Asad), from whom the grammarians of Kufa derive, by means of a real ethnological effort, all the flavour of their citations, preserving themselves with their very strong identity, came to present themselves as taking part in the ruin of Kufa, the new incarnation of Lagash, Ur and Babylon, and which was soon dead like them. In 495/1101, with the emergence of al-Ḥilla, Kufa lost definitively its importance and the major part of its inhabitants. Ibn Jubayr, who visited it a little later (578–81/1182–5), speaks of it as a deserted and ruined city but one where some inhabitants still

survived, subjected to the regular pillages of the tribe of Khafāja. The whole built-up area between the mosque and the Euphrates had been destroyed and was covered now with orchards. He speaks at some length of the cathedral mosque, still standing, with its high ceilings, its columns leaded on the inside, a prayer hall with five bays, its sacred vestiges where the Shi'ite myths were neighbours to the recurring myths of old Babylonia taken over by Islam: the *muṣallā* of Ibrāhīm, the *miḥrāb* of 'Alī, the *tannūr* of Noah and the supposed tomb of Muslim b. 'Aqīl. After the Mongols had conquered Iraq, Mustawfī Qazwīnī wrote for the Mongol prince a treatise describing the resources of the country (*Nuẓhat al-qulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 30, 166, 210), where he speaks of Kufa as having ramparts with a circumference of 18,000 paces and of its important agricultural role. Finally, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (8th/14th century) who, on the subject of Kufa, reproduces in part Ibn Jubayr but adds some personal elements, sees it, in a similar way to Mustawfī, as a town ruined for the most part, but not yet dead. According to him, of the *qaṣr al-ʿimāra*, nothing more than the foundations remained, but the markets, still beautiful, survived. He speaks of the *jabbāna* of Kufa as if there were no more than one, where the tomb of al-Mukhtār had been repaired and over which a cupola had been erected. In the Ottoman period, Kufa fell to the rank of a *nāhiya* dependent on the *qaḍā'* of Najaf, which was dependent in its turn on the *ṣanjaq* of Karbala. Niebuhr visited it and compiled a plan of it. Massignon went there for a first time in 1908 and for a second time in 1934. He spoke of the "now deserted site of the great city which was the most Arab of the Muslim metropolises", of which just a few traces of buildings were marked out: the *Jāmi'*, the tombs of Hānī' b. 'Urwa and Muslim b. 'Aqīl, the Bayt 'Alī, two guard houses, one of which was built by the British, the small oratory Ḥannāna and the *maṣjīd* al-Sahla. He noted that a new quarter had appeared between the mosque and the Euphrates. It still exists, and has even been extended; however, it is less important than the recent western quarter, towards Najaf, which is mainly residential. Some other European archaeological missions went to al-Ḥīra (Talbot Rice in 1931, in particular). Since 1938, the site of Kufa, declared an archaeological site, has become an object of interest to the Iraqi academic authorities and a first season of excavations was made there at that

date. The great mosque, completely and sometimes awkwardly restored, remains the central building; it seems to be raised in comparison with its earlier level and only the ramparts remain. The *qasr*, much larger, has just been mapped out. It is a building now in ruins, though more instructive than the mosque. Let us also note the presence of the mosque of al-Sahla to the west of the site. Various objects in glass and ceramic and some coins of the Umayyad period have been found. Nevertheless, the archaeological exploration of Kufa may be considered as only in its early stage and, if well handled, as being capable of adding much to our knowledge of the city, still essentially one derived from books.

## II. POLITICS, IDEOLOGY AND CULTURE IN KUFA

While in the 1st/7th century Kufa played a political role of the first order, as the matrix of a large number of matters of future significance for Islam, in the 2nd/8th, after the foundation of Baghdad and with the opening-up of the Islamic empire, politics and the struggle for power left Kufa aside; but, on the other hand, cultural activities developed there and achieved a high level (between 150 to 250/approx. 760 to 860). From then there is evidence of a triple Kufa: a political Kufa (up to 150); a cultural Kufa (150–250) and then a purely ideological Kufa (250–350) which had become a focal point of doctrinal Shi'ism.

The principal episodes which punctuated the political activity of early Kufa were: the participation in the revolt against 'Uthmān (34–5/654–5); the support given to 'Alī for the two great internecine battles of the Camel (36/656) and Siffin (37/657); the emergence in its heart of the Khārijite movement; the beginnings of political Shi'ism with the action, which was suppressed, of Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī (51/671). After that, the pro-Shi'ite revolts succeeded one another, and were just as regularly quelled: the episode of Muslim b. 'Aqīl and the massacre at Karbala (60–1/679–80), the march of the *Tawwābūn* or "Penitents" (65/684), the uprising of al-Mukhtār (66–7/685–6), the preaching of al-Mughīra and of Bayān, the revolt of Zayd b. 'Alī (122/739) and that of 'Abd Allāh b. Mu'āwiya (127/744). Finally, it was Kufa which was the directing brain behind the 'Abbasid *da'wa*, and it was at the great mosque of Kufa that the first caliph of the new dynasty was solemnly

invested (132/749). But Kufa equally underwent numerous rounds of Khārijite assaults, particularly in 76/695, when it was threatened by Shabīb, and more seriously in 127–8/744–5 by al-Ḍaḥḥāk. It participated, in 82–3/701–2, alongside Basra, in the great revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath which brought the Umayyad régime close to its collapse and which was a revolt of the *amṣār* without ideological content.

This abundance of insurrections, of seditious actions and political events, earned Kufa the reputation of a turbulent, agitated, ambitious city, and, for the later Shi'ite consciousness, of a martyr city. Thus on the majority Sunnī side, there were some solid prejudices, on the other side, a whole apocalyptic elaboration in which "accursed Baghdad will be destroyed and Kufa will be queen of the world, after having been a dwelling of exile and waiting for true believers." According to the *ḥadīth* of Salmān, "Kufa is the *qubba* (= royal tent) of Islam; a time will come for the world when there will be no true believer except the one who lives there or whose heart sighs for it" (Massignon, *Explication du plan de Kūfa*, repr. in *Opera Minora*, iii, 54).

In reality, this constant political effervescence of the 1st/7th century resulted from the structure of Kufa itself as well as in historical evolution. As a fundamental component of the system of the *amṣār* at least until 30/650, the date at which Basra outstripped it in the conquest of the Persian East, Kufa sheltered the conquerors of Iraq from the time of the first wave onwards, that of the *Ahl al-Ayyām* until the *Ahl al-Qādisiyya*. The first presumed upon the antiquity of their conversion and their faithfulness to Islam, the second had participated in the *Ridda*, but they were of no less high Arab lineage. Kufa, on the other hand, drained the major part of the resources of the Sawād and the leaders of the army managed the ancient royal domains, this becoming later a real apple of discord, while the immigration to Basra, except for that of the Bakr, was that of latecomers, of tribes from the Arabian south-east, newly come to the scene of conquest and arriving in complete, homogenous tribal groups. Within the tribal structure of Kufa, in the conditions which surrounded its genesis, by the attraction exercised over the new immigrants or *rawādif*, and the lack of any immigration control, from the very fact of its supremacy in the high period, some germs of tension took root which were ready to develop. Under the

caliphate of 'Umar, the equilibrium was maintained, and the armies of Kufa were occupied in conquering Persia. It is in the caliphate of 'Uthmān that the internal conflicts began to appear; the former Islamic élite, raised up by 'Umar, yielded ground to the traditional chiefs who shared in the *a'māl* and saw their position reinforced by the waves of *rawādif* of their own tribes (a typical case of opposition is between an Ashtar al-Nakha'ī and an Ash'ath b. Qays). The activism of the Ahl al-Ayyām, disappointed by the new politics, resulted in the murder of 'Uthmān in which a number among them were involved, and this ranged them necessarily on the side of 'Alī. 'Alī's coming to Kufa highlighted the new phenomenon of the supremacy of the *amṣār* over Arabia for the definition of the political destiny of the Arabs; for four years, Kufa was to be, if not the capital of the empire, seeing that the empire was divided, at least a centre of major decision and the seat of the caliphate. From this privileged episode of its existence, Kufa was to derive its future pretensions, but also a persistent faithfulness to 'Alī and his family. Nevertheless, from its origin, this faithfulness was far from making for unanimity. The Ashrāf or traditional chiefs of the tribes, having in general participated at al-Qādisiyya, and being enrolled in the *sharaf al-aṭā* "those with the highest rate of stipends," were lukewarm towards the cause of 'Alī and consequently also the mass of the inhabitants who, in general, followed them. The activists remained (who may be named as the *qurrā* or Qur'ān readers), of whom a majority cast in its lot with 'Alī and on whom he showered benefits, but of whom a minority, harder and more intransigent, showed itself reticent and soon hostile with regard to him. After the arbitration, it appeared that 'Alī could no longer be certain of anyone except his partisans, his *shī'a* or party in the political sense of the term, while the intransigent members of the *qurrā* fell into Khārijism and the conservative group of the Ashrāf abandoned him; whence the dislocation of the coalition which he had constituted, whence also the minority character and powerlessness of the Shi'a for a century. The Umayyads governed indeed with the support of the Ashrāf, who did not like them, but found in them a principle of order. They were satisfied with their growing social influence, guaranteed by the Umayyad régime. It is this which explains why the Ashrāf ranged themselves on the side of the established power every time

that a Shi'ite insurrection broke out, and why that power gained their collaboration in disarming the Shi'ite troops. In 61/680, they even took part in the murder of al-Ḥusayn; they mobilised actively against al-Mukhtār, who threatened their privileges; and they regrouped themselves around the governor in order to bring about the failure of Zayd b. 'Alī's action. Only the great revolt of 82–3/701–2 was a specifically Iraqi revolt against the preponderance of the Ahl al-Shām, the Syrian troops, the tyranny of the governor al-Ḥajjāj and, because of this, it was led by the Ashrāf as well as by the *qurrā*. But there followed a large-scale demilitarisation of the *misr*, and the foundation of Wasit, the settlement of the Syrian army in Iraq as if in occupied territory.

If, throughout the 1st/7th century, the majority of the Ashrāf showed themselves hostile to the Shi'ite movement, certain of the Ashrāf nevertheless participated actively in it, such as al-Mukhtār himself, Ibrāhīm b. al-Ashtar and 'Abd Raḥmān b. Shurayḥ al-Shibāmī. But after al-Mukhtār, it was above all popular elements which supported Shi'ite activism, whether from among the Arabs, Yemenis in particular and, more precisely, Yemenis from certain clans of Hamdān (Khārif, Shakir, etc.), or else recruited from among the plebeians of the new immigrant *mawālī*, a mass operation utilised by al-Mukhtār. It is probable that the rallying of the Yemenis to the Shi'ite cause was due to their marginal position in the Arab city, socially as well as culturally, for there is no doubt that a number of poor were recruited from the clans of Hamdān (clans of *rawādif*?) and that the call for the rights of the *Ahl al-Bayt* found some echoes in the old Yemeni consciousness. It is this which explains the populist character of the revolt of al-Mukhtār (66–7/685–6), perhaps the most important Shi'ite revolt of the 1st/7th century. It succeeded in assuming power at Kufa for some time; above all, it fashioned the Shi'ite consciousness by giving it a mystique, a language, slogans and some elements of a doctrine. Also, the Kaysāniyya, who derived from it, would be, via Abū Hāshim, at the root of the *da'wa* for the House of 'Alī.

With the 'Abbasid dynasty, there took place an intellectualisation and a deepening of Shi'ism, the political action becoming intermittent. Hence one must wait until the year 195/814 to see a resurgence of an insurrection of the old style, that of Ibn Ṭabātabā, and the year 250/864 for that of Yaḥyā b. 'Umar, far

less dangerous, to break out. But Shi'ism as a faith did not cease to gain ground, so that it veritably became the quasi-unique ideology of the town at the end of the 3rd/9th century and constituted a cultural and religious tradition in the 4th/10th century. Certainly, it was at this moment that the Shi'ite imagination, re-reading the history of the town, reclassified its sites according to its own standards, dividing quarters and mosques into blessed and cursed ones.

Kufa was able to export its Shi'ite consciousness to the Persian world, and to Qumm especially. Qumm was indeed a projection of Shi'ite Kufa, as Balkh, Marw and Nishapur were a projection of Basra. Because of this, as a colonising centre, Kufa showed itself less active than Basra. Each of the two *miṣr*s is known to have had its *thughūr* and its *māh* "frontier lines". The central Persian territory was practically partitioned: Rayy was the *thaghr* of Kufa, and Isfahan depended on it, but the *māh* of Kufa, sc. Nihāwand, showed itself less active than the *māh* of Basra, sc. Dīnawar, although several sources speak of Dīnawar as the *māh* of Kufa. But it is especially in the race to the peripheral Persian territories, from 29/649 onwards, that Basra gained the upper hand, with the conquest of Khurasan, while Kufa had to be content with Azerbaijan, a province of little account, with Qazvin as an extreme *thaghr*. Nevertheless, over the centuries, the specifically Shi'ite nature of Kufa imposed itself by a process of slow penetration into the whole Shi'ite consciousness of Islam by way of Baghdad and, by that of Qumm and Mashhad, to the whole modern Persian lands, while Basra was not alone in defining the structures of later Sunni Islam, although it had been a primordial centre bringing the idea of *jamā'a* into action. However, the religious and cultural legacy of Kufa should not be limited to the transmission of the Shi'ite tradition. Far more important can be shown by analysis to be the participation of Kufa in the elaboration of the universal Arabo-Islamic culture which became rooted in the great *miṣr* of the first two centuries. Baghdad was to be the heir of Kufa and Basra. These two fundamental matrices which defined the general lines of the culture of Islam, each with its own genius: Kufa excelled in the recovery of the Arab poetic patrimony, in the exegesis of the Qur'ān, in law and genealogy, whereas Basra, more rationalist and critical, invented Arabic grammar and was the great centre of Mu'tazilī speculation.

There are two great cultural moments in the history of Kufa: the one oral, of obscure gestation, where the culture, still undifferentiated, was seeking to establish its foundations (17–150/638–767); the other, brilliant, which developed a true classicism and bequeathed to us some great works (150–250/767–864). In both cases, the two fundamental poles around which the new culture expressed itself were Bedouin Arabism and the Islamic message, the influence of the conquered peoples proving negligible. Arabic writing was perfected at Kufa, undoubtedly with the participation of the Arabs of al-Ḥīra, and Kufic, having become a monumental writing, may be considered the most ancient specimen of post-Islamic Arabic writing, although the type of writing was used on Sasanid *dirhams*. It is also in very early Kufa that Ibn Mas'ūd lived and taught, later becoming the eponym whose name crystallised the traditionist current and to whom some disciples were attached: 'Alqama b. Qays, al-Aswad b. Yazīd, Masrūq b. al-Ajda', 'Ubayda, al-Hamdānī and Shurayh. Josef Schacht thought that the founding role of Ibn Mas'ūd was fictitious and that some forged traditions were projected on to him between 100 and 130/719–48, establishing the chain Ḥammād b. Abī Sulaymān-Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī-Ibn Mas'ūd, but that nevertheless *fiqh*, which preceded *ḥadīth*, was created by the single centre of Kufa. In fact, it seems clear that three key-personalities, living in the 1st/7th century, played a main role in the first glimmerings of law, *ḥadīth* and exegesis: Ibrāhīm al-Nakha'ī, Sa'īd b. Jubayr and 'Amr b. Sharāḥbīl al-Sha'bī. In the domain of spirituality, there was no personality here comparable to Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, but the currents of asceticism and mysticism found their masters in Uways al-Qaranī and Rabī' b. Khuthaym. let us cite in the sphere of *tafsīr* and *akhbār* the names of two precursors: Mujālid b. Sa'īd and Muḥammad al-Kalbī; for the collection of poetry that of Ḥammād; and for poetic creation, the names of A'shā Hamdān and al-Kumayt.

The second phase of the cultural history of Kufa, whose beginnings coincide with those of the 'Abbasid dynasty, saw the differentiation of the disciplines and the emergence of the great founders and synthesisers: Abū Ḥanīfa, master of the school of *ra'y* in canon law (d. 156/772); Abū Mikhnaḥ, one of the first great Arab historians (*akhbārīyyūn*) (d. 157/773); al-Ru'āsī, to whom the first work of grammar is attributed, 'Āṣim b. Bahdala (d. 131/748), and Ḥamza, who,



together with al-Kisā'ī, established three of the seven canonical readings of the Qur'ān. Later, the generation of those who died in the years between 180 and 200/796–816 assumed the burden of recording, codifying and totalising the knowledge founded in the preceding period, so that the works which survive today belong to this generation of active disciples and totalisers: Abū Yūsuf (d. 182/798) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Shaybānī (d. 189/804) in law; Hishām b. Muḥammad al-Kalbī (d. 206/821), highly erudite, a genealogist and *akhbārī*, well-versed in knowledge of the Arab patrimony which he worked increasingly at collecting and establishing; and finally al-Kisā'ī (d. 179/795), who was the supreme master of the grammatical school of Kufa. This school's collective opinion still claims to set up as a rival of that of Basra. It is regarded as more deeply rooted in the Arab environment, with a passion for anomalies (*shawādh*) and a more acute sense of poetry. Nevertheless, on examination, it is revealed as being a particularisation of the fundamental contribution of Basra, i.e. that of Khalīl, master of everyone, although the role of al-Ru'āsī deserves to be clarified. This being granted, al-Kisā'ī, like Sībawayh at Basra, engendered a line of grammarians marked out by al-Farrā', who is comparable to al-Akhfash, and by Tha'lab, who may be compared with al-Mubarrad, the height of activity of these two last occurring around 250/864; the two of them achieved the totalisation of the earlier knowledge of the two schools. But already Baghdad, after having gathered to itself the greatest names of Kufa and Basra for two generations, begins to give forth an eclectic tradition in all fields, digesting, surpassing and delivering to the Islamic world the admirable work of two centuries which had been produced in the two *miṣrs*.

In the intellectual consciousness of contemporary Islam, that which is willingly remembered of the historical evolution of Kufa, that by which it is largely known, is its school of grammar and its role as cradle of Shi'ism, perhaps because this is what particularises it the most in the last instance, and laid the foundations for its survival in the other. But the renewal of interest in the political and cultural history of ancient Islam will allow for the growth of a further consciousness of the role it assumed as a place of Arab settlement and immigration, as a centre of great political struggles and as a specifically Arab

city which, along with Basra, established the basis and true style of the cultural scheme of Islam.

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# L

**LAHORE**, in Arabic script *Lāhawr*, an ancient city of the Panjab in northwestern India, situated on the left bank of the Ravi river in lat. 31° 34' N., long. 74° 22' E. in what is now Pakistan. Its strategic location in the fertile alluvial region of the upper Indus plain has assured it an important role in Indian history, in mediaeval Islamic times from the period of the Ghaznavids onwards, under the Mughals and, latterly, as capital of the Sikh empire before the Panjab was incorporated into British India in the mid-19th century.

## I. HISTORY

Popular etymology connects the foundation of Lahore with the mythical Lava (*Lōh*), son of *Rāma*, and the forms *Lōhāwar* (cf. *Peshāwar*) and *Lavapura* have both been hypothesised by scholars, Cunningham identifying it with the place *Labokla* (< *Lavalaka*) mentioned by Ptolemy. Yet another possibility, *Lahanagar*, may have been preserved in the spelling *Lāhanūr* which appears in the 7th/13th century *Qirān al-sa'dayn* of Amīr Khusraw. It has also been identified with the anonymous flourishing city which the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Ts'ang came upon around A.D. 630 on his way to Jālandhar.

At one time confused with Lohara in Kashmīr, Lahore is actually first mentioned in 372/982 in the *Hudūd al-ālam*, tr. 89–90, where we read that it was subject, although a city populated exclusively by Hindus, to the Qurayshite ruler of Multān. Possibly this is what underlies a later tradition that at the time of the first Ghaznavid invasion the capital of the

Hindūshāhī rulers of the western Panjāb had been moved from Lahore to Siyālkoṭ; and certainly al-Bīrūnī, writing shortly afterwards, locates the capital of the Lahore region at a place called *Mandhūkūr* (ed. Sachau, 101; cf. the discussion in S.H. Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim history*, Bombay 1939–57, i, 53). Lahore was captured at an uncertain date by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who constructed a fortress there and allegedly renamed the city *Maḥmūd-pūr*, though this is doubtful. Under his successors it effectively became, as the administrative centre of the Indian provinces, the second capital of the Ghaznavid empire. The governor Aḥmad Yīnālṭigin rebelled in 424/1033, and in 435/1043–4 Lahore was subjected to a long and unsuccessful siege by a confederacy of Hindu princes. But it remained firmly in Ghaznavid hands, serving, after the loss of Ghazna itself in 558/1163, as the capital until its capture by the Ghurids in 583/1187 put an end to the dynasty.

On the murder of the Ghurid Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām in 602/1206, Lahore became temporarily the capital of the Indian domain ruled by his slave Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak, but after his death it was disputed for some time among the other former Ghurid officers Qubācha, Yildiz, and Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish. Ḥasan Nizāmī in his *Tāj al-ma'āthir* describes at great length its capture by Iltutmish's forces in 613/1217, although Jalāl al-Dīn Khwārazm Shāh, who invaded the Panjāb a few years later, found a son of Qubācha in revolt against his father at Lahore, and it probably fell definitively to Iltutmish shortly before Qubācha's overthrow in 625/1228. Under Iltutmish's weak successors as Delhi Sultans, the governors of

Lahore were frequently in rebellion, and Kabīr Khān Ayāz was virtually independent there in 639/1241, when Lahore was taken and sacked by the Mongols. They did not follow up their victory, abandoning the city immediately, but around 651/1253, in the course of another inroad, they installed at Lahore the renegade prince Jalāl al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. Iltutmish. Subsequently, however, it appears again as part of the Delhi Sultanate under its governor Shīr Khān, who is credited by the historian Baranī with numerous military successes against the Mongols. The city was restored by the Sulṭān Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban soon after his accession in 664/1266, but Lahore was to remain for some decades a frontier region subject to regular Mongol attacks and seems to have been replaced as an administrative centre by Dēōpālpūr. It attained to a temporary prominence once more early in the 8th/14th century under the governorship of Ghāzī Malik, who himself ascended the throne of Delhi in 720/1320 as Ghiyāth Dīn Tughluq. In the reign of his son Muḥammad, however, the district was ravaged by the Chaghatay khān Tarmashīrīn around 729/1329, and a few years later Lahore was occupied by a Mongol chief named Hūlechū in alliance with the Khokars: the brutal reprisals against the populace by Muḥammad's forces are mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (iii, 333, tr. Gibb, iii, 717). After this, its history is again obscure until the turn of the century, when Shaykhā Khokar, who had been appointed governor of Lahore by Maḥmūd Shāh Tughluq, made a timely submission to Tīmūr (801/1398), but on showing signs of disaffection was suppressed by an army under the conqueror's grandson Pīr Muḥammad b. Jahāngīr.

Lahore was included in the territory conferred by Tīmūr upon Khidr Khān, who in 817/1414 seized power in Delhi and established the Sayyid dynasty. Under his successor Mubārak Shāh, the city was twice attacked by the Khokars, now led by Shaykhā's son Jasrat, while at the same time the Afghan Lōdīs were beginning to encroach upon the Panjāb. In 845/1441 Muḥammad Shāh Sayyid, in an effort to curb the power of the Khokars, granted Lahore to Bahlūl Lōdī, who repaid the Sayyids by supplanting them at Dihlī ten years later. During the Lōdī era, the province continued to enjoy a quasi-independence. It was the sulṭān's kinsman Dawlat Khān Lōdī, governor of the Panjāb, who encouraged the designs of Bābur on Hindūstān, leading to the occupation

of Lahore by the Mughals in 930/1524. On the outbreak of the rebellion of Shīr Shāh Sūr, Bābur's son and successor Humāyūn fled to Lahore, which he had been compelled at an earlier date to cede to his brother Kāmrān Mīrzā. The two Mughal princes were unable to hold the Panjāb, and abandoned it to Shīr Shāh (947/1540), with the result that Lahore once again enjoyed a period of Afghan rule. Shīr Shāh is said to have regretted on his death-bed that he had not razed the city, in view of its strategic value to an invader from the northwest, a sentiment doubtless echoed by his ephemeral successors when Humāyūn reoccupied Lahore in Rabī' II 962/February 1555.

With the restoration of Mughal rule, Lahore entered on the era of its greatest prosperity, to which belong also its principal monuments (see II. below). Abu 'l-Faḍl in his *Akbar-nāma* testifies to its flourishing condition under Akbar, who used it as his headquarters for his expeditions against Kashmīr, Sind and Kandahar in the period 992–1006/1584–98. It was here that he received in 1595 the Portuguese Jesuit missionaries who were later, under his son Jahāngīr, to build the church and school which were destroyed by Shāh Jahān. Jahāngīr actually made Lahore his capital from 1031/1623, and it continued as such for most of the reign of Shāh Jahān, who was particularly attached to it as his birthplace, establishing a carpet manufactory and renovating the *dawlat-khāna*. During the period of its apogee, Lahore continued to serve at intervals as a centre of disaffection. Akbar had to march to its relief when besieged by his half-brother Muḥammad Ḥākim Mīrzā in 974/1566–7, and under his successors it was several times used as a base by aspirants to the imperial dignity: by Khusrāw at the outset of Jahāngīr's reign (1015/1606), by Shāhriyār on the accession of Shāh Jahān (1037/1628), and by Dārā Shukōh on that of Awrangzīb (1068/1658).

Lahore's importance declined under Awrangzīb, who resided there less than his predecessors, though it continued to be styled *Dār al-saltāna* and the emperor was responsible for the construction of the *Jāmi' Masjīd*, with which the city's architectural history is usually assumed to have terminated. Bernier, however, visiting Lahore in 1665, gives the impression that it was already decaying and that large areas were in ruins. And with Awrangzīb's death, the region swiftly became a prey to the rising power of the Sikhs.

In 1123/1711 the Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh I arrived at Lahore in the course of a campaign designed to crush the first Sikh insurrection under Banda, which was threatening the city, but died before he could achieve his object. The struggle for the succession between Jahāndār Shāh and 'Aẓīm al-Sha'n in 1124/1712 was actually fought out in the vicinity of Lahore, and it was not until the reign of Farrukh-siyar (1124–31/1713–19) that further action could be taken against the Sikhs. They were ruthlessly suppressed in a series of expeditions mounted by the governors of the Panjāb, 'Abd al-Šamad Khān and his son and successor Zakariyyā Khān, the activities of the latter winning for Lahore the nickname of *Shahīdganj*. Zakariyyā submitted to Nādir Shāh in Shawwāl 1150/January–February 1738, but recovered his independence once the Persian monarch had withdrawn from India. After the governor's death in 1158/1745, however, his sons engaged in a struggle for power, as a result of which the Afghan Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī was able to launch his first invasion of the Panjāb and occupy the city in Muḥarram 1161/January 1748. On his departure, the court of Delhi entrusted Lahore to Mu'īn al-Mulk, surnamed Mīr Mannū, son of the *wazīr* Qamar al-Dīn, but he was shortly obliged to submit to the Afghans; and following a further invasion by Aḥmad Shāh in the winter of 1165/1751–2, the Mughal emperor signed a treaty whereby Lahore passed into the Afghan sphere of influence. This did not prevent the Delhi *wazīr* Ghāzī Dīn 'Imād al-Mulk from invading the Panjāb in 1169/1756, seizing Lahore from Mīr Mannū's widow, who had endeavoured to secure recognition from both Delhi and Kabul, and installing as governor Adīna Beg. Aḥmad Shāh was thereby provoked into reoccupying the city in the following winter and establishing there his son Tīmūr Shāh. During this time, the Sikhs are found assisting Adīna Beg and his allies the Marāthās against the Afghans. Together they expelled Tīmūr in 1171/1758 and repulsed another Afghan attempt on the city in 1172/1759. When Aḥmad Shāh decisively crushed the Marāthās at Pānīpat in 1174/1761 and again took Lahore, it was the Sikhs who were the ultimate beneficiaries of the victory. On his withdrawal, they simply reoccupied the city, and did so again after each of two further Afghan invasions, finally securing it in 1181/1767. For the next thirty years, Lahore was governed by a triumvirate of Sikh chieftains, whose

rule was disturbed only by two temporary Afghan occupations under Aḥmad's grandson Zamān Shāh in 1211/1796 and 1213/1798–9. During the second of these invasions, the Sikh chief Ranjīt Singh negotiated with the Afghans for the office of *šūbadār* of Lahore, but it was not until Šafar 1214/July 1799 that he was able to wrest it from its three Sikh lords, who had meanwhile retaken it in the wake of Zamān Shāh's retreat.

Under the rule of Ranjīt Singh, proclaimed *mahārāja* of the Panjāb in 1802, Lahore, as his capital, recovered something of its lost prestige. He repaired its walls, and embarked upon a programme of construction works which did much to rehabilitate the city. On his death in 1839, it passed among various members of his family until the accession of Dalīp Singh in 1843, but the Sikh government soon became embroiled in its first war with the British, and by the terms of the two treaties of Lahore, in March and December 1846, Dalīp Singh had to accept a temporary British garrison into his capital and a permanent British Resident in the person of Colonel Henry Lawrence. In March 1849, as a result of the second war with the British and Dalīp Singh's deposition, Lahore was formally incorporated in the British empire. The city remained comparatively quiet at the time of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857, though it was the scene of numerous disturbances during the twenties and thirties of the present century, with the rise of the Congress Movement and the conflicting claims of the Muslim League. In the partition of 1947, despite Sikh hopes of separate statehood for the Panjāb, the city and most of its district were allotted to Pakistan.

During the 20th century, Lahore expanded considerably. In 1901 its population was less than 250,000, but in 1971 it had reached an estimated 1,985,000 (these figures include the cantonment, the former Maryam Mir), making it the second largest city in Pakistan after Karachi. The railway first reached Lahore from Amritsar in 1861, and it is now on the Peshawar-Karachi main line. It also possesses an airport with direct connections to all the major cities of Pakistan. After Partition, Lahore in 1955 became the capital of the Province of West Pakistan, and then in 1970 the capital of the new province of the Panjab. It is now an important centre for manufacturing and commerce, and the second most important centre of Pakistan for banking and insurance; and

it has two universities. The estimated population in 2005 was 5,903,900.

## II. MONUMENTS

The architectural history of Lahore can be traced substantially from the Mughal administration. Tombs remaining from earlier periods have undergone such extensive alteration that their interest lies mainly in their inscriptions. Among these are the graves of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Hujwīrī (d. 465/1072), called Dātā Ganj-bakhsh, Qutb al-Dīn Aybak (d. 607/1210 near the Lāhawrī (*sic*) Gate, Pīr Balkhī (d. 637/1239?), of which the small domed *hujra* may be original, and Sayyid Ṣūf (d. 786/1384); the tomb of Sayyid Muḥammad Iṣḥāq Kāzarūnī, or Miyān Pādshāh (d. 788/1386) is preserved in the *ṣahn* of the Maṣjid-i Wazīr Khān. Of the eighty-four tombs in the city listed by Chishtī, few in fact survive. No trace has been found, either, of the victory tower at the Fort and the mud-brick mosque known as Khishti Maṣjid said by Fakhr-i Mudabbir to have been built by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, or the Qaṣr-i Humāyūnī of Qutb al-Dīn Aybak. There is, however, an impressive *mihrāb* from the Sultanate period which appears to have been the focus of an *īdgāh* near Chāh Mirān. The *pīshṭāq*, 7.4 m high, is surrounded by a band of geometric interlace; the semidome within the arch is reticulated to match, as is its central arched recess, and the squinches on either side have simple nets of groins, with hoods in floral relief. This decoration, which shares some features with Timurid work, is carried out in plaster on a brick core. Burnt brick is in fact typical of Lahore, as of the Panjāb as a whole, for want of local stone: it is usually covered with a revetment of cut plaster or tilework which conceals the structure, while stressing its main lines.

### 1. *The Fort and the mosques*

The Fort (*Qil'a*) which still dominates the city centre has been shown by excavations (1959 ff.) to rest on strata dating back to the Ghaznavid occupation; the fort of Ghurid times, and those rebuilt by Balban and Mubārak Shāh in 666/1267 and 825/1422 were presumably on the same site near the northwest corner of the former city wall. The present structure was begun by Akbar (*ca.* 974/1566) while work at Agra Fort was still in hand. He extended the site to the

bank of the Rawi in the north, maintaining the level by an elaborate undercroft, and enclosing a rectangle of about 340 by 427 m with walls that still exist to the north, east, and south. The twin polygonal towers of the Maṣjidī Darwāza (Panjābī: Mastī Darwāza) are panelled in blind arches like the Delhi Gate at Agra, here offset vertically, and their rhythm continues throughout the north wall. Of Akbar's palace we know only that its Dawlat-khāna-yi 'Āmm had a courtyard enclosed by 114 bays (*iwān* or *aywān*). The Jharōkhā balcony which still overlooks the site may be of this date. Akbar also built the city wall with its thirteen gates, now largely demolished or replaced. The early phase of building at the Fort was completed by Jahāngīr in 1027/1618 with a courtyard of private apartments in the same trabeated style, with faceted pillars and intricately carved surfaces of Mathurā stone; the *chhajjā* brackets with their profusion of elephants, lions and peacocks owe much to Hindu timber-work. The architect responsible for this complex, 'Abd Karīm Ma'mūr Khān, appears also to have carried out the remarkable and unorthodox cladding of panels in mosaics of cut glazed tiles, on the north, and later the west walls, with the semi-octagonal Shāh Burj, between 1034/1624–5 and 1041/1631–2. Their brilliant colours, which extend the range previously used in the Panjāb from dark blue, azure and white to include yellows, brown and green, depict courtiers, scenes of hunting, elephant fights, battle and myth. The Dīwān-i 'Āmm of forty columns ordered by Shāh Jahān in 1037/1628 follows the pattern of its contemporary at Agra; its present form was reconstructed by the British in 1846, but fragments of two ceremonial railings survive. Shāh Jahān, dissatisfied with the existing scheme, raised the level of the earlier work, and built a new group of private apartments inside the Shāh Burj, including the Shīsh Maḥall of white marble set off with *pietra dura* inlay of floral motifs, opening on to the court through five bays with paired columns supporting engrailed arches in the fully-developed marble style: it rises to double height, with a ceiling of convex glass set in gypsum plaster (*āyina-kārī*), the walls now being Sikh work. To its west is a marble pavilion, the Banglā (Nawlakha), that reproduces a Bengali hut with its gridwork walls and arching roof, again inset with semi-precious stones (*parchūn-kārī*). In 1043/1633 he had the Dīwān-i Khāṣṣ and Khwābgāh replaced, the former with a marble hall

five bays by five, anticipating that at Delhi in layout, with open arcades surrounding an inner hall, and a parapet inlaid to simulate merlons. The Motī Masjid (*ca.* 1645) makes finely restrained use of marble as the first of the three Pearl Mosques (*cf.* Agra 1648–54, Delhi *ca.* 1660); its *pīshṭāq* frames a four-centred arch that contrasts with the cusped ones on either side, and the three domes rise from strong cavetto mouldings in a rounded profile recalling Humāyūn's tomb, though crowned with a small pointed lotus. The round towers of Awrangzīb's 'Ālamgīr Gate (1084/1673–4) rise vigorously from a swelling lotus-petal base in broad gadroons to leaf-like merlons, and each is capped with a light *chhatrī* to counter the upthrust.

The Mosque of Maryam Zamānī, built for Jahāngīr's mother in 1023/1614, follows the established scheme of a five-arched prayer hall, with a tall semi-domed *pīshṭāq*, and five domes supported on massive brickwork piers. Square towers at the angles carry domed lanterns. The stilted central dome, less overpowering than that at Faṭḥpur Sikrī, has an inner shell of stucco; extensive use is made of squinch nets and honeycomb squinches, and the interior has the finest floral painting in Pakistan, on incised plaster. The prayer hall of the Masjid-i Wazīr Khān (1044/1634) is of the same type, with four-centred arches, double-shelled Lōdī domes – albeit of an improved shape – and deep piers separating the façade from the domes. The courtyard is much longer and arcaded with stout octagonal minarets, capped with *chhatrīs* and set on squared bases: the first use of such towers, it seems, for a Mughal mosque. The main gate is enlarged to house the domed, octagonal central chamber of a bazaar street. The brickwork is extensively panelled, and its grids house flat panels of cut mosaic tile on the surfaces of the gates, prayer-hall and minarets, with flowers, trees, tendrils and inscriptions in an inventive but strongly Persian display. The building achieves great distinction in contrasting this vivacious decoration with the robust composition of the structure. Inside, the mosaic is replaced by paint. A *ḥammām* of the same date, and Persian in type, still exists near the Delhi Gate. These elements are readjusted in the much smaller mosque of Dā'ī Angā (1045/1635), where the three frontal arches are engrailed, the domes articulated with cavetto mouldings well above the parapet, and the hall is limited at either end by the massive square bases for minarets with lanterns

that have been rebuilt this century; exceptionally, tile mosaic is used inside as well as out. Its form is close to that of the mosque and its counter-image flanking the Tāj Maḥall (*ca.* 1632–47). The mosque of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ the historian and calligrapher (1070/1659) is also tiled, and remarkable for its inscriptions. The Bādshāhī Masjid (1084/1673), Awrangzīb's finest building, combines local tradition with experience from the Jāmi' Masjid at Delhi (1059/1649). From the former come the octagonal minarets at the courtyard corners, the smaller ones at the angles of the prayer hall, and the recessed panelling; from the latter are drawn the plan, the raised plinth with steps and gateway, the bulbous domes, and the handling of the façade. The brick structure is faced throughout in red sandstone, and white marble for the domes; the interior is decorated with floral reliefs in lime plaster (*munabbat-kārī*), and painted, with almost Rococo delicacy.

## 2. Tombs

The tomb of Shaykh Mūsa Āhangar (*ca.* 1560?) whose squat dome on a cylindrical drum rests on a square, panelled cell, provides unique evidence of earlier tilework in the city: the dome is tiled in green horizontal courses, and the upper part of the walls in square tiles set diagonally, with floral motifs in blue and white. The squared mass of Jahāngīr's Tomb at Shāhdara (completed *ca.* 1046/1637) is derived from the base of Akbar's tomb, with the same number of arches and projecting bays at the centre of each side. Its red stone façades are inlaid with white and black marble in magpie elegance within the usual grid, and the tall octagonal corner towers are patterned in chevrons of white and yellow between four balconies. The absence of a central pavilion on the roof destroys the composition: the original arrangement is uncertain. A finely inscribed cenotaph lies in an octagonal central chamber with floor and walls all in superb *pietra dura*. This single-storey form is repeated at half-size in the tomb of his empress Nūrbahān (d. 1055/1645) nearby, built by herself; no vestige of its original surface remains on the brickwork core. Dā'ī Angā's Tomb (1082/1671–2) in the Gulābī Bāgh is also square, with gridwork walls and a square *chhatrī* on each corner; the plan however incorporates a cross-shaped tomb chamber, with calligraphy by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ in the coving, and an ambulatory

with octagonal corner cells. A central dome shaped like those of Wazīr Khān's Mosque is patterned in chevrons of white and dark blue tiles, and its tall drum with floral motifs.

A series of octagonal tombs begins with that of Anārkalī (1024/1615), built by Jahāngir for a former love. It has octagonal, panelled corner towers with *chhatrīs* at roof level, arched walls rising through two stories, and a dome of this same profile. It suffered various alterations when adapted for a church in 1851. Entrances formerly alternated with octagonal corner cells around a central octagon, with the cenotaph, carved in bold relief, at the middle. The tomb of Āṣaf Khān (d. 1051/1641) at Shāhdara has a single octagonal chamber, and a semi-domed arched recess on each external face around it. The reveals once had dados of square painted tiles, unique in this reign, and the squinch nets were enhanced with mosaic tile; the tall bulbous dome, now stripped of its white marble, was contemporary with that of the Taj Maḥall. The cenotaph is modelled on that of Jahāngir, below a *munabbat-kārī* vault. 'Alī Mardān Khān's tomb (ca. 1650), built for his mother, is similar in plan, but is crowned with a dome of the earlier type on a tall drum, balanced, Sūrī-style, by a *chhatrī* set above every angle of the octagon. Once more the veneers have been stripped by the Sikhs, but there are traces of a floral marble inlay on the dome. The Mausoleum of Sharaf al-Nisā' Bēgam (d. 1158/1745), called Sarwwālā Maqbara, is a low tower, square in plan, whose walls are relieved by a frieze of cypress trees (*sarw*) 2.2. m high in glazed tilework around a tomb chamber at the upper level, surmounted by a *chhajja* and a hipped square dome. That of Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, designed by Nawwāb Zayn Yārjang Bahādur in 1951, is a severe orthogonal cell with battered walls, set off by mouldings around a strong plinth and *chhajja*, and deep openings, reminiscent of Tughluq building yet somewhat Germanic; the white marble interior is carved in ornamental relief and lines from his *Ẓabūr-i 'Ajām*.

The gardens associated with these buildings, all but obliterated and requiring extensive restoration on Lord Curzon's initiative, have lost their original planting, but still display the *chārbāgh* layout, with causeways patterned in local brickwork set between regularly-spaced cypresses. The first, planted by Mīrzā Kāmran on the bank of the Rawi (ca. 1530–40) has disappeared, but its summerhouse, a *bāradarī*, survives

in midstream. Nūrjahān's Bāgh-i Dilkushā, adapted for her husband's tomb at the centre, has each of the four quarters subdivided into four square plots, with canals and tanks at the intersections, within a huge walled enclosure. The Bāgh-i Shālimār, completed in 1052/1642, and like its namesake at Delhi inspired by the eponym in Kashmīr, was originally entered at the lowest terrace, allowing movement, as in the palace, through successively more private areas, past cascades backed by lamp-niches, a *takht-gāh* set in a tank, and 450 fountains. The Ḥaḍūrī Bāgh, formerly a *sarāy* built by Awrangzīb, is apparently Sikh work.

Three gateways clad in mosaic tiles have survived the gardens to which they once led. The Chawburjī (1056/1646), with four corner towers like those of Wazīr Khān's mosque, but more attenuated and lacking their *chhatris*, has cleanly-cut archways set in a gridded surface. The Gulābī Bāgh Gate (1066/1655) follows a similar scheme, but with angle-shafts in place of the towers, and with cusping of the upper arches. The undated gate at Nawānkōt (ca. 1650) has the panelled corners left unbroken as support for its twelve-pillared *chhatrīs*, remarkable for their gadrooned, green-tiled domes.

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**LUCKNOW**, in Arabic script Lakhnaw, Lakhna'u, a historic city of mediaeval Islamic North India, situated on the south bank of the winding Gumti river, which flows into the Ganges, in lat. 26° 53' N., long. 80° 52' E., and notable as one of the main centres of Shi'ism in the subcontinent. It was the capital of the United Provinces in British India and is now the capital of the Uttar Pradesh State in the Indian Union, being also the administrative centre of a District and Division of the same name.

## I. HISTORY

Though legend connects the origin of Lucknow to a mythical local mound called Lakshman Tīlā, a pre-historic stronghold built by Lakshmana, brother of Rama, king of Ayodhya, the known history of the city can be traced to the beginning of the 13th century A.D. when it was colonised by the *Shaykhs*, one of whose descendants Shaykh Muḥammad, better known as Shāh Mīnā, attained great saintly renown, and his shrine, located with the confines of the historic Machhi Bhavan, is a place of pilgrimage for devotees all the year round, apart from being the oldest epigraphic monument of the city. During the Delhi Sultanate period, Lucknow figured prominently in connexion with the revolt of Ā'īn al-Mulk, son of Māhrū, governor of Awadh, against Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluq. Between 1394 and 1478, Lucknow became part of the Sharqī kingdom of Jawnpur. After changing hands several times between different occupants of the Delhi throne, Lucknow finally passed into the Mughal dominion under Humāyūn, after suffering from frequent Afghan incursions. The Emperor Akbar, under whom the district of Lucknow formed part of the *sarkār* of that name in the *ṣūba* of Awadh, had a special fascination for Lucknow, whose delightful surroundings, pleasant climate, flowers and fruits and different varieties

of rice are highly spoken of by his court chronicler, Abu 'l-Faḍl. During Jahāngīr's reign, Lucknow blossomed into a *magnum emporium*. Awrangzīb's visit to the place is commemorated by a mosque which he built on the top of the said Lakshman Tīlā, the oldest site of the city.

As the fortunes of the Great Mughals dwindled, those of Lucknow rose, until a new and independent kingdom sprang up as an offshoot from the decayed tree of the Empire. The governors henceforth paid only nominal allegiance to the titular Delhi king. Sa'adat Khān, who was appointed *ṣūbadār* by the Emperor Muḥammad Shāh in 1134/1722, became the founder of the dynasty of the Nawwābs of Awadh or Oudh, with whose régime most of Lucknow's glorious past is intimately connected. The period of the fourth ruler, Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla, marks the greatest height of Lucknow's prosperity. The extravagance and munificence of his court passed into a byword, and could be rivalled only by the Imperial court of Delhi. Along with the Rūmī Darwāza and the adjacent mosque, the great Imāmbārā, whose central hall is one of the largest vaulted rooms in the world, forms the apotheosis of his building achievements. Lucknow was raised to the rank of a royal city in 1819 when Lord Hastings transformed the seventh and the last Nawwāb Wazīr, Ghāzī Dīn Ḥaydar, into the first king of Awadh. The puppet monarchy came to an end in 1856 when the territory was annexed to the East India Company territories and Wājid 'Alī Shāh, the last king, was exiled to Calcutta, where he lived a pensioner's life under British supervision till his death in 1887.

To Britons, however, Lucknow is best known as the city where a regiment of British troops under Sir Henry Lawrence, joined by the local British inhabitants, put up a gallant defence of the Lucknow Residency for twelve weeks against heavy odds during the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, when the city witnessed some of the fiercest fighting. The history of the Lucknow district after its annexation by the British is a history of a long chain of administrative changes caused by the exigencies of situations obtaining at different times. Later on, Lucknow had a conspicuous role to play in the political movements of British India, for the famous Lucknow Pact resulting from meetings held there in December 1916 between the Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League led to the Hindu-Muslim co-operation in the *khilāfat*



movement and the Non-Co-operation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920.

With gilded domes and graceful minarets rising above its many mosques, *imāmbārās*, palaces and tombs, Lucknow gives the impression of fantastic splendour, characteristic of the capital of an eastern potentate. The fine Jāmi' Maṣjid, the handsome Chhat-tar Manzil and the glittering Shāh Najaf mausoleum are, apart from Āṣaf al-Dawla's buildings, some of the finest specimens of the architectural glory of the prodigal Nawwābs. La Martinière, an impressive Christian landmark of Lucknow, symbolises the zeal and influence of General Claude Martin (1735–1800), a French soldier of fortune who amassed great wealth and position during the days of Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla. The building is an exquisite memento of the synthesis of European and Indo-Saracenic architecture. "As regards learning" says Abdul Halim Sharar, the noted contemporary Urdu writer, "Lucknow was the Baghdad and Cordova of India and Nishapur and Bokhara of the East". The world famous *chikan* embroidery, the hallmark of Lucknow's craftsmanship since the days of the fastidious Nawwābs, has developed as the most flourishing industry. Another legacy of the Nawwābī era is the manufacture of good-quality *khamīra* tobacco used for smoking and the *zarda* for chewing, which have acquired a reputation of their own.

With Lucknow's name is indissolubly associated a particular school of Urdu poetry which developed there under the benign patronage of the Nawwābs. Cultivation of delicacy and refinement, which characterised the city's social life, left an indelible mark on the Urdu poetry produced there. The Urdu language was purified almost to the point of perfection. The intensive interest of the Lakhnawi Muslims in Shi'ism brought about the sophistication of the poetical genre known as *marthiya* (martyrological epic mourning the tragedy of Karbala), of which Anīs and Dabīr were the two great exponents.

Modern developments have made Lucknow a leading city of northern India. It occupies a central place in a rich farming region, producing and marketing wheat, barley, grain, mustard, mangoes and sugar cane. Paper and carpet, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, cigarettes and shoes, gold and silver wares, wood carving and leather goods, embroidery and perfumery are among the chief commercial and industrial products of Lucknow. It is a very important

centre of the country's railway system. For its numerous parks and avenues, Lucknow is called a "garden city". There is a residential University founded in 1921, with a large number of boys' and girls' colleges, several private and technical schools and the provincial museum. A University of Indian music and two national research institutes, sc. the Central Drug Institute and the National Botanic Garden, are housed there, Nadwat al-'Ulamā', popularly known as Nadwa College, is universally regarded as the leading centre of Islamic studies in India. The population (2005 census) is 3,057,000.

## II. MONUMENTS

The most noteworthy of the older sites is the tomb of Shaykh Muḥammad, known as Shāh Mīnā, dated 884/1479 (though biographies of saints give 870/1465–6). The tomb of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Chishtī, near the 'Aysh-bāgh, dated 961/1553–4 is a square limestone cell surmounted by blind merlons and a hemispherical dome set on a octagonal drum; the plain doorway arch, flanked by two small superimposed niches on each side, resembles Sultanate work at Dihli. Two Mughal mausolea in the same area are close to work at Fatḥpūr Sikrī in character, but undated. One, the Nadān Maḥall, apparently the tomb of Shaykh 'Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, was built as a twelve-pillared open pavilion, but this was converted to a square cell with *jālī* lattices, and surrounded with a verandah of twenty pillars whose elaborate brackets, including elephant and birds, support a *chajja* pent. The parapets of this verandah, the cell, and the base of the dome carry brilliant tile mosaic ornament in dark blue, turquoise and yellow set in red plaster: a confirmation of detail to be seen on some contemporary book paintings. The *mahāpadma* finial base is extended by a petal-like network of tilework lines. The red sandstone Sola Khambā preserves the open form, here rectangular, with sixteen columns surrounding a line of five cenotaphs, and supporting a florally carved ceiling above a finely panelled plinth. The details indicate the transition from the Akbarī to the Jahāngīrī style. The Mosque of Awrangzīb with three frontal arches to its prayer hall, and three domes, is flanked by massive octagonal minarets engaged to the front corners like the larger Jāmi' Maṣjid at Delhi, and lanterns at the rear; its *pīshṭaq* however incorporates new baroque curvatures

in the upper storey, with an arching *chajja* and flanking *chhatrīs*. Following his transfer of the administration of Awadh from Fayḍābād in 1189/1775, Āṣaf al-Dawla built a complex including the Āṣafī Masjid within the Machhī Bhawan or Old Fort (Qil'a) to relieve the famine in 1198/1784. This mosque follows the lines of the earlier one, but with a prayer hall of eleven bays, still with three domes, here bulbous, gadrooned, and reeded. The façade of plain arches set within engrailed arches on tapering engaged pillars is crowned with a deep foliated frieze, and a continuous register of delicate arches surmounted by tiny bulbous domes, a device already used in the mausoleum of the Nawwāb Ṣafdar Jang (d. 1168/1754) at Delhi. The prayer court, flanked by arcaded ranges with octagonal pavilions, is approached by a long surge of steps. The same tradition is resumed in the Jāmi' Masjid founded by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh (1837–42); there the *pīshṭāq* is no longer rectangular, but rises into a pointed arch, and within its *iwān*, where squinch nets are reduced to waving lines, there are three arched entrances. Secondary *pīshṭāqs* are introduced at the centre of each wing, rising in taller arcades. Luxuriant leaves spring round the dome bases, and the same foliation pervades the interior, where the *mihrāb*, matching the entry, is triple. *Guldastas* of differing length are clustered on the skyline.

The Shi'ite *ta'ziya* ceremonies required large halls, of which the greatest, the Baḥā Imāmbārā, is in Āṣaf al-Dawla's complex of 1784 (see Fig. 60). The long range of the façade is handled like that of his mosque, but with niched piers, and triads of arches at each end marked off by domed octagonal pavilions in two storeys. The arches and domes of the parapet are reiterated in a second range above, set back with two more pavilions on the flat roof. The hall within, ca. 49 m by 16 m by 15 m high has a solid concrete vault carried on successive coverings of converging groins, and the founder's tomb lies in the middle. The architect was Kifāyat Allāh. The third building of the complex, the Rūmī Darwāza, possibly so-named after its triple gateway, shares the rapid change of rhythm and the recession in levels, but the river elevation unexpectedly reveals a giant *iwān* framed within an arch with radiating *guldastas*, and capped by a *chhatrī*. The Ḥusaynābād Imāmbārā of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh again contrasts arches of different sizes with parapet arcades and *guldastas*, though in a light, lacy manner culminating in a

gilded dome. The Ḥaḍratganj Imāmbārā of Amjad 'Alī Shāh (1842–47) is comparatively plain, but its interior, like the other two, was once splendid with crystal chandeliers and precious shrines.

Besides the *imāmbārā* burials, the tradition of mau-solea continued with those of Sa'adat 'Alī Khān (1798–1814) and his wife Khurshīd-zāda, built by his successor Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar (1814–27). Both follow the organisation of Ṣafdar Jang's monument with corner turrets capped by *chhatrīs* around the main dome, but the *pīshṭāq* and *iwān* are absent, replaced in the former by a tetrastyle portico on each face. Both have domes of a strongly European profile, with prominent finials and salient angles around a tall drum suggesting a derivation from Les Invalides (1693–1706); the accumulation of lesser domes and *banglā* vaults around the Queen's tomb also recalls Hindu massing. Ghāzī al-Dīn built his own tomb, the Shāh Najaf (Najaf Ashraf) dominated by a white, stupa-like dome and finial within an arcaded precinct. The garden at Ḥusaynābād contains two supposed replicas of the Tāj Maḥall for a daughter of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh and her husband, which however demonstrate complete lack of its classical balance.

The origin of European influences is apparent in domestic buildings. Initially, Sa'adat Khan had taken over the Panch Maḥall built by the Shaykhzādas in the Fort; the buildings were improved on a grand scale by Shujā' al-Dawla (1754–75), but by 1775 they still lacked unity. Both palace and fortifications were destroyed in 1857 and after Āṣaf al-Dawla transferred the court to a new Dawlat Khāna, including the Āṣafī Kōthī, probably commissioned from Claude Martin, in 1782–9. Martin, who had arrived in Lucknow in 1776, rose to become advisor to the Nawwābs, whose taste he influenced, creating fine buildings for them and obtaining furniture from Europe. These included Mūsā Bāgh (Barowen) (1780–1804), a classical house with a bow front to the river, and a landward court sunk for coolness, and Bibīyapur Kōthī, a much plainer building. His own town house, Farḥat-bakhsh (1781) shows the same combination of climatic ingenuity, strong defences, and wit; it was bought in 1800 by Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, who used it as his residence at the centre of a new palace complex. Constantia (La Martinière, 1795–1800) though influential was, as Martin's tomb, unsuitable for adoption, and continues in his endowment as a

school. Dil-kushā (ca. 1805), built by Sir Gore Ouseley as a reinterpretation of Seaton Delaval back home in Northumberland (1729), became a favourite hunting lodge of Sa‘adat ‘Alī, and provided the portico model for his tomb. By 1803 the Nawwāb had bought all the English houses but three, and himself constructed a fine new street of such houses, radically different from the Indian model, in Ḥaḍratganj. The building of palaces continued with his domed Motī Maḥall and Lāl Bārādārī (Qaṣr al-Sulṭān), a throne room with *jālīs* as fine as the Nadān Maḥall. Ghāzī al-Dīn built the Chhattar Manzil, incorporating the Farḥat-bakhsh, for his harem, blending Martin’s classicism with the local tendency to culminative recession, and domes with *chhajja* eaves, carrying gilded parasols. That these allusions were deliberate is confirmed in the Darshan Bilās, of whose four façades two are taken from Barowen, one from Farḥat-bakhsh, and one from Dil-kushā, much as the images in Urdu poetry. The borrowing of Western motifs remained superficial, and even the use of such houses was not fully grasped. Such stylistic variety could be realised with ease in the local medium of stucco on brick-work. This was fully exploited in the vast palace of Qayṣar Bāgh built for Wājīd ‘Alī Shāh by Chhōṭā Miṣṣān in 1848–50; the final, rococo phase of Mughal architecture is combined with the gamut of Western elements with a splendid and theatrical disregard for rule, but little now remains.

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# M

**MALACCA**, a town of modern Malaysia, situated on the west coast of the Malay peninsula, in lat. 2° 12' N. and long. 102° 15' E. The common anglicised form is Malacca, but the official spelling now used in Malaysia is Melaka. Giving its name to the Malacca Straits separating the Malay peninsula from Indonesian Sumatra, Malacca is the administrative centre of Malacca State and is 152 km/100 miles from the Malaysian capital of Kuala Lumpur. The town is distinguished from other Malaysian cities by its 19th-century Chinese Malay shop houses and old Portuguese and Dutch buildings. Together with Central Malacca district, it currently has a population of some 603,000 (2000 estimate). Relatively quiet today, Malacca was in the 9th/15th century the bustling heart of the most powerful kingdom in Malay history, the Malacca sultanate, which played a key role in the expansion of Islam through the Archipelago.

## I. ORIGINS

Malacca's origins are obscure. Although a plausible date for its founding is *ca.* 802–3/1400, Malacca is not mentioned in any pre-9th/15th century sources. The first verifiable reference is Rabī' II 806/October 1403, which comes from the imperial records of the Ming dynasty. At that time the new Yung Lo Emperor (804–28/1402–24) first heard of Malacca's existence, possibly from some Muslim Indian envoys then in Peking. It was already important enough to warrant the despatch thither of a Chinese mission, and its growth must thus have been extremely rapid. According to Albuquerque's commentaries (983–4/1576), one purported derivation of "Malacca"

was a word (as yet unidentified) meaning "to meet", because so many people settled there in such a short time. In an effort to explain why Malacca was able to develop so quickly, scholars have been drawn by Malay traditions which attribute its founding to a prince from a mighty kingdom situated in Palembang in southeast Sumatra.

Malay accounts of Palembang's former greatness have been supported by archaeological evidence as well as by references in Chinese sources. It is believed that a prosperous trading kingdom, which the Chinese called San-fo-chi (reconstructed as Śrīvijaya) rose in southeastern Sumatra in the 1st/7th century. Acting as an entrepot to serve the trade between India and China, Śrīvijaya flourished and became a noted centre for Buddhist studies. At the height of its power, it claimed overlordship over the interior and east coast of Sumatra, the Malay peninsula, and the islands of the Riau-Lingga archipelago and the South China Sea. By the 6th/13th century, Śrīvijaya appears to have been weakening as neighbouring kingdoms challenged its commercial hegemony and sought to take advantage of new opportunities for trade with China. Attacks by Chola India in 415–16/1025 and recurring hostilities with Java further undermined its position. From 772–3/1371, Java claimed suzerainty in southeastern Sumatra, but around 792–3/1390 a Palembang prince apparently attempted to assert his independence. Shortly afterwards, he was ousted by an invading Javanese army. When a Chinese fleet visited Palembang early in the 9th/15th century, it was still an important port, but was under the control of a Chinese pirate chief.

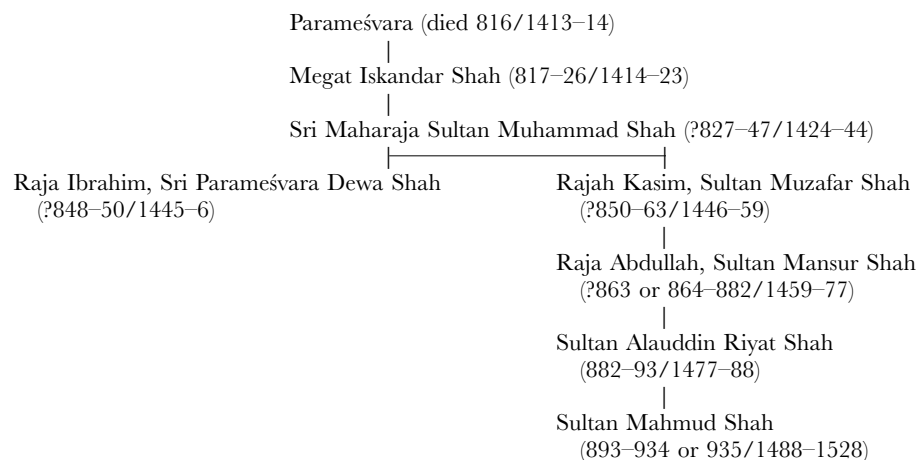
Two major sources contain the Malay legend of a Palembang prince who left Sumatra, founding a dynasty which ultimately ruled in Malacca. The first is the *Sejarah Melayu*, a Malacca court text, of which the oldest extant version dates from the 11th/17th century but which was probably based on earlier recensions since lost. The second is the *Suma oriental*, a work by a Portuguese apothecary, Tomé Pires, sent to Malacca in 914–15/1509 by the Portuguese to investigate trading conditions there. Though the two sources differ in detail, the core of the legend is similar. According to the *Sejarah Melayu*, a descendant of Alexander the Great (in Malay, Iskandar Zul-karnain) appeared miraculously on a hill in Palembang named Bukit Si Guntang. A covenant was concluded between him and the local chief in which he promised that he and his descendants would govern the people justly in return for their loyalty. With the title Sri Tri Buana, he was then made ruler. Subsequently, seeking a suitable site for a city, Sri Tri Buana came to an island which he renamed Singapore after glimpsing a strange beast which he took to be a lion (*singa*) there. During the succeeding four reigns, Singapore developed into a great trading city, but the fourth and fifth rulers flouted Sri Tri Buana's earlier covenant, unjustly punishing their subjects. In retribution, Singapore was attacked not only by giant swordfish but by Javanese armies. The ruler, Iskandar Shāh, fled up the coast to Muar, but was twice forced to relocate his settlement. Finally, he came to a place called Bertam which he deemed auspicious after he saw one of his hounds kicked by a courageous mouse deer. Because he was standing under a *melaka* tree

(*phyllanthus emblica*; *tetramerista glabra*) he decided to call the place Melaka.

The broad outlines of Pires' version are similar. According to the *Suma oriental*, a Palembang prince entitled Parameśvara would not acknowledge his subservience to Java and proclaimed his independence. The Javanese attacked and Parameśvara fled to Singapore with a following which included thirty *orang laut*, proto-Malay sea people whose habitat was the coasts and offshore islands of Sumatra and the peninsula. In Singapore, Parameśvara killed the local chief, a vassal of the Thai kingdom of Ayudhya, and established himself instead. When the Thais attacked five years later, Parameśvara fled to Muar where he settled, while the *orang laut* moved about 8 km further north to the mouth of the Malacca River. Discovering an attractive area up-river (Bertam), they persuaded Parameśvara to establish his residence there. Parameśvara gave the port at the estuary the name Malacca, which according to Pires' version means "hidden fugitive", although no satisfactory derivation is known. Another suggested derivation given in the *Sejarah Melayu* is the Arabic *malakat* (written *malākat* in Malay and *malāqat* or *mal'aqat* in early Arab trading manuals) = "possession", which the text interprets to mean "a place where merchants gather".

## II. THE MALACCA DYNASTY

The precise chronology of the first five rulers varies according to the source, and gravestones have established the reign dates of only some of the later rulers. The following is the currently accepted dynastic list of the Malacca dynasty:



After 917/1511, when Malacca was captured by the Portuguese, the dynasty ruled from capitals in the Riau archipelago and peninsular Johor. The last direct descendant was murdered in 1111/1699.

### III. MALACCA AS AN INTERNATIONAL ENTREPÔT

In order to appreciate the reasons for Malacca's place in the expansion of Islam, it is necessary to understand its emergence as an entrepôt. It has been said that Malacca was founded, rather than grew into, a trading city. Its life blood was always commerce, for the soil around was unsuitable for large-scale rice growing, and rice imports became vital for feeding its population. Some sago was grown, together with fruits such as sugar cane, jackfruit, lichi and bananas. The ordinary people subsisted by fishing from simple dugout canoes, by collecting forest and marine products, by panning tin and by weaving mats for barter in Malacca's market. These local activities, however, were economically of minor importance beside Malacca's role as an exchange centre in the international trading network which by the 10th/16th century reached from China through India and the Middle East to Europe.

By 805–6/1403, presumably within a few years of its founding, Malacca was sufficiently important to receive a mission from the Chinese Emperor. During the course of the 9th/15th century, it eclipsed its rivals, notably the ports of Pasai and Aru on Sumatra's northeast coast, which had long since participated in international trade. Tomé Pires commented, "There is no doubt that Malacca is of such importance and profit that it seems to me it has no equal in the world."

If the Sumatran origins of Malacca are accepted, it can be argued that a primary reason for its rapid rise was the fact that its founders brought with them the prestige, administrative traditions and commercial experience of the formerly great port of Śrīvijaya.

However, there were more tangible factors in Malacca's success as an entrepôt. It was strategically placed on the narrow Straits through which shipping between China and India passed and where the dominant monsoonal wind systems met. Ports in the Straits region had a guaranteed clientèle because seaborne trading patterns followed the cycle of the monsoon winds. Ships from India and the western

lands arrived at various periods between March and January, while traders from China and the east came between November and March and those from the western archipelago between May and September. For some shipping, there was an enforced wait before they could return home as the monsoon changed direction or gained force; other traders, taking advantage of different wind systems, needed to wait only a short period before they left. Malacca proved ideally suited as a stapling port where goods could be stored, ships reprovisioned and cargoes sold and purchased quickly. It had an attractive harbour with approaches free from shoals and mangrove swamps and, because it lay in the lee of Sumatra, was more sheltered from storms than Pasai. By tropical standards, the climate was pleasant; there were good stands of timber for masts in the jungles nearby; and to the northeast of the settlement was a supply of potable water. Malacca was also well-placed as a collecting point for local jungle and marine products which were valued in India and China. A portage route linked the upper Malacca River with the gold mines of inland Pahang, and numerous rivers that disembogue on both sides of the Straits facilitated the transport of goods between the coast and interior. Finally, the hill to the east of the settlement (Malacca or St. Paul's Hill) was a natural vantage point where lookouts could be posted to warn against any impending attack.

Diplomatic initiatives by the first rulers further contributed to Malacca's commercial success. The patronage of China, the greatest Asian power at the time, was assiduously cultivated. When a large Chinese mission arrived in 806/1404, Malacca responded by sending envoys back to the imperial court. As a sign of the emperor's favour, Paramesvara was granted an elevated title and Malacca became the first foreign nation to receive the Yung Lo Emperor's personal inscription. Between 806–7/1404 and 838–9/1435, twenty missions were sent from Malacca to China, several of which were headed by the ruler himself. By offering the appropriate tribute and fulfilling its obligations to its Chinese overlord, the new settlement retained China's favour and protection in the initial stages of its development. For their part, the Ming Emperors obtained as a vassal an important commercial centre which could act as a base for the Chinese naval fleets that periodically sailed to the Indian Ocean. Although the Imperial court withdrew from active involvement in overseas affairs

after 837–8/1434, junk trade with Malacca continued. Nor were the close ties of the past forgotten. Sultan Muzafar, Sultan Mansur and Sultan Mahmud requested investiture by China and it was to China that the last Malacca ruler looked for assistance when the Portuguese attacked in 916–17/1511.

The new settlement also reached if not friendship then at least a *modus vivendi* with its two powerful neighbours, the Thai kingdom of Ayudhya and Majapahit in Java. Founded in 751–2/1351, Ayudhya continued to claim suzerainty over the entire peninsula, and Majapahit too exercised a vague overlordship in the southern peninsula. Accordingly, until the latter part of the 9th/15th century, Malacca rulers acknowledged themselves to be Ayudhya's vassals. In return, Malacca received supplies of food and people as well as valued trading privileges. When Ayudhya attempted to impose its control there in 809–10/1406, 822/1419 and 834–5/1431, Malacca was able to appeal to its patron China, who ordered the Thais to desist. The relationship with Majapahit, on the other hand, was more harmonious. Malacca continued to accept vassal status till the end of the century, and ties with Majapahit were fostered through regular missions and royal marriages. This ensured a mutually advantageous trade and guaranteed Malacca access to Javanese rice.

From Malacca's inception, its rulers sought to attract inhabitants. Not only was manpower a vital economic resource, but a kingdom's prestige was always measured in terms of the people it controlled. According to Portuguese accounts, within four months of his arrival Paramesvara's new settlement had a population of a hundred people, which soon increased to 2,000. By the second reign, the population had swelled to 6,000 and it continued to grow as Malacca's trade expanded. Peoples from the archipelago itself, especially Sumatra and the peninsula, were the most numerous, but there were also groups of foreigners, especially Indians, who took up semi-permanent residence in Malacca and frequently became prominent officials. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century the inhabitants of Malacca were estimated at 100,000, though this is probably an exaggeration. According to Pires, no less than 84 languages could be heard in the streets and 4,000 foreign merchants resided there. The town itself spread out for three leagues (about 15 km/9 miles) on both sides of the Malacca river, encompassing a

large commercial quarter on the northern shore, a Javanese settlement on the southern side, impressive buildings on Malacca Hill, and fishing villages at the estuary and along the river marshes.

Militarily, Malacca was able to assert its superiority in the region and thus ensure that its commercial hegemony was maintained. Portuguese figures for Malacca's fighting men vary from 4,000 in the city proper to 100,000, including the neighbouring areas. In the Portuguese attack on Malacca in 917/1511, 3,000 guns were taken, but this was believed to be less than half the town's artillery. The prime component in Malacca's forces were the *orang laut*, the sea people of the coasts and river reaches, who manned its fleets. In the early stages of Malacca's development *orang laut* patrols were sent out to compel passing vessels to patronise Malacca rather than rival ports, and they were crucial in guarding Malacca's sea lanes from pirate raids by other kingdoms. Their prestige in Malacca was considerable. Several of their leaders were related to the Malacca dynasty through marriage, and some of the highest ministers traced their descent from *orang laut*.

A prime factor in Malacca's success was the quality of its administration. High priority was given to security within the town and to the protection of foreign merchants and their goods. One very practical measure was the construction of underground warehouses so that stored goods would be less vulnerable to theft and fire. An early Chinese account mentions men patrolling the streets ringing bells, and both Malay and Portuguese sources describe the active part taken by rulers themselves in supervising the enforcement of law. By the middle of the 9th/15th century, a body of laws had been codified regulating punishments and attempting to control abuses such as bribery, especially of judges. A separate maritime code set out the powers of a ship's captain when at sea and his relationship with the merchants whose goods he was carrying. The fact that foreigners in Malacca had ready access to a legal authority in cases of dispute must have been a great attraction to traders.

Commercial transactions were aided by an efficient administrative system shaped to the needs of the mercantile community. Four Shahbandars or harbour masters were appointed, each representing a group of trading nations. One was for the Gujaratis alone, since they were the most numerous (estimated at 1,000 by Pires); another was for other Indians and

for traders from Pegu and Pasai; another for those from Java, the Moluccas, Banda, Palembang, Borneo and the Philippines; the fourth was for traders from Champa, China and the Ryukyu Islands (probably including Japan). Each Shahbandar had the responsibility of welcoming individual traders, assigning warehouses, overseeing the affairs of his particular group, maintaining a check on weights, measures and coinage, adjudicating disputes between ships' captains and merchants, and generally supervising the market place.

Customs duties were also carefully regulated. In general, these were paid in accordance with the value of the cargo, with additional gifts presented to the ruler and leading ministers. Though the bulk of Malacca's revenue came from these duties, they were somewhat lower than those of its chief rivals. The Chinese, furthermore, were exempt from any gift-offering. For large ships, a flat rate of 6% of the total value was levied, eliminating the need for further gifts. To minimise the possibility of extortion or corruption, a consortium of Malacca merchants under the supervision of the Temenggung often bought up the entire cargo of these larger vessels. Each merchant then received a proportion of the cargo equivalent to the amount he had contributed. This proved a speedy and efficient method of clearing cargoes, enabling captains to buy up new supplies and prepare for their homeward journey with the appropriate monsoon. The smaller Malay traders of Malacca acted as middlemen, by selling or bartering the goods in front of their homes, in licensed stalls erected on the bridge over the Malacca River, or in the market place itself. They also carried cargoes by boat to other areas in the archipelago. Because of the middleman role of Malays, and because their language was easily learnt when compared with most regional languages, Malay became the *lingua franca* in ports throughout the archipelago.

Thanks to its attractive mercantile environment, Malacca emerged as the collecting centre for spices from the eastern archipelago as well as a distribution point for Indian textiles. This dual role was vital in its commercial success, giving it a great advantage over nearby ports and ensuring its dominance in the Straits region. By the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Pires valued Malacca's trade at 2.4 million cruzados annually, well over half that of Seville, one of Europe's major commercial cities.

#### IV. STATECRAFT IN MALACCA

The prestige which came to Malacca was linked not only to its wealth but to the development of a court culture. A fundamental part of this culture was the formulation of a concept of statecraft that reinforced the status of the dynasty and of Malacca itself. At the apex of the kingdom was the ruler, whose exalted lineage was traced to Sri Tri Buana, the prince who had miraculously appeared on Bukit Si Guntang in Palembang. The legend of the contract made by Sri Tri Buana with the Palembang chief stressed that a terrible retribution would be meted out to any subject guilty of *derhaka* or disloyalty to the ruler. Although the latter was enjoined to treat all his subjects with respect, the punishment of a wicked king must be left to Allah Almighty. But when a ruler governed justly and wisely, the kingdom would flourish, for the prosperity of the state found its ultimate source in the king. Divine powers were inherent in him, in pre-Islamic times perhaps subsumed in the Sanskrit word *śakti* or old Malay *andeka* but later denoted by the Arabic term *dawlat*.

Despite the king's theoretical sanctity and total authority, there were checks against arbitrary rule. It was customary for all state decisions to be based on *muafakat* or consultation between the ruler and his ministers. The interaction between the two is well expressed by the *Sejarah Melayu*, which compares the ruler to the fire and the ministers to the firewood "and fire needs wood to produce a flame". Since the ministers were responsible for the daily functioning of the kingdom, they wielded great power. The most important was the Bendahara, originally of commoner and perhaps *orang laut* birth, but whose line in time became intimately linked with the royal house through intermarriage. Following him came the Penghulu Bendahari, the head of all Shahbandars, who controlled state revenues as well as royal servants and scribes. The Temenggung, originally third in line but later regarded as Bendahara designate, was chief of police and chief magistrate. Finally, the Laksamana headed the military administration and was commander of the ruler's bodyguard and the fleets of *orang laut*.

Below them were many other nobles, although the numbers are unknown. Some noble positions were created as royal favours, but many others were inherited. The nobles shared in the process of



government through collective decision-making in a large assembly where consensus was highly valued. Because of their commercial interests, these men were often extremely wealthy and could call on a large following. Indeed, the greatest challenge a ruler could face was a coterie of hostile ministers and nobles. It is not surprising, therefore, that by the mid-9th/15th century Malaccan theories of statecraft had been translated into laws which spelt out special royal prerogatives in dress and ceremonial and the severe penalties for any who flouted this rigid sumptuary code. In extreme cases, such as the use of words forbidden to any but the king, the offender would be put to death.

While these notions of kingship did not originate in Malacca, it was there that they were fully developed and most clearly articulated. Malacca's great achievement was to refine a court culture which was then consciously imitated throughout other parts of the Malay-speaking world. Despite local variations, the style of dress, literature and dance, social norms and courtly language were similar throughout the peninsula and east-coast Sumatra, with considerable influence in Borneo and parts of the eastern archipelago. The fact that this highly-respected dynasty also adopted Islam was not only an important ingredient in its own prestige, but was also fundamental to the spread of Islam in the Malay-Indonesian archipelago.

## V. ISLAM IN MALACCA

Arab and Indian Muslim traders had been in the archipelago for several centuries, but Islam did not begin to attract converts in significant numbers until after the 7th/13th century. By 692–3/1292, the town of Perlak and by 696/1297 Samudra-Pasai on the north-eastern coast of Sumatra, had Muslim rulers, but on the peninsula the earliest evidence of an Islamic king is the Trengganu Stone from the east coast. It has a partly illegible *hijra* date which could read between 702/1303 and 789/1387. Various dates for the conversion of the Malacca ruler, ranging from 811–12/1409 to 839–40/1436, have been suggested, but the precise year is still speculative. While the Islamic name of Iskandar is attributed to Malacca's founder by the *Sejarah Melayu*, it is unlikely that the first ruler was himself Muslim. Pires attributes the conversion to the second ruler, whom he calls

Iskandar. Since his dynastic list omits one king, it is more probable that the conversion he describes can be identified with the third ruler, Sultan Muhammad Shah, whom the *Sejarah Melayu* depicts as the first royal convert. The second, and conceivably the first ruler, may have assumed the name Iskandar and the Persian title of Shāh to enhance their status, but Muhammad is a more appropriate name for a newly-converted king.

The *Sejarah Melayu* presents the conversion of the third ruler as an act of divine revelation. The Prophet, appearing to him in a dream, instructs him to recite the confession of faith, gives him the new name Muhammad, and tells him of the imminent arrival of a teacher from Jeddah. When the king awakes, he finds that he has been miraculously circumcised and that he is able to recite the creed. That afternoon a religious teacher arrives as his dream had foretold and, convinced by this event, both the ruler and his court embrace Islam.

The precise reasons for the ruler's conversion are still debated. According to Pires' account, the (second) Malacca ruler was aware that the commercial vitality of Malacca's rival, Muslim Pasai, was largely due to its patronage by Indian Muslim cloth merchants. He therefore took active steps to emulate Pasai's success and himself attract Muslims to Malacca. Muslim traders were granted commercial privileges; residences and mosques were built for them and they were welcomed at court. Pasai, assuming the prestigious role of proselytiser, encouraged this development by sending teachers to Malacca. Pires goes on to say that under the influence of both Pasai and prominent Muslim merchants, the (second) ruler at the age of 72 adopted Islam and married the King of Pasai's daughter.

Pasai's example and Malacca's desire to attract merchants must have been persuasive in Malaccan court circles. Arguments in favour of taking definitive measures to secure Muslim trade would have been strengthened after the third ruler returned from a mission to China in 838–9/1435, presumably aware that the Emperor intended to abolish imperial trade, which had previously brought Malacca valued revenue, and revert to the tribute system.

But the decision to embrace Islam would not have been purely the result of commercial considerations. The new faith would have heightened the dynasty's already considerable prestige, since it linked the

ruler with the wider Muslim world. The impressive ceremonial accompanying the reception of foreign envoys at the Malacca court must have been even more significant when the missions came from the Muslim princes of such places as Aden, Hormuz, Cambay and Bengal. Scholars have also suggested that the changing doctrinal mood of Islam may have been another inducement. By the 8th/13th century, the mystical Sufi orders had become more influential within Islam and had become closely associated with trade guilds. The tolerance of Sufism when confronted with non-Islamic practices as well as the Sufis' syncretistic theosophy, moderating the more stringent demands of orthodox Islam, may have helped to make the new faith acceptable to the Malacca court.

Little is known of the nature of Islam in Malacca. The main source for information about its theological content has been the *Sejarah Melayu*, but although the text contains scattered references to Islam, these cannot be considered as particularly revealing. The reshaping of the royal genealogy to incorporate Alexander the Great (Iskandar Zul-karnain), regarded as a great Muslim warrior who converted the ruler of India, conveys more about Malay attitudes to ancestry than to religion. The Islamic invocation at the conclusion of each chapter and the death-bed testimonies of various rulers are purely formulaic phrases. Stories similar to that describing the miraculous conversion of the third ruler can be found in other parts of the Indonesian world and are hardly unique.

Scholars have been attracted by apparent references to mysticism, but the *Sejarah Melayu* itself does not demonstrate any deep knowledge of Sufi thought. The great Persian theologian and mystic, al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), is mentioned simply as an example of a very learned man; similarly, the episodes which describe the exchange of missions between Malacca and Pasai, apparently over questions of doctrinal interest, may be equally related to the Malay love of riddles and the rivalry between the two courts. In one of these episodes, a teacher from Mecca is sent from Malacca by Sultan Mansur to Pasai to have his book on mysticism, *Durr manzum*, either authenticated or explained. In another, Sultan Mansur poses to the Pasai court the question of whether those in heaven or hell abide there forever, from which it has been inferred that the work of the late 8th/14th century

and early 9th/15th century mystic 'Abd Karīm al-Jīlī (d. 820/1417) was known in Malacca. Sultan Mahmud later sent a further mission to Pasai to resolve an apparent contradiction between two statements concerning the nature of unbelief. But while the deliberately undisclosed answer may possibly imply a mystic response, the debate over what distinguished an infidel from an unbeliever was of general concern to Muslims in these early stages of Islamicisation.

Available sources do no more than suggest that Islamic teaching in Malacca was tinged with mysticism. Historical evidence is more revealing about Malacca's prestige as a thriving Muslim centre in the 9th/15th century and about the contribution of Islam to the shaping of Malay culture.

Within Malacca, Islam helped to strengthen the dominance of the court. By the time Islam was formally adopted in Malacca, the influence of Persian notions of kingship, stressing the monarch's sacral nature and elevating him to a place high above ordinary mortals, had spread through much of the Islamic world. The Malacca ruler became part of this tradition. Already regarded as semi-divine, he was now able to assume other new and imposing titles. Coins from Malacca proclaim the ruler as Sultan and Shah, raising him above all other princes in the region who, with the exception of Pasai, bore the simpler title *raja*. He was also "Helper of the World and of the Religion" (*Nāsir al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn*), "Allah's Shadow Upon the Earth" (*Ẓill Allāh fi 'l-'ālam*), to whom obedience was due as a religious obligation. In the words of the *Sejarah Melayu*, "When you do your duty to the Prophet and Allah, with whom a good king is joined, then it is as though you are doing your duty to Allah himself".

There have been suggestions that the Hinduised titles of Sultan Muhammad's successor imply a short-lived rejection of Islam. In general, however, the promotion of Islam in Malacca was very much a royal undertaking, with the rulers themselves actively encouraging proselytisation. In the reign of Sultan Mansur, marriages between Muslims and infidels were arranged to attract new converts, and apostasy was forbidden. The daily prayers were made obligatory for Muslims, and to a considerable extent the legal system began to favour Muslims, especially as witnesses and in property disputes. The adoption of Islam became increasingly necessary in order

to maintain high positions in the court; while able non-Muslims could still rise, they usually eventually converted to the new faith. Nothing is known of the Islamic religious hierarchy, although there are passing references to *imām*, *qāḍī* and *khaṭīb*. It seems that the major religious official, who also played a prominent role in court affairs, was termed *Kadi*. He had far greater authority than did the *qāḍī* or judge in the Islamic heartlands, and in at least one case the position passed from father to son. Other religious officials, especially the ruler's own teacher, similarly gained influence in court circles and Malacca's administration because of their assumed piety and superior knowledge.

The high point of royal encouragement of Islam came during the reign of Sultan Mansur, who built a great new mosque for Malacca and made preparations to make the pilgrimage. He died before this could be accomplished, but his son, Sultan Alauddin, said to be devoted to mosque affairs, also announced his intention of going to Mecca. Though he too abandoned his goal, the projects assume greater significance when it is realised that until the late 19th century no Malay kings had made the Pilgrimage.

In the development of Malacca's court culture, Islam's great strength was its willingness, within certain limits, to tolerate many non-Islamic beliefs and traditions. An examination of Malacca's laws (*Undang-Undang Melaka*) shows that Islam made continuing compromises with existing practices, particularly in regard to criminal punishments and sexual offences. These laws, though drawn up by Islamic juriconsults and modified over several reigns, often include two penalties for the same crime, one following custom (*adat*) and the other said to be that of "the law of Allah". In fact, the so-called "law of Allah" was often adapted from *sharī'a* law to conform with local conditions. This fusion of Islam and Malaccan custom was encouraged as local religious scholars and scribes took over the task of rewriting and amending the existing law code. While some sections of the Malacca laws seem to have been copied verbatim from Islamic law books, the language was not uncommonly corrupt because *sharī'a* law was not always fully understood.

To some Muslims, especially non-Malays, this accommodation was not always acceptable. An Arab sailor-author whose account is dated 866/1462 considered that, in Islamic terms, Malacca had no

culture; he was critical of the marriage between Muslims and infidels, and the fact that divorce was not regarded as a religious act; he also condemned the failure to observe Islamic restrictions against certain foods, especially the eating of dogs and drinking of wine. The *Sejarah Melayu* hints at the continuing tension between Malays and foreign Muslims who looked down on a society they might well consider morally and spiritually lax. One incident describes how a Malacca noble, coming to his religious class intoxicated, accuses his teacher of being in Malacca purely for financial gain; another noble defends the subtlety of Malay pronunciation in comparison with that of Arabic.

From an orthodox point of view, Malacca Malays might not have been deeply versed in Islamic theology or punctilious observers of strict *sharī'a* law. On the other hand, even when the faith was only newly-established in Malacca, the sources contain no hint that Muslims from eastern Asia questioned its orthodoxy. Ma Huan, a Chinese Muslim interpreter whose account may relate to any period between 812–13/1409 and 855/1451, notes simply that "the king of the country and all the people follow the Muslim faith, fasting, doing penance and chanting liturgies". By the second half of the 9th/15th century, Malacca was regarded as a focal point for Islamic scholarship, with religious teachers attracted by the patronage of the court and the possibility of supporting themselves by taking on pupils. Malacca became a dissemination point for Islam as much as for trading goods, and all over the archipelago, in the southern Philippines, Borneo and Java, legends link royal conversions to teachers arriving from Malacca or to local figures who received instruction there. The explication and dispersal of Islamic beliefs was facilitated because Malay was already established as a regional *lingua franca*. Furthermore, the process of Islamicisation was fostered by the later Malacca rulers, who regarded themselves and were perceived as the champions of Islam in the region. Sultan Muzafar was said to have actively encouraged princes in the northern coastal ports of Java to adopt Islam, and one Javanese non-Muslim ruler was driven to complain to the Portuguese about Malacca's Muslim fervour. While Malacca laid down the basis for much of Malay culture, Islam itself became so associated with Malays that, in places such as Borneo, to embrace Islam was to *masuk Melayu*, to enter Malayness.

The spread of Islam in neighbouring courts owed much to the example of the prosperous and prestigious Malacca, but its acceptance was not only a result of peaceful persuasion. As Malacca expanded territorially, gaining control over greater economic resources, food-producing areas and manpower, it brought its religion as well as overlordship. In the second reign, Malacca's borders extended to include all land between Kuala Linggi and Kuala Kesang (respectively the northern and southern borders of the modern Malacca state) and from the mid-9th/15th century, territorial expansion proceeded apace. Confronted by an aggressive Ayudhya, Sultan Muzafar waged several campaigns against the Thais, the victory, according to the *Sejarah Melayu*, being finally assured by the magical power of a Malacca *sayid*. Following the conclusion of peace with Ayudhya and emboldened by his friendship with Pasai, China and Majapahit, Sultan Muzafar extended his control north to Selangor, south to Singapore and west to Pahang, where the ruler adopted Islam at Muzafar's request. Although he never succeeded in defeating Aru, Malacca traditions successfully propagated the notion that the people of Aru, though converted before Malacca, practised a form of Islam inferior to that found in Malacca. Sultan Muzafar did, however, defeat the rulers of Kampar and Indragiri on the east coast of Sumatra, forcing them to become Muslim and gaining access to the pepper and gold of the Sumatran interior. His son Sultan Mansur extended suzerainty over Perak, gained after wars with Kedah, Ayudhya's vassal. His control was strengthened along the east coast of Sumatra, where Siak was defeated and Mansur's daughter married to its ruler. Mansur's sister, who married the ruler of Minangkabau, also induced her husband to accept Islam. The next ruler, Sultan Alauddin, incorporated the entire Riau-Lingga archipelago in his territory, and to ensure his hold over key areas of his empire, retained the kings of Pahang, Kampar and Indragiri at the Malacca court, where he was said to have instructed them on Islamic matters.

Islam must have provided the last ruler of Malacca, Mahmud, with a rallying point around which to mobilise his subjects in campaigns against the Buddhist Thais. During his reign Malacca attacked Kelantan, a Thai vassal in the northern Peninsula, and in 902–3/1497 moved as far north as Ligor. A Thai prince of Patani agreed to accept Melaka's suzerainty and adopt Islam, while the ruler of Kedah also revoked Thai overlordship. When Mahmud

formally renounced any Thai claims to suzerainty in the region, relations with Ayudhya were broken off. In 905–6/1500 the Thais attacked Malacca again and possibly made another unsuccessful Siamese assault prior to the first arrival of the Portuguese in 941–5/1509. But by this stage, Malacca's hold over the central and southern peninsula was so strong that Ayudhya was only able to impose overlordship over the most northerly Malay states.

During the 9th/15th century, the nexus between flourishing international trade and a thriving religious environment, characteristic of major maritime ports in the archipelago, is well-exemplified in Malacca. Islam became an integral part of the court culture of Malacca which, admired and emulated throughout the Malay world, also laid the basis for the evolution of modern Malay society. While Malacca played a vital role in the Islamicisation process, Islam was equally important in contributing to Malacca's special place in Malay history. Perhaps the measure of Malacca's prestige is expressed most vividly by the last ruler, Sultan Mahmud, who claimed that Malacca was so great that it could be made into Mecca itself. Although implications of Sufi teaching on the unimportance of the *hajj* have been read into this, it is as easy to see it simply as the boast of a proud, wealthy and successful dynasty. But the statement clearly created a dilemma for orthodox Muslims, and according to later Malay arguments it was Sultan Mahmud's unacceptable hubris which brought down divine retribution from far-off Portugal.

In Rabī' II-Jumādā I 917/July 1511, Malacca was attacked by a Portuguese fleet under the command of Afonso de Albuquerque. The Portuguese aim was to establish a post for their expanding Asian trade, to gain access to and command of eastern spices, and to strike a major blow at Christianity's great rival, Islam. Internal dissensions in Malacca, and Portuguese military superiority, led to the flight of Sultan Mahmud with 3,000 men and the fall of the city itself on 21 Jumādā I 917/10 August 1511. There can be little doubt that at the time both Malays and Portuguese felt the religious nature of the conflict to be as compelling as the commercial one. Several Portuguese taken hostage in Malacca in 914–15/1509 were circumcised and forcibly converted by Sultan Mahmud's orders. His refusal to negotiate with Albuquerque two years later was attributed to the influence of Muslim merchants, especially those from India who had already experienced conflict

with the Portuguese. Albuquerque for his part saw "Moors" as Portugal's implacable enemies, both on commercial and spiritual grounds, and gave orders that any Malay captured should be put to death. The Hindu merchants of Malacca regarded the Christian Portuguese as a natural ally against their Muslim rivals and gave Albuquerque valued assistance both before and after Malacca's fall.

In the aftermath of the attack, Malacca was sacked and mosques and royal graves destroyed to provide stone for the great fortress, La Formosa, built on the site of Sultan Mansur's great mosque. A Portuguese governor and administration was appointed, Hindus were placed in high positions and relations with neighbouring non-Muslim rulers were cultivated. In time, a *modus vivendi* was reached with other Muslim states whose economy had come to be closely linked with Malacca's. But despite sustained efforts, the Portuguese were never successful in reviving Malacca's former commercial supremacy. While it remained an important entrepôt, foreign merchants complained of high duties and official corruption, and Muslim traders preferred to patronise Islamic Atjeh in Sumatra because of the unsympathetic Portuguese attitude towards those of the Muslim faith. The Portuguese were thus unable to command the exchange trade in spices and cloth which, largely in Muslim hands, had been so fundamental in Malacca's former success.

Futhermore, Portuguese Malacca faced the continuing hostility of the Malacca dynasty's heirs. Setting up a new capital in the Riau-Lingga archipelago, they made repeated attacks on Malacca in an effort to recapture the city. When the Dutch appeared in the area in the early 11th/17th century, the Malacca dynasty, now based in peninsular Johor, were more than ready to assist the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in a siege of Malacca, perhaps hoping that they might thereby return. However, after Malacca's fall to Dutch forces in Shawwāl 1050/January 1641, it became simply one more post in the vast VOC trading network. Unlike the Portuguese, the Dutch never saw Malacca as an important commercial centre. Its major function was to act as a strategic guard post on the Malacca Straits, with commercial traffic focussed on Batavia, the VOC capital.

Under the Dutch administration, the Malay population (including Malay speakers from elsewhere in the archipelago) slowly increased to more than 5,000. Indian Muslim traders did frequent Malacca, but

not in great numbers, being always the object of Dutch suspicion. But Islam fared better under the Protestant VOC than under the Roman Catholic Portuguese. The VOC did not encourage missionary activities among Muslims, and in many ways was more concerned about Catholicism. However, without a Malay court to act as a religious sponsor, and without the links to the Muslim world provided by a cosmopolitan trading port, Malacca made no further significant contribution to the development of Malay Islam. In 1795, during the Napoleonic Wars, it was taken over by the British to prevent its capture by the French. Under the British, the famous fort was destroyed to forestall its use by hostile forces in the future. Malacca reverted briefly to the Dutch in 1818 but in 1824, by the terms of the Anglo-Dutch Treaty, was returned to the British in exchange for Benkulen (west Sumatra). In 1826 it was incorporated into the Straits Settlements, but was always subservient commercially to Penang and Singapore, which became renowned centres for Islamic study. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the Government of India and brought directly under the Colonial Office. During the colonial period (1874 until 1957), Malacca was under the control of a British Resident responsible to the Governor in Singapore. It became part of the independent Federation of Malaysia in 1957.

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**MARRAKESH**, in French Marrakech, in Arabic Marrākush, colloquial pronunciation Merrāksh, a city in the southern part of Morocco and one of the historic capitals of the country, now one of the residences of the sovereign of the Moroccan kingdom. The Europeanised form Marrakech, adopted by the administration of the French Protectorate after 1913, is of recent origin. Until *ca.* 1890 the city was always known as Morocco. The kingdom of Morocco, as distinct from those of Fez and the Sūs, finally gave its name to the whole empire. At one time it consisted only of the country south of the Wādī Umm Rabīʿ as far as the Great Atlas range.

#### I. GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION

Marrakesh is situated in lat. 31° 37' N. and long. 7° 59' E. (Greenw.). Its mean height above sea-level is about 460 m/1,510 feet. The town is 85 km/150 miles south of Casablanca. It is through the latter that almost all the traffic with the coast passes at the present day. It used to go via Safi which is the nearest port. Sīdī Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh in 1765 tried to supplant it by Mogador, where he built a town and harbour through which at the end of the 18th century most of the trade between Marrakesh and Europe passed.

The temperature which is very mild in winter is very hot in summer, with extreme temperatures reaching or passing 50° on certain days. Rainfall is low (284.5 mm in 1927, against 706.5 in Rabat and 1,007.3 in Tangier). But water fed by the snows of the Atlas is found at no great depth. It is collected by a system of long subterranean tunnels (*khaṭṭāra*, pl. *khaṭāṭīr*) which bring it to the surface by taking advantage of the very slight slope of the surface. This method of obtaining water has enabled the vast gardens which surround the town to be created. The Almohads and the dynasties which succeeded them also built aqueducts and reservoirs to supply the town with water from the springs and streams of the mountains.

About 25 km/40 miles north of the Atlas, the vast silhouette of which, covered by snow for eight months of the year fills the background, Marrakesh is built in a vast plain called the Ḥawz which slopes very gently towards the Wādī Tansift, which runs 4½ km/3 miles north of the town. The extreme uniformity of the

plain is broken only in the north-west by two rocky hills called Gillīz (518 m/1,700 feet) and Kudyat al-ʿAbīd. In 1912 at the time of the French occupation, there was built a fort which commands Marrakesh. The European town called the Gueliz lies between this hill and the walls of the old town.

The Wādī Issīl, a left-bank tributary of the Tansift, a stream often dried up but transformed into a raging torrent after storms, runs along the walls of the town on the east. To the north of Marrakesh as far as the Tansift and to the east stretches a great forest of palm-trees, the only one in Morocco north of the Atlas. It covers an area of 13,000 hectares and possesses over 100,000 palm-trees, but the dates there only ripen very imperfectly.

#### II. THE URBAN STRUCTURE

The town occupies an extensive site. The ramparts of sun-dried mud which run all round it measure at least 7 miles in length. The town in the strict sense does not occupy the whole of this vast area. The part built upon forms a long strip which starting from the *zāwiya* of Sīdī bel ʿAbbās in the north runs towards the *qaṣaba* (*qaṣba*) which stands at the southern end of the town. On the two sides lie great gardens and estates, among which we find in the neighbourhood of the chief gates inside the walls, isolated quarters grouped like so many villages around their *sūq* and the mosque.

The town consisted mainly of little low houses of reddish clay, often in ruins, among which were scattered huge and magnificent dwellings without particularly imposing exteriors built either by the viziers of the old Makhzen (e.g. the Bāhiya, the old palace of Bā Ḥmād, vizier of Mawlāy al-Ḥasan) or by the great *qāʾids*, chiefs of the tribes of the country around. The narrow and overhung streets in the central area broaden towards the outskirts into sunny and dusty squares and crossroads. The colour, the picturesque architecture, the palm trees, the branches of which appear over the walls of the gardens, the presence of a large negro population, all combine to give the town the appearance of a Saharan *qṣar* of vast dimensions.

The centre of the life of the city is the Jāmaʿ al-Fnā, a vast, irregular, ill-defined open space, surrounded in the early years of this century by wretched

buildings and reed huts, overshadowed by the high minaret of the Kutubiyya Mosque. Its name comes, according to the author of the *Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, from the ruins of a mosque which Aḥmad al-Manṣūr had undertaken to build there; "As he had planned it on a wonderful scale, it had been given the name of mosque of prosperity (*al-hanā*); but his plans being upset by a series of unfortunate events, the prince was unable to finish the building before his death and it was therefore given the name of mosque of the ruin (*jāmi' al-fanā*)". This origin having been forgotten; an attempt was later made to explain the name of the square from the fact that the heads of rebels used to be exposed there. It was there also that executions took place. Lying on the western edge of the principal agglomeration of buildings at its most thickly populated part, close to the *sūq*, connected with the principal gates by direct and comparatively quiet roads, Jāma' al-Fnā is the point of convergence of the roads. At all hours swarming with people, it is occupied in the morning with a market of small traders: barbers, cobblers, vendors of fruit and vegetables, of medicines, of fried grasshoppers, of tea and of soup (*ḥarīra*); in the evening, it is filled with acrobats and jugglers (Awlād Sidi Aḥmad ū Mūsā of Tazerwalt), sorcerers, story-tellers, fire-eaters, snake charmers and *shlūḥ* dancers. The audience consists mainly of people from the country who have come into town on business and want to enjoy the distractions of the town for a few hours before going home. These visitors are always very numerous in Marrakesh. Besides the regular inhabitants, there is a floating population, the number of which may be of the order of 10,000 persons. For Marrakesh is the great market for supplying not only the Ḥawz but also the mountain country, the Sūs and especially the extreme south, Dādes, Dar'a (Dra') and the Anti-Atlas. Marrakesh used to be the starting-point for caravans going through the Sahara to trade with Timbuktu. They brought back chiefly Sudanese slaves, for whom Marrakesh was an important market. The conquest of the Sudan by France put an end to this traffic.

To the north of the Jāma' al-Fnā begin the *sūqs*, which are very large. As in Fez and in the other large towns, the traders and artisans are grouped by trades under the authority of the *muḥtasib* or market inspector. The most important *sūqs* are those of the cloth merchants (*qīsāriyya*), of the sellers of slippers, of pottery, of basket work, of the embroiderers of

harness, of the dyers and of the smiths. An important Thursday *sūq* [*al-khamīs*] is held outside and inside the walls around the old Fez Gate which has taken the name of the market (Bāb al-Khamīs). This *sūq* was already in existence in the 10th/16th century.

An important industry in Marrakesh is the making of leather (tanning). The manufacture of slippers occupied 1,500 workmen who produce over 2,000 pairs each working day. There are the only articles manufactured in the town that are exported. They are sold as far away as Egypt and West Africa. For the rest, Marrakesh is mainly an agricultural market. The whole town is a vast *fondouk* (*funduq*) in which are warehoused the products of the country, almonds, caraway seeds, goat-skins, oils, barley, wool, to be exchanged either for imported goods (sugar, tea, cloth) or for other agricultural produce (wheat, oil, which the tribes of the mountains and of the extreme south for example do not have).

The town is divided into 32 quarters, including what was the *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter. We may further mention outside the walls near the Bāb Dukkāla a quarter called al-Ḥāra where the lepers lived. Until the 1920s, the gates of the town were closed during the night. The superintendents of the quarters (*muqaddamīn*) had watchmen (*ʿassāsa*) under their orders. The old custom long survived of firing a salvo at midnight on the Jāma' al-Fnā as a curfew.

Marrakesh being an imperial town, the sultan, who only stayed there at long intervals, was represented in his absence by a *khalīfa*, a prince of the imperial family (usually the son or brother of the sovereign). The role of this *khalīfa* was not purely representative, for he was a true viceroy, who formerly governed the territories to the south. The governor of the town was in Protectorate times a *pasha*, assisted by a delegate (*nāʾib*) and several *khalīfās*. One of the latter supervised the prisons and the administration of justice. Another had the title of *pasha* of the *qaṣba*. He governed the southern part of the town which includes the imperial palace and the former Jewish quarter. Formerly, the *pasha* of the *qaṣba* was independent of the *pasha* of the town and served to counterbalance the power of the latter. He commanded the *gīsh*, an armed contingent furnished by the warlike tribes (Ūdāya, Ayt Immūr, etc.) settled in the vicinity of the town by the sultans of the domain lands. The *pasha* of the *qaṣba* only retains of his former powers certain rights of precedence and honorary privileges.

Muslim law is administered in Marrakesh by three *qādis*: one is established at the mosque of Ibn Yūsuf; the other at the mosque of al-Mwāsīn and the third at the mosque of the *qaṣba*. The latter's competence does not extend beyond the limits of his quarter. That of the others extends over the whole town and even over the tribes of the area governed from it who have no local *qādis*.

Marrakesh is not numbered like Fez, Rabat and Tetuan among the *ḥadariyya* towns, i.e. it has not, like them, an old-established citizen population, of non-rural origin, with a bourgeoisie whose tone is given by the descendants of the Moors driven from Spain. In the 10th/16th century, however, Marrakesh did re-receive a colony of Moriscos large enough to give one quarter the name Orgiba Jadida, a reminiscence of Orgiba, a town of Andalusia from which they came. The foundation of the population consists of people of the tribes for the most part Berbers or Arabs strongly mixed with Berber blood. Shlūḥ (*tashelhit*) is much spoken in Marrakesh although the language of the tribes around the town (Rḥāmma, Ūḍāya) is Arabic. The movements of the tribes, the coming and going of caravans, the importation of slaves from the Sudan have resulted in a constant process of mixing in the population, and the old Maṣmūda race which must, with the Almoravids, have been the primitive population of Marrakesh is only found in combination with amounts difficult to measure of Arab, Saharan and negro blood. Even to-day this process is going on: the newcomers come less from the valleys of the Atlas than from the Sūs, the Dra' and the Anti-Atlas, from the extreme south which is poor and overpopulated. The greater number of these immigrants soon become merged in the population of the town; but the *Enquête sur les corporations musulmanes*, conducted by L. Massignon in 1923-4 (Paris 1925) yielded some very curious information about the survival in Marrakesh of vigorous groups of provincials, specialising in particular trades: the makers of silver jewellery (at least those who were not Jews) owed their name of *tāgmūtiyyīn* to the fact that they originally came from Tagmut in the Sūs; the Mesfīwa were charcoal-burners and greengrocers, the Ghīghāya, salters; the people of the Ṭodgha, gatherers of dates and *khaṭāṭiriyya*, i.e. diggers of wells, who specialise in water-channels (*khaṭāṭīr*); those of Tafilalt, porters and pavers; those of Warzarāt, watercarriers and of Tatta' (Anti-Atlas), restaurateurs; of the Dra',

water-carriers and *khaṭāṭiriyya*, etc. This division was not the result of specialisation in their original home nor of privileges granted by the civic authorities but arose from the fact that artisans once settled in Marrakesh had sent for their compatriots when they required assistance. Thus groups grew up, sometimes quite considerable in numbers. The list of the corporations of Marrakesh gave a total of about 10,000 artisans. These corporations lost much of their power under the pressure of the Makhzen. Some of them, however, still retained a certain social importance: in the first place that of the shoemakers which is the largest (1,500 members); then come the tanners (430), the cloth (237) and silk (100) merchants; the Fāsi wholesalers, then some groups of skilled artisans, highly esteemed but of less influence, embroiderers of saddles, makers of mosaics, carpenters, sculptors of plaster, etc.

### III. RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE

Mosques are numerous in Marrakesh. Some of them are studied below, in VII. Monuments. Those which play the most important part in the religious life of the city are the mosque of al-Mwāsīn, the mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, both close to the *sūqs*, that of Sīdī bel 'Abbās and that of the *qaṣba*. Then come the Kutubiyya, the mosque of the Bāb Dukkāla, of the Bāb Aylān, of Berrīma, and the Jāma' Ibn Ṣāliḥ. There are also many little mosques in the various outlying quarters. But although it can claim illustrious men of learning, Marrakesh is not, like Fez, a centre of learning and of teaching. The Almohads built schools and libraries there, brought the most illustrious scholars, philosophers and physicians from Spain, like Ibn Ṭufayl, Abū Marwān Ibn Zuhr (Avenzoar) and Abū 'l-Walīd Ibn Rushd (Averroes) who died at Marrakesh in 595/1198. These great traditions did not survive the dynasty. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, in the time of Leo Africanus, the library of the Almohad palace was used as a poultry house and the *madrasa* built by the Marīnids was in ruins. In the inter-war period, in the town of the Kutubiyya there was not a single bookseller. A certain number of *ṭolba* still live in the *madrasas* (Ibn Yūsuf, Ibn Ṣāliḥ, Sīdī bel 'Abbās, Berrīma, Qaṣba), but the teaching in Marrakesh has neither the prestige nor the traditions which still give



some lustre to the teaching at al-Qarawiyyīn in Fez, much decayed as it is. Although they attempt to imitate the customs of Fez (they celebrate notably the “Festival of the sultan of the *ṭolba*” every spring), the students are far from holding in Marrakesh the position their comrades enjoy in Fez, even though a dahir of 1357/1938 established a *madrassa* of Ibn Yūsuf intended, like the Qarawiyyīn, for the training of *qāḍīs*. One should note that the city now possesses a modern university.

The devotion of the people of Marrakesh expends itself particularly on the cult of saints, not at all orthodox but dear to the Berbers. Their town has always been famous for the great number of *walīs* who are buried in its cemeteries and who justify the saying: “Marrakesh, tomb of the saints”. But in the time of Mawlāy Ismā‘il, the Shaykh Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan al-Yūsī by order of the prince organised, in imitation of the old established cult of the Sab‘atu Rijāl (the seven saints of the Ragrāga, around the Jabal al-Ḥadīd, among the Shyāḍma), a pilgrimage to the Sab‘atu Rijāl of Marrakesh, including visits to seven sanctuaries and various demonstrations of piety. The following are the names of the seven saints in the order in which they ought to be visited: (1) Sīdī Yūsuf b. ‘Alī al-Ṣanhājī, a leper, d. 593/1196–7, buried outside the Bāb Aghmāt on the spot where he had lived; (2) the *qāḍī* ‘Iyād, 476–544/1083–1149, *qāḍī* of Ceuta, then of Granada, a learned theologian, author of the *Shiḥā’*, buried beside the Bāb Aylān; (3) Sīdī bel ‘Abbās al-Sabtī, patron saint of Marrakesh and the most venerated of the saints of the region, 542–601/1130–1204. He came to Marrakesh when the town was being besieged by the Almohads and settled there, at first in a hermitage on the Jabal Gillīz where a *qubba* dedicated to him can still be seen. But the principal pilgrimage is to his tomb at the northern end of the town over which Abū Fāris b. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr built a *zāwiya* and an important mosque at the beginning of the 11th/17th century; (4) Sīdī Muḥammad b. Sīmān Jazūlī, d. in 870/1465 at Afughal among the Shyāḍma, a celebrated Sufi, founder of the Jazūlī brotherhood. His body was brought to Marrakesh in 930/1523 by Aḥmad al-A‘raj the Sa‘dian; (5) Sīdī ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tabbā‘, a pupil of Jazūlī, d. 914/1508; (6) Sīdī ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghazwānī, popularly called Mawlā (Mūl) ‘l-Qṣūr, d. 935/1528; (7) Sīdī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suhaylī, called the Imām al-Suhaylī, a native of the district

of Malaga, d. 581/1185, and buried outside the Bāb al-Rabb.

It is quite an arbitrary choice that these seven individuals have been chosen as the Sab‘atu Rijāl. Others could equally well have been chosen, as the town of Marrakesh and the cemeteries which stretch before it, contain a very large number of other venerated tombs. The principal ones are mentioned in the article by H. de Castries, *Les Sept Patrons de Marrakech*, in *Hespéris*, iv (1924), 245–303. Legend of course plays a great part in the cults of the various saints. We may mention for example the sayings and songs which perpetuate the memory of Lallā ‘Ūda, mother of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, a real personage much transformed by the popular imagination. The various trade corporations have chosen patron saints. Thus Sīdī Ya‘qūb is the patron of the tanners, Sīdī bel ‘Abbās of the soapmakers and lacemakers, Sīdī Maṣ‘ūd “slave” of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Sīmān is the patron of the masons, Sīdī ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Tabbā‘ of the dyers, etc. The majority of the artisans are also affiliated to the religious brotherhoods. In Massignon’s investigation may be found details of the attraction which some of the latter had for certain trades.

#### IV. THE JEWS

At the foundation of Marrakesh, the Jews had no permission to settle in the town. They came there to trade from Aghmāt Aylān where they lived. Al-Idrīsī relates that under ‘Alī b. Yūsuf they had not even the right to spend the night in Marrakesh and that those who were caught within the walls after sunset were in great danger of losing their lives and property. They settled there at a later date. At the beginning of the 10th/16th century there was, according to Marmol, in Marrakesh a ghetto of over 3,000 houses. It lay near the *sūq* on the site now occupied by the mosque of al-Mwāsīn. When this mosque was built by sultan ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, the more scrupulous refused to pray there for some time on the pretext that it occupied the site of a Jewish cemetery. It was ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb who, in about 967/1560, settled the Jews on the site they occupied until lately, along the wall of the *qaṣba* to the east, where the stables of the palace had been. At the beginning of the 11th/17th century, there was here, according to the French traveller Mocquet, “like a separate town, surrounded by a good wall and having only one gate guarded

by the Moors; here live the Jews who are over 4,000 in number and pay tribute". A century later, there were about 6,000 Jews and many synagogues. The Jewish quarter, called *mellāḥ* after the example of the Jewish quarter of Fez (the name *mellāḥ* is attested for Marrakesh as early as the end of the 10th/16th century), was placed, as regards policing, under the authority of the *pasha* of the *qaṣba* but otherwise was administered by an elected Jewish committee. Questions of personal law were judged by a rabbinical tribunal of three members nominated and paid by the Makhzen. The Jews of Marrakesh early began to leave the bounds of the *mellāḥ*. The older ones wore the ritual costume: gaberdine, skullcap and black slippers, but the younger generations emancipated themselves from this dress. The Jews had little influence on the corporations of Marrakesh. They were limited to certain trades (jewellers, tinsmiths and embroiderers of slippers) and shared with the people of Fez the wholesale trade. They traded particularly with the Shlūḥ of the mountains. Almost all the Jews have now emigrated to France or Israel.

## V. HISTORY

The Roman occupation never extended so far as the region of Marrakesh. It is quite without probability that some writers, following the Spanish historian Marmol, have sought at Aghmāt or at Marrakesh the site of *Bocanum Emerum* (Βόκκανον Ἡμεροσκοπεῖον of Ptolemy), a town of Tingitana, the site of which is now unknown. The earliest historians agree that the place where Marrakesh was built by the Almoravids was a bare marshy plain where only a few bushes grew. The name Marrakesh gives no clue to the origin of the town. The etymologies given by the Arab authors are quite fanciful (see Deverdun, *Marrakech*, 64 ff.). It was, it appears, in 449/1057–8 that the Almoravids advanced from Sūs to north of the Atlas and took Aghmāt Urīka. It was there that they settled at first. But after the campaign of 452/1060 in the course of which they conquered the country of Fazāz, Meknès and of the Lawāta near Fez, they wanted to make their position more permanent and independent by creating a kind of camp, which could be used as a base for their further campaigns and would threaten the Maṣmūda of the mountains, and could be used as a connecting link between the south from which they came and

the kingdom of Fez. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn therefore purchased from its owner an estate on the frontier between two Maṣmūda tribes, the Haylāna and the Hazmīra, and pitched his camp there. So far was he from thinking of founding a great capital, a thing for which this Saharan nomad felt no need, that at first he lived in a tent here, beside which he built a mosque to pray in and a little *qaṣba* in which to keep his treasures and his weapons; but he did not build a surrounding wall. The native Maṣmūda built themselves dwellings surrounded by palisades of branches beside the Almoravid camp. The town grew rapidly to a considerable size, if it is true that, in the reign of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, it had at least 100,000 hearths, but it did not lose its rural character until Ibn Tūmart appeared and the threat of the Almohad movement revived by him forced 'Alī b. Yūsuf to defend his town and surround it by a rampart which was built in eight months, probably in 520/1126. Some historians give the date 526/1132, but it is certain that the walls were already built in 524/1130, when the Almohads attacked Marrakesh for the first time. Marrakesh, the creation and capital of the Almoravids, was to be the last of their strongholds to yield. When Ibn Tūmart had established his power over the tribes of the mountains he tried to attack Marrakesh; he then sent an Almohad army under the command of the *shaykh* Bashīr, who, after defeating the Almoravids in the vicinity of Aghmāt, pursued them to the gates of Marrakesh. The Almohads could not enter the town but established themselves before its walls. After 40 days' siege, 'Alī b. Yūsuf received reinforcements and made a successful sortie which forced the attackers to retreat. This was the battle of Buḥayra (Jumādā I–II 524/May 1130) from the name of a large garden, *Buḥayrat al-Raqā'iq*, near which it was fought. It lay to the east of the town before the Bāb Dabbāgh and the Bāb Aylān. Bashīr was slain and Marrakesh respited for 17 years. Ibn Tūmart died a few months later. It is hardly likely that 'Abd al-Mu'min should have made soon after his accession, as the *Rawḍ al-qirtās* says, a new attempt to take Marrakesh. The memoirs of al-Baydhaq which give such full details of all the events of this period make no mention of it. They show on the contrary the Almohad armies busied at first in conquering the country before occupying the capital, taking Tadla, Salé, Taza, Oran, Tlemcen and Fez and only returning to lay siege to Marrakesh after the whole country had been occupied and the

capital alone held out as the last stronghold of the doomed dynasty. It was in the summer of 541/1146 that 'Abd al-Mu'min laid siege to Marrakesh. He made his headquarters at Gillīz and, seeing that the siege would be a long one, at once had houses built in which to instal himself and his army. The siege lasted eleven months. An unsuccessful sortie by the Almoravids seems to have hastened the fall of the town. Disgusted by lack of success and by famine, a number of chiefs of the besieged went over to the enemy. 'Abd al-Mu'min had scaling-ladders made and distributed them among the tribes. The assault was made and, according to Ibn al-Athīr, the defection of the Christian soldiery facilitated its success. The Almoravid sultan Iṣḥāq, a young boy who had sought refuge in the fortress, was slain, along with a large number of the Almoravids. This event took place in 541/Shawwāl 6 March–3 April 1147, according to the majority of the historians.

The Almohad dynasty which came from the south naturally took Marrakesh as its capital. It was here that 'Abd al-Mu'min and his successors usually resided when they were not in the country. The town prospered exceedingly under their rule. They gave it many important public buildings: the *qasba*, mosques, schools, a hospital, aqueducts and magnificent gardens. During this period of prosperity, there were very few events of particular interest in the history of Marrakesh. In 547/1152–3 according to Ibn Khaldūn, in 549/1154–6 according to al-Baydhaq and the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, the Banū Amghār, brothers of the Maḥdī Ibn Tūmart, entered the town and tried to raise the inhabitants against 'Abd al-Mu'min who was away at Salé. The rising was speedily put down and ended in the massacre of the rebels and their accomplices. But on the decline of the dynasty, i.e. after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (609/1212) and the death of al-Nāṣir, son of al-Manṣūr, Marrakesh became the scene of the struggle between the royal family descended from 'Abd al-Mu'min and the Almohad *shaykhs* descended from the companions of Ibn Tūmart who, quoting traditions of the latter, claimed the right to grant investiture to the sultans and to keep them in tutelage. Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Wāḥid, brother of al-Manṣūr, was strangled in 621/1224. His successor al-'Ādil was drowned in a bath in the palace (624/1227) and the Almohad *shaykhs* appointed as his successor the young Yahyā b. al-Nāṣir, while Abu 'l-'Ulā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn, brother

of al-'Ādil, was proclaimed in Spain. The whole country was soon in the throes of revolution. Yahyā fearing the defection of the fickle Almohads, fled to Tinmal (626/1228). Disorder reigned in Marrakesh, where a governor named by al-Ma'mūn was finally appointed. But four months later, Yahyā returned to Marrakesh with fresh troops, put al-Ma'mūn's governor to death and after staying seven days in the town was forced to go to Gillīz to fight a battle (627/1230), for al-Ma'mūn had arrived from Spain to take possession of his kingdom. Ferdinand III, king of Castile, had given in return for various concessions a body of 12,000 Christian horsemen with whose assistance al-Ma'mūn defeated Yahyā and his followers, entered Marrakesh and installed an anti-Almohad regime there, marked not only by a terrible massacre of the *shaykhs* and their families but by a new orientation in religious matters quite opposed to that of the preceding reigns. On his arrival in Marrakesh, al-Ma'mūn mounted the pulpit of the mosque of the *qasba*, recited the *khutba*, solemnly cursed the memory of Ibn Tūmart and announced a whole series of measures, some of which are given by the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* and Ibn Khaldūn and which show he intended to do everything on opposite lines to his predecessors. His innovations revived the discontent so that two years later (629/1232), while al-Ma'mūn and his militia were besieging Ceuta, Yahyā again occupied Marrakesh and plundered it. Al-Ma'mūn at once turned back to the rescue of his capital but died on the way (30 Dhu 'l-Hijja 629/17 October 1232). His widow, al-Ḥabāb, succeeded in getting her son al-Rashīd, aged 14, proclaimed by the leaders of the army, including the commander of the Christian mercenaries. In return she gave them Marrakesh to plunder if they could reconquer it. But the people of the town, learning of this clause in the bargain, made their own terms before opening their gates to the new sultan. The latter had to grant them *amān* and pay the Christian general and his companions the sum they might have expected from the plunder of the capital – according to the *Rawḍ al-qirṭās*, 500,000 dīnārs.

In 633/1235–6, a rebellion of the Khloṭ drove al-Rashīd out of Marrakesh, and he took refuge in Sijilmāsa while Yahyā recaptured Marrakesh. Al-Rashīd, however, succeeded in retaking it and Yahyā finally was assassinated. It was in the reign of the Almohad Sa'īd (646/1242–8) that the Marīnids

who had arrived in the east of the country in 613/1216, seized the greater part of the kingdom of Fez. His successor 'Umar al-Murtaḍā proclaimed in 646/1248, found himself in 658/1260 reduced to the solitary kingdom of Marrakesh, to the south of the Umm al-Rabī'. In 660/1261–2, the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq came to attack Marrakesh. He encamped on mount Gillīz, whence he threatened the town. Al-Murtaḍā sent his cousin, the *sayyid* Abū 'l-'Ulā Idrīs, surnamed Abū Dabbūs, to fight him. The *amīr* 'Abd Allāh b. Abū Yūsuf was slain in the battle and his father lost heart, abandoned his designs on Marrakesh and returned to Fez at the end of Rajab 661/beginning of June 1262.

From this time, one feels that the dynasty was lost, although peace was made, which moreover showed the humiliation of the Almohads who consented to pay tribute; but they were to destroy themselves. Falling into disfavour with his cousin al-Murtaḍā, Abū Dabbūs, this great-grandson of 'Abd al-Mu'min, who in the preceding year had defended Marrakesh against the Marīnid sultan, sought refuge with the latter and obtained from him the assistance necessary to overthrow al-Murtaḍā, on condition that he shared the spoils. Victorious and proclaimed sultan in Muḥarram 665/October 1266, Abū Dabbūs forgot his promises. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb came in person to remind him of them. He laid siege to Marrakesh in 665–6/1267, but Abū Dabbūs had a stroke of good fortune, for the Marīnid had to raise the siege to go and defend the kingdom of Fez against an attack by the sultan of Tlemcen, Yaḡmurāsen. The campaign being over, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb returned to Marrakesh. He entered it in Muḥarram 668/Sept. 1269. The *Rawḍ al-qirṭās* tells us that he gave *amān* to the inhabitants and to the surrounding tribes, whom he overwhelmed with benefits and ruled with justice and remained seven months to pacify and organise the country. By accepting Marīnid rule, however, Marrakesh lost for two-and-a-half centuries its position as a capital. The new dynasty made Fez its capital.

Its sultans, however, did not neglect Marrakesh, especially during this period (end of the 7th/13th and first half of the 8th/14th century). The chronicles record many sojourns made by them there, but its great days were over. The town began to lose its inhabitants. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī was the only Marīnid to undertake buildings of any importance at Marrakesh

(a mosque and a *madrasa*). In the absence of the sovereign, the government of the town and district was entrusted to powerful governors as befitted a large town remote from the central authority. For nearly 20 years, from 668 to 687/1269–88, this office was held by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Muḥallī, a chief greatly devoted to the Marīnids, says Ibn Khaldūn, and allied by marriage to the family of their ruler. But in Muḥarram 687/February 1288, fearing treachery from Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf threw him into prison and gave his office to Muḥammad b. 'Aṭṭū al-Jānāfī, a client and confidant of the royal family, to whom the sultan further entrusted his son Abū 'Āmir. Abū Ya'qūb had not left Marrakesh six months when the young prince Abū 'Āmir rebelled there and proclaimed himself sovereign at the instigation of the governor Ibn 'Aṭṭū (Shawwāl 687/November 1288). Abū Ya'qūb hastened to Marrakesh, which he took after several days' siege. The young Abū 'Āmir had time to escape and seek refuge in the mountains among the Mašmūda tribes, after plundering the treasury.

The custom of giving the governorship of Marrakesh to a prince of the ruling family was kept up. Towards the end of Dhu 'l-Qa'da 706/May 1307, under the walls of Tlemcen, the sultan Abū Thabīb gave his cousin Yūsuf, son of Muḥammad b. Abī 'Iyād b. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the governorship of Marrakesh and the provinces depending on it. By the end of the year, Yūsuf rebelled and proclaimed himself independent at Marrakesh after putting to death the governor of the town, al-Hājj Ma'sūd. Defeated by the imperial troops on the banks of the Umm al-Rabī', the rebel fled to the mountains, plundering Marrakesh on his way (Rajab 707/January 1308). The punishment inflicted on the rebels was severe. Yūsuf b. Abī 'Iyād, handed over by a *shaykh* with whom he had taken refuge, was put to death and the heads of 600 of his followers went to adorn the battlements of the town. Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān stayed at Marrakesh on several occasions. He did much rebuilding in 720/1320. Peace and comparative prosperity seem to have reigned there under the rule of Abū 'l-Ḥasan until this prince, as a result of reverses suffered in his struggle with the Ḥafṣids, found his own son, the ambitious Abū 'Inān, rebelling against him. During the troubles which now broke out, Ibn Khaldūn tells us, the town was seriously threatened with being sacked by the Mašmūda of

the mountains led by 'Abd Allāh al-Saksīwī. Abū 'Inān was able to consolidate his power and avert this danger. The struggle between father and son ended in the region of Marrakesh. Abū 'l-Ḥasan, defeated at the end of Šafar 757/May 1350, near the town, sought refuge in the mountains with the *amīrs* of the Hintāta and died there just after becoming reconciled to his son and designating him his successor (Rabī' II 753/June 1352).

During the course of the 8th/14th century, the *amīrs* of the Hintāta played a very important part in the country. The position of the tribe on an almost inaccessible mountain, from which it commanded Marrakesh, gave its chiefs comparative independence and predominating influence among the other Mašmūda. Abū 'Inān took no steps against the *amīr* 'Abd al-'Azīz who had given asylum to the fugitive Abū 'l-Ḥasan. He retained him in the command of his tribe, which he gave a few years later to his brother 'Āmir. In 754/1353 the latter, becoming chief of all the Mašmūda tribes and sufficiently powerful to keep under his thumb the governor of Marrakesh al-Mu'tamid, son of Abū 'Inān, very soon succeeded in making himself completely independent. He received and for a time held as hostages two rebel Marīnid princes Abū 'l-Faḍl, son of the sultan Abū Sālim, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, son of sultan Abū 'Alī. Quarrelling with his protégé Abū 'l-Faḍl, whom he had made governor of Marrakesh, he retired into his mountains and for several years defied the armies of the sultan. He was in the end captured and put to death in 771/1370.

After the death of 'Abd al-'Azīz, the pretender Abū 'l-'Abbās, son of Abū Sālim, had himself proclaimed in Fez with the help of his cousin 'Abd Raḥmān b. Abī Ifellūsen, himself a pretender to the throne. The latter as a reward for his services was given the independent governorship of Marrakesh and the country round it (Muḥarram 776/June 1374). The empire was thus completely broken up. The two rulers soon began to quarrel but then signed a treaty of peace in 780/1378. There was a new rupture and a new truce two years later after Marrakesh had been besieged for two months without result. Abū 'l-'Abbās in the end took Marrakesh in Jumādā 784/July–August 1382, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān was slain. Abū 'l-'Abbās, dispossessed in 1384 and exiled to Granada, succeeded in reconquering his kingdom in 789/1387 and sent to Marrakesh as governor his

son al-Muntaṣir. This event is the last recorded by Ibn Khaldūn. From the time when his record ceases and throughout the 9th/15th century, we are incredibly poor in information about the history of Marrakesh. The south appears to have continued to form a large governorship in the hands of princes of the royal family. The only information at all definite that we have comes from a Portuguese historian who records that during the three years which followed the capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese (1415–18), Morocco was a prey to the struggles among the pretenders. While Abū Sa'īd 'Uthmān was ruling in Fez, Mawlāy Bū 'Alī, king of Marrakesh, was fighting against another Marīnid prince called Fāris. The "kingdom" or governorship of Marrakesh does not seem to have completely broken the links which bound it to the kingdom of Fez, for the governors of Marrakesh supplied contingents to the army which tried to retake Ceuta. But they very soon ceased to take part in the holy war in the north of Morocco, and their name is not found among the opponents of the Portuguese. Marrakesh by 833/1430 seems to have become *de facto* if not *de jure* independent but we do not know within fifty years at what date the Hintāta *amīrs* established their power; they were descended from a brother of 'Āmir b. Muḥammad. They were "kings" of Marrakesh when in 914/1508 the Portuguese established themselves at Safi, taking advantage of the anarchy prevailing, for the power of the Hintāta *amīrs* hardly extended beyond the environs of their capital and they could not effectively protect their tribes against the attacks of the Christians. By 1512 the Portuguese governors of Safi had succeeded in extending their power over the tribes near Marrakesh (*Awlād Mīṭā'*) and the town lived in fear of the bold raids which on several occasions brought the Portuguese cavalry and their Arab allies into the district. The king of Marrakesh, overawed, entered into negotiations in 1514, but the terms were nothing less than his paying tribute as vassal and the building of a Portuguese fortress at Marrakesh. Agreement could not be reached. The occupation of Marrakesh remained the dream of the Portuguese soldiers. An attack on the town led by the governors of Safi and Azemmūr failed (9 Rabī' I 921/23 April 1515). This was the period when in reaction against the anarchy and foreign invasions the Sa'dian *sharīfs* began to come to the front in the Sūs. Aḥmad al-A'raj, who appeared in 919/1513 to

the north of the Atlas, had himself recognised as leader of the holy war and accepted as such by the local chiefs, even by al-Nāṣir, king of Marrakesh. In Ṣafar 920/April 1514, it is recorded that he was in Marrakesh with the king. At the end of 927/1521, al-A'raj established himself peacefully in Marrakesh, which he found partly depopulated by famine, and married the daughter of the king Muḥammad b. Nāṣir called Bū Shentūf. The latter in 930/1524, having tried to kick against the tutelage of his too powerful son-in-law al-A'raj and his brother Maḥammad al-Shaykh, seized the *qaṣba*, which seems till then to have been held by Bū Shentūf. They disposed of the latter by having him assassinated in the following year (932/1525). Marrakesh became the Sa'dian capital. The king of Fez, Aḥmad al-Waṭṭāṣī, tried unsuccessfully to take it in Ramaḍān 933/June 1527. It remained in the hands of al-A'raj till 961/1554, when it was seized by his brother Maḥammad al-Shaykh, up till then king of the Sūs. After the assassination of Maḥammad al-Shaykh in 964/1557, al-A'raj was put to death at Marrakesh with seven of his sons and grandsons, so as to secure the crown for Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb. The whole of the latter part of the century was for Marrakesh a period of great prosperity. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb built a series of important public works: rearrangement of the palace and of the provision storehouses in the *qaṣba*; in the town, the *madrasa* Ibn Yūsuf and the al-Mwāsīn mosque, etc. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr finished his brother's work by building in the *qaṣba* from 986 to 1002/1578 to 1594 the famous al-Badrī palace. The sultan, enriched by several years of peace and good government, and by the gold brought from the conquest of the Sūdān (1000/1591–2), lived almost continually in Marrakesh, to which he restored a splendour and a prosperity that it had not enjoyed since the end of the 6th/12th century. But the death of al-Manṣūr opened a period of trouble and civil war "sufficient to turn white the hair of an infant at the breast", to use the expression of the historian al-Ifrānī. While Abū Fāris, son of al-Manṣūr, was proclaimed at Marrakesh, another son, Zaydān, was chosen sultan at Fez. A third brother, al-Shaykh, came and took Fez, then sent against Marrakesh an army led by his son 'Abd Allāh, who seized the town on 21 Sha'bān 1015/22 December 1606. But Zaydān, who sought refuge first in Tlemcen, then made his way to the Sūs, via Tafilalt

and coming suddenly to Marrakesh, had himself proclaimed there while 'Abd Allāh b. al-Shaykh, while escaping with his troops, was attacked in the midst of the gardens (*jnān Bekkār*) and completely defeated (29 Shawwāl 1015/25 February 1607). In Jumādā II/October of the same year, 'Abd Allāh returned after defeating Zaydān's troops on the Wādī Tifālfalt (10 Jumādā II/2 October, 1607), fought a second battle with them at Rās 'Ayn (a spring in Tansift), regained possession of the town and revenged himself in a series of massacres and punishments so terrible that a portion of the population having sought refuge in the Gillīz, proclaimed as sultan Muḥammad, great-grandson of Aḥmad al-A'raj. 'Abd Allāh was forced to fly (7 Shawwāl 1016/25 January 1608). Zaydān, recalled by a section of the populace, regained possession of his capital in a few days. The struggle between Zaydān and his brother al-Shaykh, in the year following, centred round the possession of Fez. Zaydān failed in his plans to retake it and henceforth Fez, given over completely to anarchy, remained separate from the kingdom of Marrakesh. On these happenings, a marabout from Tafilalt, named Abū Maḥallī, attempted to intervene (1020/1611) to put an end to the fighting among the pretenders, which was inflicting great suffering on the people. His intervention only made matters worse. He took Marrakesh on 19 Rabī' I 1021/20 May 1612. Zaydān took refuge in Safi and succeeded in again gaining possession of his capital with the help of an influential marabout in the Sūs, called Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh. After a battle near Gillīz, Zaydān withdrew into Marrakesh on 17 Shawwāl 1022/30 November 1613. But Yahyā, succumbing to ambition, rebelled himself at the end of 1027/1618, against the ruler whose cause he had once so well sustained. Zaydān had again to take refuge in Safi. He was soon able to return to Marrakesh, taking advantage of the discord that had broken out in the enemy ranks. 'Abd al-Malik, son and successor of Zaydān, has left only the memory of his cruelty and debauchery. He was murdered in Shawwāl 1040/May 1631. The renegades, who killed him, also disposed of his brother and successor al-Walīd in 1636. A third brother, Maḥammad al-Shaykh al-Aṣghar, succeeded him but had only a semblance of power. He managed however to reign till 1065/1655, but his son Aḥmad al-'Abbās was completely in the hands of the Shabbāna, an Arab tribe who assassinated

him and gave the throne to his *qā'id* 'Abd Karīm, called Qarrūm Ḥājj, in 1659. "The latter", says al-Ifṛānī, "united under his sway all the kingdom of Marrakesh and conducted himself in an admirable fashion with regard to his subjects". His son Abū Bakr succeeded him in 1078/1668, but only reigned two months until the coming of the Filālī sultan al-Rashīd, already lord of Fez, who took Marrakesh on 21 Ṣafar 1079/31 July 1668. Called to Marrakesh by the rebellion of his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥriz, al-Rashīd met his death there in the garden of al-Agdāl, his head having been injured by a branch of an orange tree against which his horse threw him when it stumbled.

Mawlāy Ismā'īl had some difficulty in getting himself proclaimed at Marrakesh, which preferred his nephew, Aḥmad b. Muḥriz. Ismā'īl forced his way in on 9 Ṣafar 1083/4 June, 1672. In the following year, Marrakesh again welcomed Aḥmad b. Muḥriz. After a siege of more than two years (Dhu 'l-Hijja 1085–Rabī II 1088/March 1675–June 1677), Ismā'īl reoccupied Marrakesh and plundered it. He passed through it again in 1094/1683 on his way to the Sūs to fight Aḥmad b. Muḥriz, who was still in rebellion. Marrakesh was no longer the capital. Mawlāy Ismā'īl took an interest in it and destroyed the palaces of the *qaṣba* to use the materials for his works in Meknès. In Ramaḍān 1114/February 1703, a son of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, Muḥammad al-Ālim, rebelled against his father, seized Marrakesh and plundered it. Zaydān, brother of the rebel, was given the task of suppressing the rising, which he did, plundering the town once more.

Anarchy again broke out after the death of Ismā'īl. Its centre was Meknès. Mawlāy al-Mustaḍī, proclaimed by the 'Abīd in 1151/1738, was disowned by them in 1740 and replaced by his brother 'Abd Allāh. He sought refuge in Marrakesh. His brother al-Nāṣir remained his *khalīfa* in Marrakesh till 1158/1745, while al-Mustaḍī tried in vain to reconquer his kingdom. Marrakesh finally submitted in 1159/1746 to Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh, who sent his son Sīdī Muḥammad there as *khalīfa*. The governorship and then the reign of the latter (1171–1204/1757–90) formed one of the happiest periods in the history of Marrakesh. Sīdī Muḥammad completely restored the town, made it his usual residence, received many European embassies there, including a French one led by the Comte de Breugnon in 1767, and developed its trade. Peace was not disturbed during his long

reign except for a riot raised by a marabout pretender named 'Umar, who at the head of a few malcontents tried to attack the palace in order to plunder the public treasury. He was at once seized and put to death (between 1766 and 1772, according to the sources). On the death of Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the situation remained very unsettled for several years. After taking the oath of allegiance to Mawlāy Yazīd (18 Sha'bān 1204/ 3 May 1790), the people of Marrakesh took in his brother Mawlāy Hishām and proclaimed him. On hearing this, Yazīd abandoned the siege of Ceuta, returned to Marrakesh, plundered it and committed all kinds of atrocities (1792). Hishām, supported by the 'Abda and the Dukkāla, marched on Marrakesh. Yazīd, wounded in the battle, died a few days later in the palace (Jumādā II 1206/February 1792). Marrakesh remained faithful to the party of Mawlāy Hishām, but very soon the Rḥāmna abandoned him to proclaim Mawlāy Ḥusayn, brother of Hishām. He established himself in the *qaṣba* (1209/1794–5). While the partisans of the two princes were exhausting themselves in fighting, Mawlāy Slimān, sultan of Fez, avoided taking sides in the struggle. The plague rid him at one blow of both his rivals (Ṣafar 1214/July 1799), who had in any case to submit some time before. The last years of the reign of Mawlāy Slimān were overcast by troubles in all parts of the empire. Defeated at the very gates of Marrakesh, he was taken prisoner by the rebel Shrārda. He died at Marrakesh on 13 Rabī I 1238/28 November 1822. Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1824–59) did much for the afforestation of Agdāl and restored the religious buildings. His son Muḥammad completed his work by repairing tanks and aqueducts. These two reigns were a period of tranquillity for Marrakesh. In 1862, however, while Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Raḥmān was fighting the Spaniards at Tetouan, the Rḥāmna rebelled, plundered the Sūq al-Khamīs and closely blockaded the town, cutting off communications and supplies, until the Sulṭān, having made peace with Spain, came to relieve the town (Dhu 'l-Hijja 1278/June 1862). Mawlāy al-Hasan hardly ever lived in Marrakesh, but he stopped there on several occasions, notably in October 1875, to punish the Rḥāmna and the Bū 'l-Sba', who had rebelled, and in 1880 and 1885, to prepare his expeditions into the Sūs.

During the last years of the reign of Mawlāy 'Abd al-'Azīz (1894–1908), it was at Marrakesh that the

opposition to the European tastes and experiments of the sultan made itself most strongly felt. The xenophobia culminated in the murder of a French doctor named Mauchamp (19 March 1907), and the spirit of separatism in the proclamation as sultan of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Ḥafīz, brother of 'Abd al-'Azīz and governor of the provinces of the south (24 August 1907). But on 'Abd al-Ḥafīz becoming ruler of the whole empire (24 August 1907), and his having signed the treaty of 24 March 1912 establishing the protectorate of France and of Spain over Morocco, the anti-foreign movement broke out again in the south. The Mauritanian marabout Ahmad al-Ḥiba had himself proclaimed and established himself in Marrakesh. He only held out there for a brief period. His troops having been defeated at Sīdī Bū 'Uthmān on 6 September 1912, the French troops occupied Marrakesh the next day.

During the years of the Protectorate (1912–56), a French suburb was laid out, basically on the initiative and plans of the first French administrator of the city, Capt. Landais, at Gueliz, some 3 km/2 miles to the north-west of the original Medina. Modern Marrakesh is a popular centre for tourism as well as a trading and commercial centre. According to the 2004 census, it then had a population of 823,000.

## VI. RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

Five Friars Minor sent by St. Francis were put to death at Marrakesh on 16 January 1220, for having attempted to convert Muslims and having insulted the Prophet Muḥammad in their discourses. Their martyrdom attracted the attention of the Holy See to Marrakesh. A mission and a bishopric were established by Honorius III in 1225 to give the consolations of religion to the Christians domiciled in Morocco: merchants, slaves and mercenaries in the sultan's army. In the Almoravid period, the sultans had Christian mercenaries recruited from prisoners reduced to slavery or from the Mozarab population of Spain whom they had from time to time deported to Morocco by entire villages. In 1227, Abu 'l-'Ulā Idrīs al-Ma'mūn, having won his kingdom with the help of Christian troops lent by the king of Castile, found himself bound to take up quite a new attitude to the Christians. He granted them various privileges, including permission to build a church in Marrakesh and worship openly there. This was called Notre

Dame and stood in the *qaṣba*, probably opposite the mosque of al-Manṣūr: it was destroyed during a rising in 1232. But the Christian soldiery continued to enjoy the right to worship, at least privately, and the bishopric of Marrakesh supported by a source of income at Seville, existed so long as there was an organised Christian soldiery in Morocco, i.e. to the end of the 8th/14th century. The title of Bishop of Marrakesh was borne till the end of the 10th/16th century by the suffragans of Seville. A Spanish Franciscan, the Prior Juan de Prado, who came to re-establish the mission, was put to death in 1621 at Marrakesh. A few years later (1637), a monastery was re-established beside the prison for slaves in the *qaṣba*. It was destroyed in 1659 or 1660 after the death of the last Sa'dian. Henceforth the Franciscans were obliged to live in the *mellāḥ*, where they had down to the end of the 18th century a little chapel and a monastery. As to the Christian merchants, they had not much reason to go to Marrakesh in the Middle Ages. Trade with Europe was conducted at Ceuta from which the Muslim merchants carried European goods into the interior of the country. In the 16th century, 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālib had a *fondaq* or "bonded warehouse" built in the *sūq* where the Christian merchants were allowed to live; but the majority of those who came to Marrakesh preferred to settle in the Jewish quarter. It was here also that foreign ambassadors usually lodged, at least when they were not made to encamp in one of the gardens of the palace.

## VII. MONUMENTS

The present enceinte of Marrakesh is a wall of clay about 6 m/20 feet high, flanked with rectangular bastions at intervals of 76 m/250 to 92 m/300 feet. Bāb Aghmāt, Bāb Aylān and Bāb Dabbāgh which still exist more or less rebuilt, are mentioned in the account of the attack on Marrakesh by the Almohads in 524/1130. Bāb Yīntān and Bāb al-Makhzen, mentioned at the same time, have disappeared. Bāb al-Ṣāliḥa (no longer in existence: it stood on the site of the *mellāḥ*) and Bāb Dukkāla (still in existence) figure in the story of the capture of the town by the Almohads (542/1147). The plan of the wall has therefore never changed. It has been rebuilt in places from time to time, as the clay crumbled away, but it may be assumed that a number of pieces of the wall, especially on the west and south-west, are original,



as well as at least three gates all now blocked up, to which they owe their survival, but have lost their name. According to Abu 'l-Fidā' (8th/14th century), there were in Marrakesh seventeen gates; twenty-four at the beginning of the 10th/16th century, according to Leo Africanus. It would be very difficult to draw up an accurate list, for some have been removed, others opened, since these dates or the names have been altered. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī (beginning of the 8th/14th century) adds to the names already mentioned those of Bāb Nfis, Bāb Muḥriq, Bāb Messūfa, Bāb al-Raḥā, all four of which have disappeared, Bāb Taghzūt, Bāb Fās (now Bāb al-Khamīs) and Bāb al-Rabb, which still exist. The only important changes, which have been made in the walls of Marrakesh since they were built, have been the building of the *qaṣba* in the south and in the north the creation of the quarter of Sīdī bel 'Abbās. The *zāwiya* which as late as the 10th/16th century stood outside the walls beyond the Bāb Taghzūt, was taken into the town with all its dependencies.

#### 1. The Qaṣba

The little *qaṣba* and the palace of Dār al-'Umma built by Yūsuf b. Tashfīn, lay north of the present "Mosque of the Booksellers" or Kutubiyya. 'Alī b. Yūsuf added in the same quarter other palaces called Sūr al-Ḥajar, or Qaṣr al-Ḥajar because they were built with stones from the Gillīz, while all the other buildings in the town were of brick or clay. It was here that the first Almohads took up their quarters. According to a somewhat obscure passage of the *Kitāb al-Istibṣār*, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf seems to have begun the building of a "fort" in the south of the town but it was Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr who built the new *qaṣba* (585–93/1189–97); that is to say, he joined to the south wall of the town a new walled area within which he built palaces, a mosque, and a regular town. Nothing remains of the Almohad palaces, but from pieces of wall and other vestiges one can follow the old wall, at least on the north and the east side. There also the line of the wall has hardly changed. The magnificent gateway of carved stone by which the *qaṣba* is now entered, must be one of al-Manṣūr's buildings. Its modern name of Bāb Agnaw (the dumb mute's = Negro's Gate) is not found in any old text. It probably corresponds to Bāb al-Kuḥl (Gate of the Negroes?), often mentioned by the historians.

Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, in the 8th/14th century, and Leo Africanus and Marmol in the 10th/16th, have left us fairly detailed descriptions of the *qaṣba*, in spite of a few obscure passages. In the Almohad period, the *qaṣba* was divided into three quite distinct parts. One wall in the northwest, around the mosque of al-Manṣūr which still exists, contained the police offices, the headquarters of the Almohad tribes and the barracks of the Christian soldiery. From this one entered through the Bāb al-Ṭubūl a second enclosure in which around a huge open space, the "Cereque" of Marmol (*asārāg*), were grouped the guard houses, the offices of the minister of the army, a guest-house, a *madrasa* with its library and a large building called *al-saqā'if* (the porticoes), the "Acequife" of Marmol, occupied by the principal members of the Almohad organisation, the "Ten", the "Fifty", the *ḥolba* and the pages (*ahl al-dār*). The royal palace, sometimes called the Alhambra of Marrakesh, in imitation of that of Granada, was entered from the *Asārāg* and occupied the whole area east of the *qaṣba*. The palaces of al-Manṣūr were still in existence at the beginning of the 10th/16th century when the Sa'dians took possession. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb incorporated them in the new palaces which he was building. Aḥmad al-Manṣūr added, in the gardens to the north, the famous al-Badrī palace celebrated for its size and splendour. Only a few almost shapeless ruins remain of it, but its plan is perfectly clear. Mawlāy Ismā'īl had it destroyed in order to use its materials. The *qaṣba* remained so completely in ruins that Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, when he became governor of Marrakesh in 1159/1746, was obliged to live in a tent until his new buildings were finished. It is to him that we owe an important part of the present palace with its inner garden, 'Arṣat Nīl. Other works were later undertaken by Mawlāy Slīmān and his successors. Some large unfinished buildings date only from Mawlāy 'Abd al-Ḥafīz. A number of gates, in addition to the Bāb Agnaw, give admittance to the *qaṣba*: these are Bāb Berrīma and Bāb al-Aḥmar in the east, Bāb Ighlī and Bāb Qṣība in the west. The palace has vast gardens belonging to it: Jnān al-'Afiya, Agdal, Jnān Riḍwān, Ma'mūniyya and Manāra. The latter, two miles west of the town, contained in the 10th/16th century a pleasure house of the sultans. The palace of Dār al-Bayḍā', situated in the Agdal, took the place of a Sa'dian palace. It was rebuilt by Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and has since been restored. As to the

gardens of the Agdal, they seem to have been created in the 6th/12th century by 'Abd al-Mu'min.

## 2. Mosques

Nothing remains of the early Almoravid mosques, in the building of one of which Yūsuf b. Tashfīn himself worked along with the masons as a sign of humility. But the Friday mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf, where Ibn Tūmart had an interview with the sultan, although several times rebuilt, still retains its name. The Almohads, on taking possession of Marrakesh, destroyed all the mosques on the pretext that they were wrongly oriented. The mosque of 'Alī b. Yūsuf was only partly destroyed and was rebuilt. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb restored it in the middle of the 10th/16th century. The present buildings and the minaret date from Mawlāy Slīmān (1792–1822).

## 3. The Kutubiyya

When the Almohads entered Marrakesh, Abd al-Mu'min built the first Kutubiyya of which some traces still remain and it has been possible to reconstruct its plan. As it was wrongly oriented, he built a new mosque, the present Kutubiyya, in prolongation of the first but with a slightly different orientation. It takes its name from the 100 booksellers' shops which used to be around its entrance. It is a very large building with seventeen naves, which with its decoration in carved plaster, its stalactite cupolas, the moulding of its timberwork, its capitals and magnificent pulpit (*minbar*) of inlaid work, is the most important and the perfectly preserved work of Almohad art. The minaret, begun by 'Abd al-Mu'min, was only finished in the reign of his grandson al-Manṣūr (591/1195). It is 70 m/230 feet high and its powerful silhouette dominates the whole town and the palm groves. It is the prototype of the Giralda of Seville and of the tower of Ḥassān at Rabat. It is decorated with arcatures the effects of which were formerly heightened by paintings still visible in places, with a band of ceramic work around the top.

The mosque of the *qasba* or mosque of al-Manṣūr is the work of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. It was begun in 585–91/1189–95 and built in great splendour. It has been profoundly altered, first by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb the Sa'dian, then in the middle of the 18th century by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, then more recently by

Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1822–59). The minaret of brick is intact and magnificently ornamented with green ceramics. The lampholder supports a *jāmūr* of three bowls of gilt copper, which occupy a considerable place in the legends of Marrakesh. They are said to be of pure gold and to be enchanted, so that no one can take them away without bringing on himself the most terrible misfortunes. This legend is often wrongly connected with the *jāmūr* of the Kutubiyya.

Among the religious monuments of Marrakesh of archaeological interest may also be mentioned the minarets of the mosque of Ibn Ṣāliḥ (dated 731/1331) and of the sanctuary of Mawlā 'l-Qṣūr, built in the Marīnid period in the Almohad tradition, and two Sa'dian mosques: the mosque of al-Mwāṣin or mosque of the Sharīfs, which owes its origin to 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, and that of Bāb Dukkāla, built in 965/1557–8 by Lālla Mas'ūda, the mother of the sultan Aḥmad al-Manṣūr.

## 4. Madrasas

An Almohad *madrasa*, built "to teach the children of the king and others of his family in it", formed part of the buildings of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. This royal school was presumably different from what were later the Marīnid *madrasas*. It stood on the great square in front of the palace and was still in existence in the time of Leo Africanus. The Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan in 748/1347 built another *madrasa*, also described by Leo. It lay north of the mosque of the *qasba*, where traces of it can still be seen. The *madrasa* of Ibn Yūsuf is not, as is usually said, a restoration of the Marīnid *madrasa*. It was a new building by 'Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb, dated by an inscription of 972/1564–5 and the only surviving example of a Sa'dian *madrasa*.

## 5. The Sa'dian tombs

The two first founders of the dynasty rest beside the tomb of Sīdī Muḥammad b. Slīmān al-Jazūlī in the Riyāḍ al-'Arūs quarter. Their successors from 964/1557 were buried to the south of the mosque of the *qasba*. There was a cemetery there, probably as early as the Almohad period, which still has tombs of the 8th/14th century. The magnificent *qubbās* which cover the tombs of the Sa'dian dynasty must

have been built at two different periods. The one on the east under which is the tomb of Maḥammad al-Shaykh seems to have been built by ‘Abd Allāh al-Ghālīb. The other, with three chambers, seems to have been erected by Aḥmad al-Manṣūr (d. 1012/1603) to hold his tomb.

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**MASHHAD**, often conventionally spelt Meshhed or Meshed, a city of northeastern Persia, the administrative centre of the province of Khurasan and now, in population terms, the second city of Persia. Its importance has since mediaeval Islamic times derived essentially from its being one of the most important shrines of the Shi'ite world, its shrine being built around the tomb of the Eighth Imam, ‘Alī al-Riḍā. The city is situated in lat. 16° 17' N., long 59° 35' E. at an altitude of 915 m/3,000 feet, in the broad valley of the Kashaf Rud, which joins the Heri Rud, and to the south of the Kashaf Rud. The surrounding mountains rise of 2,500–2,800 m/8,000–9,000 feet, and the city's altitude and its proximity to these mountains give it a rather severe winter climate, whilst summers can be extremely hot.

#### I. HISTORY AND TOPOGRAPHY TO 1914

Mashhad may in a way be regarded as the successor of the older, nearby pre-Islamic Ṭūs, and it has not infrequently been erroneously confounded with it.

The fact that Ṭūs is the name of both a town and a district, together with the fact that two places are always mentioned as the principal towns of this district, has given rise among the later Arab geographers to the erroneous opinion that the capital Ṭūs is a double town consisting of Ṭabarān and Nūqān. Al-Qazwīnī next made the two towns thought to be joined together into two quarters (*maḥalla*). This quite erroneous idea of a double town Ṭūs found its way into European literature generally. Sykes (*JRAS* [1910], 1115–16) and following him, E. Diez (*Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin 1918, i, 53–4) rightly challenged this untenable idea. The older Arab geographers quite correctly distinguish between Ṭabarān and Nūqān as two quite separate towns. Nūqān, according to the express testimony of the Arabic bic mile from the tomb of Hārūn al-Rashīd and ‘Alī al-Riḍā (see below) and must therefore have been very close to the modern Mashhad. The ruins of Ṭabarān-Ṭūs and Mashhad are about 9 km/15 miles apart.

In Nūqān, or in the village of Sanābādh belonging to it, two distinguished figures in Islamic history were buried within one decade: the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd and the ‘Alid ‘Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā. When Hārūn al-Rashīd was preparing to take the field in Khurasan, he was stricken mortally ill in a country house at Sanābādh where he had stopped, and died in a few days (193/809). The caliph, we are told, realising he was about to die, had his grave dug in the garden of this country mansion and consecrated by Qur’ān readers. About 10 years after the death of Hārūn, the caliph al-Ma’mūn, on his way from Marw, spent a few days in this palace. Along with him was his son-in-law ‘Alī al-Riḍā b. Mūsā, the caliph-designate, the Eighth *Imām* of the Twelver Shi’ites. The latter died suddenly here in 203/818; the actual day is uncertain (cf. R. Strothmann, *Die Zwölfer-Shī’a*, Leipzig 1926, 171).

Thus it was not the tomb of the caliph but that of a highly venerated *imām* which made Sanābādh (Nūqān) celebrated throughout the Shi’ite world, and the great town which grew up in course of time out of the little village actually became called *al-Mashhad*

(Mashhad) which means “sepulchral shrine” (primarily of a martyr belonging to the family of the Prophet). Ibn Ḥawqal calls our sanctuary simply Mashhad; Yāqūt, more accurately, al-Mashhad al-Riḍāwī = the tomb-shrine of al-Riḍā; we also find the Persian name *Mashhad-i muqaddas* = “the sanctified shrine” (e.g. in Ḥamd Allāh al-Muṣṭawfi). As a place-name, Mashhad first appears in al-Maqdisī, i.e. in the last third of the 4th/10th century. About the middle of the 8th/14th century, the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa uses the expression “town of Mashhad al-Riḍā”. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, the name Nūqān, which is still found on coins in the first half of the 8th/14th century under the Il-Khanids, seems to have been gradually ousted by al-Mashhad or Mashhad. At the present day, Mashhad is often more precisely known as Mashhad-i Riḍā, Mashhad-i muqaddas, Mashhad-i Ṭūs (so already in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iii, 66). Not infrequently in literature, especially in poetry, we find only Ṭūs mentioned, i.e. New Ṭūs in contrast to Old Ṭūs or the proper town of this name; cf. e.g. Muḥammad Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, *Tārīkh Ṭūs aw al-Mashhad al-Riḍawī*, Baghdad 1927.

The history of Mashhad is very fully dealt with in the work of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Ṣanīʿ al-Dawla entitled *Maṭlaʿ al-shams* (3 vols., Tehran 1301–3 A.H.). The second volume is exclusively devoted to the history and topography of Mashhad; for the period from 428/1036–7 to 1302/1885 he gives valuable historical material. On this work, cf. C.E. Yate, *Khurasan and Sistan*, 313–14, and E.G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, iv, 455–6. The *Maṭlaʿ al-shams* forms the chief source for the sketch of the history of the town in Yate, 314–26.

The importance of Sanābādh-Mashhad continually increased with the growing fame of its sanctuary and the decline of Ṭūs. Ṭūs received its death blow in 791/1389 from Mīrānshāh, a son of Ṭīmūr. When the Mongol noble who governed the place rebelled and attempted to make himself independent, Mīrānshāh was sent against him by his father. Ṭūs was stormed after a siege of several months, sacked and left a heap of ruins; 10,000 inhabitants were massacred. Those who escaped the holocaust settled in the shelter of the ʿAlid sanctuary. Ṭūs was henceforth abandoned and Mashhad took its place as the capital of the district.

As to the political history of Mashhad, it coincides in its main lines with that of the province of

Khurasan. Here we shall only briefly mention a few of the more important events in the past of the town. Like all the larger towns of Persia, Mashhad frequently saw risings and the horrors of war within its walls. To protect the mausoleum of ʿAlī al-Riḍā in the reign of the Ghaznavid Masʿūd, the then Ghaznavid governor of Khurasan erected defences in 428/1037. In 515/1121 a wall was built round the whole town which afforded protection from attack for some time. In 556/1161 however, the Ghuzz Turks succeeded in taking the place, but they spared the sacred area in their pillaging. We hear of a further visitation by Mongol hordes in 695/1296 in the time of Sultan Ghazan. Probably the greatest benefactors of the town, and especially of its sanctuary, were the first Timurid Shāh Rukh (809–50/1406–46) and his pious wife Jawhar-Shādh.

With the rise of the Safavid dynasty, a new era of prosperity began for Mashhad. The very first Shāh of this family, Ismāʿīl I (907–30/1501–24), established Shiʿism as the state religion and, in keeping with this, care for the sacred cities within the Persian frontier, especially Mashhad and Qumm, became an important feature in his programme, as in those of his successors. Pilgrimage to the holy tombs at these places experienced a considerable revival. In Mashhad, the royal court displayed a great deal of building activity. In this respect Ṭahmāsp I, Ismāʿīl I's successor (930–84/1524–76), and the great Shāh ʿAbbās I (995–1037/1587–1627) were especially distinguished.

In the 10th/16th century the town suffered considerably from the repeated raids of the Özbegs (Uzbeks). In 913/1507 it was taken by the troops of the Shaybānī or Shībānī Khān; it was not till 934/1528 that Shāh Ṭahmāsp I succeeded in repelling the enemy from the town again. Stronger walls and bastions were then built and another attack by the same Özbek chief was foiled by them in 941/1535. But in 951/1544 the Özbegs again succeeded in entering the town and plundering and murdering there. The year 997/1589 was a disastrous one for Mashhad. The Shaybānīd ʿAbd al-Muʿmin after a four months' siege forced the town to surrender. The streets of the town ran with blood, and the thoroughness of the pillaging did not stop at the gates of the sacred area. Shāh ʿAbbās I, who lived in Mashhad from 993/1585 till his official ascent of the throne in Qazwīn in 995/1587, was not able to retake Mashhad from the Özbegs till 1006/1598.

At the beginning of the reign of Ṭahmāsp II in 1135/1722, the Afghan tribe of the Abdālīs invaded Khurasan. Mashhad fell before them, but in 1138/1726 the Persians succeeded in retaking it after a two months' siege. Nādir Shāh (1148–60/1736–47) had a mausoleum built for himself in Mashhad. After the death of Nādir Shāh, civil war broke out among the claimants to the throne, in the course of which the unity of the Persian empire was broken. The whole eastern part of the kingdom of Nādir Shāh, particularly Khurasan (except the district of Nishapur), passed in this period of Persian impotence under the rule of the vigorous Afghan Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. An attempt by Karīm Khān Zand to reunite Khurasan to the rest of Persia failed. Aḥmad defeated the Persians and took Mashhad after an eight months' siege in 1167/1753. Aḥmad Shāh and his successor Tīmūr Shāh left Shāh Rukh in possession of Khurasan as their vassal, making Khurasan a kind of buffer state between them and Persia. As the real rulers, however, both these Afghan rulers struck coins in Mashhad. Otherwise, the reign of the blind Shāh Rukh, which with repeated short interruptions lasted for nearly half a century, passed without any events of special note. It was only after the death of Tīmūr Shāh (1207/1792) that Āghā Muḥammad Khān, the founder of the Qajar dynasty, succeeded in taking Shāh Rukh's domains and putting him to death in 1210/1795, thus ending the separation of Khurasan from the rest of Persia. The death soon afterwards of Āghā Muḥammad (1211/1796) enabled Nādir Mīrzā b. Shāh Rukh, who had escaped to Herat, to return to Mashhad and take up the reins of government again. A siege of his capital by a Qajar army remained without success; but in 1803 Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh was able to take it after a siege of several months when Nādir's funds were exhausted.

From 1825 Khurasan suffered greatly from the raids of Turkoman hordes and the continual feuds of the tribal leaders. To restore order, the crown prince 'Abbās Mīrzā entered Khurasan with an army and made Mashhad his headquarters. He died there in 1833. The most important political event of the 19th century for Mashhad was the rebellion of Ḥasan Khān Sālār, the prince-governor of Khurasan, a cousin of the reigning Shāh Muḥammad 'Abbās. For two years (1847–9) he held out against the government troops sent against him. At the time of the accession of Nāṣir al-Dīn (1848), Khurasan was

actually independent. It was only when the people of Mashhad, under pressure of famine, rebelled against Sālār that Ḥusām al-Saltāna's army succeeded in taking the town.

In 1911 a certain Yūsuf Khān of Herat declared himself independent in Mashhad under the name of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, and for a period disturbed Khurasan considerably with the help of a body of reactionaries who gathered round him. This gave the Russians a pretext for armed intervention, and on 29 March 1912, they bombarded Mashhad in gross violation of Persia's suzerain rights, and many innocent people, citizens and pilgrims, were slain. This bombardment of the national sanctuary of Persia made a most painful impression in the whole Muslim world. Yūsuf Khān was later captured by the Persians and put to death (cf. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909*, Cambridge 1910, 343–4; idem, *The press and poets of modern Persia*, Cambridge, 1914, 124, 127, 136; Sykes, *History of Persia*, London 1927, ii, 426–7).

In Qajar times, Mashhad was usually governed by a member of the royal family, and after 1845 this governorship was usually combined with the important and lucrative function of *Mutawallī Bāshī*, controller or treasurer of the shrine.

Like most pre-modern Persian towns, Mashhad was enclosed by a great girdle of walls. The lines built to stiffen the defences, namely a small moat with escarpment before the main wall and a broad ditch around outside, were by the early 20th century in ruins and in places had completely disappeared.

The citadel (*arg*) in the southwest part of the town was directly connected with the system of defences. It was in the form of a rectangle with four great towers at the corners and smaller bastions. The palace begun by 'Abbās Mīrzā but finished only in 1876, with its extensive gardens, was connected with the fortress proper, by the end of the 19th century fallen into disrepair. It was used as the governor's residence. The whole quarter of government buildings which, according to MacGregor, occupied an area of 1,200 yards, was separated from the town by an open space, the Maydān-i Ṭōp (Cannon Place) which was used for military parades.

There were six gates in the city walls. The town was divided into six great and ten smaller quarters (*mahalla*), and the six larger ones bore the names of their gates. The principal street which divides

the whole town into two roughly equal halves, the *Khiyābān*, was a creation of Shāh ‘Abbās I, who did a great deal for Mashhad (cf. the pictures in P.M. Sykes, *The glory of the Shia world*, London 1910, 231). This street, a fine promenade, is, being the main thoroughfare, filled all day with a throng of all classes and nationalities, including numerous pilgrims, and caravans of camels and asses; the bustle is tremendous, especially in the middle of the day.

The canal, which flowed through the *Khiyābān* in a bed about 3 m/10 feet broad and 1½ m/5 feet deep, was fed, not from the Kashaf Rūd (see above) which runs quite close to Mashhad, for it has too little water, but from the Cheshme-yi Gilās, where the river rises, and which used to provide Tūs with water. When this town had been almost completely abandoned, Shīr ‘Alī, the vizier of Sultan Ḥusayn b. Maṣṣūr b. Bāyqarā (1468–1506), at the beginning of the 10th/16th century had the water brought from this source to Mashhad by a canal 30 km/45 miles long, thus sealing the ruin of Tūs. The making of this canal contributed essentially to the rise of Mashhad; for the greater part of its inhabitants relied on it for water, although after entering the town, the canal became muddy and marshy (which was often a subject of satire), and used it for drinking, washing and religious ablutions without hesitation. There were also large and deep reservoirs before the main gates. The water was saline and sulphurous and therefore had an unpleasant taste.

The *Haram-i Sharīf* or sacred area, often called the *Bast*, literally “place of refuge, asylum”, straddles the lower part of the main street; for a detailed consideration of the shrine, see III., below.

## II. HISTORY AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT SINCE 1914

In the course of the 20th century, Mashhad has become a regional metropolis (2,155,700 inhabitants in 2004), the capital of the vast province of Khurasan, and well integrated into the economic and public life of Persia. At the same time, it has kept its character as a goal of pilgrimage, dominated by the strength of the economic and political authority of the Āstāna-yi quds-i riḍawī, the administration of the Shrine *waqf*, probably the most important in the Muslim world.

In 1914, despite its religious importance, Mashhad was a marginal town in regard to the rest of the

country. The population of some 70,000 was ethnically very diverse, with Azeris, Hazāras, Bukhārīs, Marwīs, Berberīs, Afghāns, and several thousand Jews who had been forcibly converted to Islam, called Jadīd al-Islām. About a hundred Europeans, mostly Russians, and as many again Indian subjects of the British crown, lived near their respective consulates. Trade with Russia was twice as important as that with Tehran, since the only modern road was that connecting Mashhad with ‘Ashqābād, opened in 1892. Like most of the towns of Persia, it kept its traditional character for the first decades of the 20th century. The only modern street, lit by electricity since 1902, was the *Bālā Khiyābān* leading from the entrance of the town on the western side to the Shrine and to the modest pilgrims’ bazaar, since Mashhad never had a proper bazaar and the shops, just as the 37 caravanserais housing pilgrims, were dispersed throughout the town.

Riḍā Shāh and the Pahlavī dynasty showed a great interest in Mashhad and the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā. The ruler personally assumed the office of *Mutawallī* of the Āstāna-yi quds, and members of the royal family regularly made the pilgrimage to the town, where a palace was built at Bāgh-i Malikābād; trusted servants were appointed as governors of Khurasan and executive directors of the Shrine. A new town was laid out, with rectilinear streets, houses in the Russian style with two storeys and large windows; and businesses and offices were developed to the west of the holy city, which kept its houses of sun-dried brick, its alleys and the *musāfir-khānas* or hostels and the caravanserais for pilgrims. In 1935 Mashhad was linked with Tehran by a modern road, an aerial connection in 1928 (regular service in 1946), an oil pipeline in 1955 and a railway in 1957. At the end of the 1960s, there was a fresh wave of expansion. The Firdawsī University was opened in 1966, modern hospitals, amongst the best in Persia, were built, food and textile (carpets) industries were developed, whilst sources of natural gas at Sarakhs enabled the burgeoning city to be supplied with gas. An urban plan was successfully put into operation, since over half of the built-up area and 80% of the land available for building belonged to the Shrine. A French study centre, the SCET Persia, was given the task of making an inventory of the Shrine’s possessions and of modernising its administration in order to increase its revenues (Hakami, Hourcade).

To the west, at Abkūh, vast hotels for students, troops and officials of the Shrine were constructed. To the east, urbanisation swallowed up the small towns of Gulshahr, Sakhtimān and Ṭuruq, but was limited by the extensive agricultural holdings of the Shrine and by military lands.

After the oil boom of 1974, Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh decided to make Mashhad the most important and most modern pilgrimage centre of the Muslim world. Under the direction of the governor, M. Waliyān, the reconstruction of the old town began in 1973 with the destruction of the bazaar, caravanse-rais, and traditional-type hotels near the Shrine and the avenue (*falaka*) which surrounded it. The only part left standing was a section of the carpet bazaar. The Bāzār-i Riḍā, a simple, modern gallery meant for the pilgrims' purchases, was opened in 1977 near the Ḥaram, whilst workshops and other commercial activities were dispersed to the town's periphery. From now on isolated in a vast open space, the Shrine was renovated and developed on a grandiose scale, making the Imām Riḍā's tomb the greatest religious architectural complex in the world, still in the course of construction in 2002 (library extension, schools, a new cemetery in the underground vaults, new courts and spaces for welcoming pilgrims). This policy of increased prestige was actively followed by the Islamic Republic, under the direction of the *Āyatullāh* Wā'izī Ṭabasī, the new *Mutawallī* of the Shrine and no longer governor of the province. The city continued to expand towards the southwest along the Wakīlābād Avenue (new university campus, high-class residences) and, above all, to the northwest (agricultural lands towards the Kūchān road, where mass housing and industrial zones reach as far as the ancient Ṭūs, where Firdawsī's tomb is to be found).

From 1956 to 1996, Mashhad has had the greatest population growth (5.3% per annum) of the great cities of Persia, after Tehran itself. This development became very rapid after 1979 because of the influx of Afghan refugees in a new quarter to the northeast of the city. This new Afghan quarter evokes the traditional relations of Mashhad with the Herat region and Central Asia, reinforced by the re-opening of the frontier with Turkmenistan in 1991 at Bajgirān and, above all, after the opening on 15 May 1996 of the new railway linking Mashhad, via Sarakhs, with the rail network of the former USSR. This opening towards the east of a town and a region long isolated

from Tehran takes place, however, hand-in-hand with the strengthening of political, administrative and economic relations with the capital. The revolt of 1921 by Col. Muḥammad Taqī Khān Pisyān was one of the last manifestations of former isolation. Consequently, the population of Mashhad has participated actively in the crises and the political and social debates in Persia: the riots of 1963 against the White Revolution, and active participation in the Islamic Revolution (the thinker 'Alī Shari'atī was a professor at the University of Mashhad, and Sayyid 'Alī Khamina'i, who in 1989 became the Spiritual Guide of the Islamic Republic, was one of the most active of the local religious leaders).

As the second city of Persia in terms of population since 1975, Mashhad, now a modern city, remains the regional capital of eastern Persia, even though the province of Khurasan, of which it is the capital, has been since 2002 divided into three different provinces. The passage through it of over ten million pilgrims each year accentuates more than ever before the religious identity and the economic activity of this regional metropolis, which now has the second-most important airport in Persia and the most important hotel complex (more than 25,000 beds in hotels and, above all, *musāfir-khānas*), well ahead of Iṣfahān.

### III. THE SHRINE, AND MASHHAD AS A CENTRE OF SHI'ITE LEARNING AND PIETY

The location in Mashhad of the Shrine of the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā has made Mashhad into the leading place of pilgrimage within Persia, the process whereby its veneration developed being accentuated by the fact that, for some four centuries, with one break of a few decades, the Shi'ite shrines of Iraq were in the hands of the Sunnī Ottoman Turks, the powerful enemies and rivals of the Ṣafavids and their successors. Shi'ite '*ulamā*' place Mashhad as the seventh of the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, after Mecca, Medina, and the four specifically Shi'ite '*atabāt*' in Iraq, Najaf, Karbala, Samarrā' and Kāzimayn (see Sykes, *The glory of the Shia world*, p. xiii), but some Shi'ite '*ulamā*' would rank it next after Karbala (see G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 150 n. 2).

The Ḥaram containing the Shrine seems to be essentially the creation of the last six or seven centuries,

its development receiving a powerful impetus when the Safavids turned Persia into a Shi'ite state in the 10th/16th century. Previously, it had been easier for non-Muslims to visit the Shrine, since the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, en route for Tīmūr's court at Samarqand, was able in 1404 to visit it. Thereafter, it was not till the first half of the 19th century that the British traveller J.B. Fraser was able, by dint of a feigned conversion to Islam, to enter the Shrine in 1822 long enough to make a drawing of the courtyard there (see Fatema Soudavar Farmanfarmaian, *James Baillie Fraser in Mashhad, or, the Pilgrimage of a nineteenth century Scotsman to the Shrine of the Imām Ridā, in Persia, JBIPS*, xxxiv [1996], 101–15). Various other European travellers followed in the later 19th century (details in Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 148 n. 1).

But the rise of the Mashhad shrine began well before the advent of the Safavids, and especially after the sack of nearby Tūs by the Tīmūrid prince Mīran Shāh b. Tīmūr in 791/1389 dealt Tūs a death-blow and brought the Sanābad shrine into prominence as the nucleus of the later Mashhad. Already, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had gone on from Tūs to "the town of Mashhad al-Riḍā", which he describes as large and flourishing (*Rihla*, iii, 77–8, Eng. tr. Gibb, iii, 582), and Timurid rulers such as Shāh Rukh and his wife Jawhar Shādh were great benefactors in the first half of the 9th/15th century; but members of the new dynasty of the Safavids vied with each other in enriching and enlarging the Shrine. Shāh Ṭahmāsp I erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the *Ṣaḥn-i kuhna* which, with the *Ṣaḥn-i naw*, bounds the Shrine on its northern and eastern sides, and he adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on top of it (this was to be carried off by the Shībānids when in 997/1589 they invaded Khurasan and sacked Mashhad). 'Abbās I laid out the main thoroughfare of the city, the *Khiyābān*, running from northwest to southeast and dividing the city into two roughly equal halves; the Shrine area divided this street into an upper (*bālā*) and a lower (*pā'īn*) part. 'Abbās II devoted his attention mainly to the decoration of the *Ṣaḥn-i kuhna*. Ṣafī II, the later Sulaymān I, restored the dome of the Imām's tomb. But there were benefactions during these times from outside potentates also, not only from the South Indian Shi'ite Quṭb Shāhī ruler Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭb al-Mulk in 918/1512 but also by the Sunnī Mughal emperor Akbar, who

made a pilgrimage to Mashhad in 1003/1595. Although likewise a Sunnī, Nādir Shāh Afshar was the greatest benefactor of the city and the Shrine in the 12th/18th century, devoting a great part of the plunder brought back from India to their embellishment. Before his accession to the throne, he had in 1142/1730 built a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the *Ṣaḥn-i kuhna* as a counterpart to that of Ṭahmāsp I on the north side of this. He now thoroughly restored the southern half of the *Ṣaḥn*, and decorated the southern gateway richly and covered it with sheets of gold, so that it acquired the historic name of "Nādir's Golden Gate"; in the centre of this court he placed his famous octagonal marble "water house", the *saqqā-khāna-yi nādirī*. The Qajar Shāhs, from Fath 'Alī to Nāṣir al-Dīn, likewise cherished the Shrine, despite the frequency with which the city of Mashhad was involved in rebellions against the central government at various points in the 19th century.

The Shrine area forms the so-called *Bast*, thus designated from the rights of asylum and sanctuary traditionally operating there for e.g. debtors, and, for a limited period, criminals (see Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 155). Nādir's Golden Gateway leads southwards to the area of the Imām's shrine itself and its ancillary buildings, what is strictly speaking the *Haram-i muqaddas*. The almost square shrine has the actual tomb in its northeastern corner. Shāh 'Abbās I provided the tomb with a gold covering, and he also covered the dome, 20 m/65 feet high, with gilded copper sheets. Notable also here is the *Dār al-siyāda* hall built by Jawhar Shādh, a *Dār al-huffāz*, and the fine mosque bearing Jawhar Shādh's name, regarded by many authorities as the most attractive building in the sacred area (see illustr. in Sykes, *op. cit.*, at 263). There are also teeming bazaars, caravanserais, baths, etc. in the Hāram, the property of the Shrine, but the Shrine also in pre-modern times held *awqāf* all over Persia, and especially, in other parts of Khurasan, contributing to the income of the Shrine and its upkeep. This last varied according to economic prosperity and peaceful or otherwise conditions in the land; information given to Curzon at the end of the 19th century put the Shrine revenues at 60,000 *tūmāns*, equivalent at that time to £17,000 sterling per annum (*op. cit.*, i, 162–3).

The Shrine was administered by a lay *Mutawallī Bāshī*, from the later 19th century onwards until



Pahlavī times as an office held by the governor-general of Khurasan, previous times having been often characterised by disputes between the Shrine administrator and the representatives of the central government; at the time of Curzon's visit, the *Mutawallī Bāshī* was Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's brother Muḥammad Taqī Mīrzā, Rukn al-Dawla (replaced in 1891 by a former governor of Fars). The office was a lucrative one, since the administrator normally drew 10% of the Shrine's revenues. Beneath him was a large staff of lower *mutawallīs*, *mujtahids* and *mullās*, some enjoying hereditary appointments.

Pilgrimage to the shrine of the Imām began at an early date. European travellers and visitors in the 19th century endeavoured to estimate their annual numbers: Ferrier (1845) gave 50,000; Khanikoff (1858) and Eastwick (1862), over 50,000; C.E. Yate (in the 1890s), 30,000. These numbers tended to rise at the times of special festivals such at the anniversary of 'Alī al-Riḍā's death and during Muḥarram. The rites of pilgrimage involved a triple circumambulation or *ṭawāf* and the three-fold cursing of the Imām's enemies, and especially of the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. The pilgrims enjoyed a support system of food kitchens and accommodation for three nights, and a pilgrim who had performed all the rites in the prescribed fashion was entitled to call himself a *Mashhadī*.

As with the lands adjacent to Najaf and Karbala, the holiness of the Shrine and its environs made it very attractive for burials, and several large cemeteries lay round it, such as the *Maqbara-yi qatlghāh* ("killing ground cemetery") to its north. Since there was so much demand for places – not merely from Persians but also from Shi'ites from the Indian subcontinent, Afghanistan and Central Asia – the same ground had to be used over and over again for burials. The fees for such burials – graves with proximity to the Shrine itself being the most expensive – brought in a not inconsiderable revenue to the Shrine.

As well as a centre for piety and pilgrimage, Mashhad was an educational centre, with a considerable number of *madrasas*, whose number in the first decade or so of the 20th century approached twenty, the oldest still standing being the *Dūdār* one, founded by Shāh Rukh in 823/1420, the majority of them, however, dating from the later Ṣafavid period. From an architectural and artistic point of view, the

Madrasa of Mīr Ja'far, built and endowed by the founder in 1059/1650, is regarded as especially fine. These colleges attracted students from Persia itself and also from the Shi'ite communities of India; Sykes in 1910 put the number of students at that time at 1,200 (*The glory of the Shia world*, 267–8), many of whom at this time went on subsequently for further study at al-Najaf.

For the Shrine, its administration and development in the 20th century, see II. above.

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**MASSAWA** or Mitsiwa, in Arabic *Masawwa*‘ or *Musawwa*‘; in Ethiopic *Meswā*‘ or *Metwā*‘; in Tigre and Tigriñña, *Bāse*‘ (= Ar. *Bāsi*‘, *Bādi*‘), an island and port off the Red Sea coast, situated in lat. 15° 38' N., long. 39° 28' E., opposite the Dahlak archipelago. The islands making up Massawa are linked by causeways. It is now the second city of the Eritrean Republic, which has been independent of Ethiopia since 2001 and whose capital is Asmara. With a recorded average summer temperature of 31° C./87° F., the port is amongst the world's hottest places. The estimated population in 2003 was 50,000.

According to popular etymology, the name is derived from Ethiopic *mēšūwā*‘ “cry, loud call”. A fisherman from Dahlak, driven by a storm to the then inhabited island, is said to have related that its size was such that a man, shouting in a high voice (*saw*‘), could make himself heard from one end to the other. According to another version, Ethiopian caravan leaders, arriving at Jarār, had to cry aloud for the barques of the island to come and fetch them. The island is in fact one km. long and *ca.* 250 m. wide.

The Massawa region, known as Samhar, may have been visited as early as the third millennium B.C. when Egyptian ships sailed down the Red Sea. It became better known in history when the Greek Ptolemies developed a series of stations along the African coast. The region, but not the actual port, is mentioned in the famous inscription carved in the port of Adulis about 240 B.C. at the time of Ptolemy III Energetes (246–221 B.C.), and copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes who visited the area about A.D. 525. Artemidoros of Ephesus (*ca.* 100 B.C.), whose work is known through extracts by Strabo (*ca.* 20 B.C.), mentions on this coast the port of Sabā, identified with Jarār by Conti Rossini. In connection with Adulis, now Zula, the region is also mentioned in the well-known *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (tr. Schoff, 22–3, cf. 60). This Aksumite port in the gulf of the same name must have ceased to function somewhere about the middle of the first millennium A.D., and its rôle may then have been taken over gradually by Massawa, lying about 48 km/30 miles to the north.

In early Islam, Massawa is mentioned as a place of exile and thus considered by Conti Rossini as being in Muslim hands. Because of his love of wine, the Arab poet Abū Mihjān was banished by ‘Umar to

Bāsi‘ in 14/634. At the death of Marwān, the last Umayyad caliph, his son ‘Abd Allāh, on his flight to Jeddah, arrived at Bādi‘. According to al-Mas‘ūdī, who wrote in the 4th/10th century, the coastal plains, and consequently Massawa, were tributary to Ethiopia, and Bādi‘ lay on the littoral of *al-ma‘ādīn* “the mines”, the territory of the Beja. If by this term the hinterland of Massawa is meant (Bādi‘ is not to be identified with Badi or Airi island lying further north), al-Mas‘ūdī indicates that the Beja were working the Eritrean gold mines and that the port played a rôle in the gold traffic.

During the 6th–8th/12th–14th centuries, Massawa was under the sovereignty of the *amīr* of Dahlak, who called himself *sultān*. The Ethiopians, however, as in the time when the *amīr* depended on Aksum, continued to indicate him as *šyuma baḥr* “prefect of the sea”, in opposition to the *baḥr nagāsh* “ruler of the sea [-province]”, who resided at Debārwa (Debaroa). Relations between Ethiopia and the *nā‘ib* of the *amīr* at Massawa must have been uneasy, at least occasionally, as may be concluded from the capture of the port by Isaac, son of Negus Dawit I (1381–*ca.* 1410). In the 10th/16th century still, the sovereignty of Massawa was linked to that of Dahlak. The *(Is) dī mas(ua)* on Fra Mauro's map is perhaps identical with Massawa. An impression of the commercial activity in this and other ports on both sides of the Red Sea in the early 16th century can be gained from Ludovico di Varthema, Andrea Corsali, Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa. According to the author of the *Cartas das novas*, there was a large number of boats at anchor at Massawa, including two from Gujarāt, when he arrived there in 1521. Soon, however, foreign trade in the Horn of Africa was to suffer severely from the Portuguese interference with local commerce. The discovery and development of the trade route round Cape of Good Hope, Aḥmad Grāñ's invasion of the highlands and the emergence of Turkish influence in the Red Sea caused the decline of Massawa, which remained however the main port of Ethiopia.

When a Portuguese exploratory mission landed in Massawa in 1520, the town was completely Muslim. According to Alvarez, the Portuguese transformed the mosque into a church, but did not occupy the port, although the Ethiopian king Lebna Dengel strongly wished them to build a fortress there. The information of the “Zorzi Itineraries” (Crawford, *Ethiopian itineraries*, 90, 159), according to which king David

(= Lebna Dengel) gave the port to the Portuguese, may refer to the mission of 1520, to some earlier expedition, to negotiations, or to mere rumour.

With the disembarkation of Cristovão da Gama in 1541, Massawa began its rôle as entrance-gate into Ethiopia for Western missionaries and travellers, even after the Ottoman commander Özdemiş Pasha had conquered the port and Arkiko in 1557, which then became one of the *sanjaqs* of the Ottoman province of Ḥabesh. The difficulties between Turks and Western missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, are described in the former's correspondence. Turkish relations with Ethiopia, hostile at first, remained uneasy later on. After the combined forces of the Ottomans and *baḥr nagāsh* Yishāḥ had been defeated in 1578 by the Ethiopian king Sarṣa Dengel, Massawa and Arkiko remained in Turkish hands, but Turkish power declined rapidly. A pasha was first established in Dahlak, and later in Massawa, but actual power was soon left to a local Balaw chieftain from a Beja family of the Samhar region, who acted as *nā'ib* or deputy of the Turkish pasha, who had taken up residence in Su'ākin. After the expulsion of the Roman Catholic missionaries from Ethiopia in 1633, King Fāsiladas made an agreement with the pasha that the latter should execute all priests who might try to enter Ethiopia. The situation at Massawa in 1634 is described by Barradas. The Turkish presence in the port, and especially the extortions by the *nā'ib*, remained a source of irritation to the Ethiopian kings (Van Donzel, *Foreign relations*, index s.vv. Turks, Massawa), the more so because imports and exports were not unimportant (Van Donzel, *op. cit.*, Appendix iv; Bruce, *Travels*, iii, 54). In 1693 the *nā'ib* Mūsā b. 'Umar b. 'Āmir b. Kunnu tried to use extortion against the Armenian merchant Khōja Murād, who had returned from the Dutch East Indies with gifts for the Ethiopian king. When Murād refused to pay, his goods were confiscated. King Iyāsu I ordered the delivery of foodstuffs to Massawa to be suspended, and started preparations to attack the *nā'ib*, who then submitted (Van Donzel, *op. cit.*, 83). According to the French traveller Charles Jacques Poncet (*ca.* 1700), the fortress in Massawa was not very strong, and the arrival of an English vessel "cast terror into the whole island". On learning of the arrival of this ship at Massawa, the Ethiopian monks made a disturbance before the palace in Gondar, probably fearing a punitive expedition from what they thought

to be Portuguese. Poncet also relates that the Pasha received him with great civility, at the recommendation of the emperor of Ethiopia, who was greatly afraid because he could easily starve the port or refuse to furnish it with water. The inhabitants of the island were obliged to fetch it from Arkiko on the mainland. Although claiming power over the port, the Ethiopian kings were never in fact master over it, as is also clear from the *Annals* of King Iyāsu II (1730–55). Power remained in the hand of the *nā'ib*. When Bruce arrived in Massawa in 1768, the Porte had annexed the government of the port to the pasha of Judda, but the *nā'ib* did not pay tribute either to him or to the Ethiopian king (Bruce, *Travels*, iii, 5–6). The number of Banians or Indian merchants, in whose hands trade had formerly been, was reduced to six, who made but a poor livelihood.

In the first decades of the 19th century, the *nā'ib* still exercised some power. According to Henry Salt, the *nā'ib* Idrīs tried to prevent the English from opening a communication with Ethiopia, but came then under pressure from both the Sharīf of Mecca on the one side and from Ras Wolde Sellāsie of Tigre on the other. Salt was told by the Ras that the road by Bure, south of Amphila Bay (see the map in Salt, *A voyage*, opp. p. 137), was preferable to the route by Massawa, but Nathaniel Pearce wrote to him that the only road into Ethiopia was by Massawa. He added that the *nā'ib* would not allow guns to pass through his country. In 1844, almost three centuries after their first attempt, the Turks tried again to get a foothold on the mainland by occupying Arkiko. But again they were forced back on to Massawa, which in 1846 was leased to the ruler of Egypt Muḥammad 'Alī, and now became an important element in Egyptian, British, Italian and Ethiopian policies. The lease, having expired at the death of Muḥammad 'Alī in 1849, was renewed in 1865 in favour of Ismā'īl Pasha. Egyptian rule was welcomed by the local nomads who, during the anarchy of the last years of king Tēwodros of Ethiopia, had been suffering from the hill tribes. Soon some of the latter too began to seek Egyptian protection. In 1872 the Swiss Werner Münzinger, consul of France in Massawa since 1865, resigned from his post and entered the service of the Egyptians. Having allegedly paid £ 1,000,000 to the Porte, Ismā'īl Pasha created the so-called Eastern Sudan, i.e. Taka, Su'ākin and Massawa, and appointed Münzinger as governor in 1873.

Münzinger initiated a plan to link Massawa with the Egyptian possessions in the north-east, and constructed the causeways to the mainland. On each of them was a gate, watched by a guard who collected a toll from every passer-by. He also fortified the port, made himself "protector" of the Bilen tribes and occupied the Keren region. The Turkish practice of having a *nā'ib* of Balaw origin was continued, and a member of his family was appointed *sirdār* or commander-in-chief of the troops in Massawa. When the European powers left Egypt with a free hand with regard to Ethiopia, Ismā'īl Pasha appointed the Dane Søren Adolph Arendrup as commander of the Egyptian troops in Massawa, and three Egyptian expeditions set out against Ethiopia. After the Egyptian *débâcle* near Gura in 1876, rumours spread in Massawa that the Ethiopian King Yohannes was going to attack the port. But the king wanted peace with Egypt, insisting however that Massawa should be restored to his kingdom. The peace treaty, arranged by C.G. Gordon, left Egypt still in control of the Keren region and the port, where the anti-Ethiopian policy was continued by Mukhtār Bey, the Egyptian governor of Massawa. He gave asylum to Fitawrāri Debbēb, an Ethiopian rebel and cousin of King Yohannes, who sold his loot openly in the markets of Arkiko and Massawa and who had brought trade with the coast to a standstill. After Mukhtār Bey had been replaced by Mason Bey, an American who had been in the service of the Egyptian government, a treaty between Great Britain, Egypt and Ethiopia was signed at Adowa in 1884 by King Yohannes and Rear-Admiral Sir William Hewett. The actual control of Egypt, and consequently of the ports on the Red Sea coast which had been occupied by the Egyptians, lay indeed in the hands of Great Britain after the revolt in 1882 of 'Urābī Pasha. Under British protection, free transit through Massawa was given for all goods, including arms and ammunition, to and from Ethiopia. A general reservation with respect to the lawful claims of the Porte, explicitly mentioned in Lord Granville's instruction to Admiral Hewett, was ignored in the Treaty. Nor did the Treaty contain any concrete agreement about the possession of Massawa. In a letter to Queen Victoria, King Yohannes, aware that the removal of the Egyptian garrison would leave the port open to him, expressed the hope that "the gates of heaven would open for her as she had opened Massawa for him". In her answer, the Queen

regretted being unable to accede to the King's wish regarding the port. Indeed, by now another European power had appeared on the scene.

Wary of the French expansion in the Red Sea, and in view of financial difficulties in Egypt, Great Britain had been seeking an alliance with Italy. Already in 1881, an Egyptian appeal to use force against Italy after the establishment of an Italian colony in Assab, had been rejected by the British government. In 1882 Italy had even been invited to participate in restoring order in Egypt. In the years 1881–3 expenditure had exceeded revenue in the port of Massawa; hence retaining possession of the port was not considered to be "in the true interests of Egypt". Having thus been given a free hand in the Red Sea, Italy landed a military expedition in Massawa, where on 5 February 1885, the Italian flag was flying side-by-side with the Egyptian one over the palace and the forts. King Yohannes was outraged, while Menelik, who was building up his own power in Shoa and had signed a secret treaty of friendship and trade with the Italians in 1883, acted as mediator between the Ethiopian king and Italy. The Italians quickly occupied Arafale and Arkiko, and when the Egyptian garrisons were gradually withdrawn, almost all major places between Assab and Massawa came into their power. Notwithstanding the Treaty of Adowa, the Italians did not allow free transit of ammunition and arms to King Yohannes, nor in the quantities which he desired. They also rejected any form of Egyptian authority, although this was recognised at first. Tension between the Ethiopians and the Italians led to an armed encounter at Dogali (1887), where the latter suffered defeat. Menelik offered mediation, which was accepted by Yohannes but refused by the Italians, who concluded another treaty with the future Negus. Yohannes, meanwhile convinced that Great Britain and Italy were acting in accord, and considering Sir Gerald Portal's mission to him as a feint, marched against Massawa in 1887. However, before reaching it he turned his attention again to the Mahdist forces. After his death in the battle of Qallabat (Metemma), the Italians signed the Treaty of Ucciali (Wuchali) with Menelik in 1889. Italian possession of Massawa was confirmed, but Menelik was permitted to import arms duty-free through the port. After their defeat at Adowa in 1896, the Italians were able to retain Eritrea and the port of Massawa, which played an important role during the

Italo-Ethiopian war. Conquered by British forces in 1941, Massawa remained under British administration until the federation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1950.

In 1931 the population was estimated at 9,300 and in 1970 at 18,490. Imports consist mainly of industrial goods, while exports comprise oilseeds, nuts, hides, coffee, salt, fish and pearl. Local industries include a salt works, fish and meat processing enterprises, a cement plant and an ice factory. A thermal power plant serves outlying areas where manganese ore is mined. The volcanic deposits of the Danakil Plains contain sulphur, sodium and potassium, gypsum, rock salt and potash.

During their brief occupation of Eritrea, the coastal settlements on the Red Sea and the Harar region, the Egyptians introduced their Ḥanafī legal code, which was kept on by the Italians. Thus the Ḥanafī *madhhab* is predominant in the coastal towns of Massawa, Arkiko, Zula, Assab, etc. Of the Sufi orders in Islam, the Qādiriyya are well represented in Massawa. Its founder, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī, is said to have died at the place of the mosque dedicated in his name. His anniversary (*ziyārat al-Jīlānī*) is celebrated by a pilgrimage and the accompanying ceremonies on 11 Rabī‘ al-Awwal of each year.

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**MECCA**, in Arabic Makka, the town in the Ḥijaz region of Western Arabia that is the most sacred city of Islam, being the place where the Prophet Muhammad was born and spent the greater part of his life. It contains the Ḥaram, the sacred enclosure containing the Ka’ba as its focal point, the goal of the Muslim Pilgrimage. Mecca is situated in lat. 21° 27' N. and long. 39° 49' E. some 72 km/40 miles inland from the Red Sea port of Jeddah or Judda. It is now the administrative centre of the province (*manātiq idāriyya*) of the same name. Its normal population of about 300,000 is swollen by one-and-a-half or two millions at the time of the Ḥajj or Pilgrimage.

#### I. THE PRE-ISLAMIC AND EARLY ISLAMIC PERIODS

##### 1. *Geographical description*

Mecca lies in a kind of corridor between two ranges of bare steep hills, with an area in the centre rather lower than the rest. The whole corridor is the *wādī* or the *baṭn Makka*, ‘the hollow of Mecca’, and the lower part is al-Baṭḥā’, which was doubtless the original settlement and where the Ka’ba stands. Originally, some of the houses were close to the Ka’ba, but apparently there was always a free space round it, and in the course of centuries this has been enlarged to constitute the present mosque. Into the Baṭḥā’ converged a number of side-valleys, each known as a *shi’b*, and often occupied by a single clan. The outer and higher area of settlement was known as the *ẓawāhir*. The situation of Mecca was advantageous for trade. Important routes led northwards to Syria (Gaza and Damascus); north-eastwards through a gap in the mountain chain of the Sarāt to Iraq; southwards to the Yemen; and westwards to the Red Sea, where there were sailings from Shu‘ayba (and later from Jeddah) to Abyssinia and other places. Rainfall is scant and irregular. There may be none for four years. When it does come, it may be violent and a *sayl* or torrent may pour down each *shi’b* towards the Ḥaram. There are accounts of the flooding of the Ḥaram from time to time. The supply of water depended on wells, of which that at Zamzam beside the Ka’ba was the most famous. One of the leading men of Mecca was always charged with the *siqāya*, that is, with the duty of seeing there was sufficient

water for the pilgrims taking part in the *Hajj*. Needless to say, there was no agriculture in the neighbourhood of Mecca. The climate of Mecca was described by the geographer al-Maqdisī as “suffocating heat, deadly winds, clouds of flies”. The summer was noted for *ramḍā’ Makka*, “the burning of Mecca”, and the wealthier families sent their children to be brought up in the desert for a time.

## 2. *Pre-Islamic Mecca*

Mecca had been a sacred site from very ancient times. It was apparently known to Ptolemy as Macoraba. The Qur’ān has the name Mecca in XLVIII, 24, and the alternative name Bakka in III, 96/90. It also (II, 125–7/119–21) speaks of the building of the Ka’ba by Abraham and Ishmael, but this is generally not accepted by occidental scholars, since it cannot be connected with what is otherwise known of Abraham. According to Arabian legend, it was for long controlled by the tribe of Jurhum, and then passed to Khuḏā’a, though certain privileges remained in the hands of older families. After a time, presumably in the 5th century A.D., Khuḏā’a were replaced by Quraysh. This came about through the activity of Quṣayy, a descendant of Quraysh (or Fihri), who became powerful through bringing together hitherto disunited groups of the tribe of Quraysh and gaining the help of allies from Kināna and Quḏā’a. It is probable that Quṣayy was the first to make a permanent settlement here as distinct from temporary encampments. In later times a distinction was made between Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ (those of the Baṭḥā’ or centre) and Quraysh al-Zawāhir (those of the outer area); and it is significant that all the descendants, not only of Quṣayy but of his great-grandfather Ka’b, are included in the former. These are the clans of ‘Abd al-Dār, ‘Abd Shams, Nawfal, Hāshim, al-Muṭṭalib, Asad (all descended from Quṣayy), and Zuhra, Makhzūm, Taym, Sahm, Jumaḥ and ‘Adī. The most important clans of Quraysh al-Zawāhir were Muḥārib, ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy and Ḥārith b. Fihri. There are no grounds, however, for thinking this distinction was equivalent to one between patricians and plebeians.

In the 6th century A.D. divisions appear within Quraysh al-Biṭāḥ. ‘Abd al-Dār had succeeded to some of the privileges of his father Quṣayy, but in course of time his family was challenged by the

descendants of another son of Quṣayy, ‘Abd Manāf, represented by the clan of ‘Abd Shams. ‘Abd Manāf had the support of Asad, Zuhra, Taym and Ḥārith b. Fihri; and this group was known as the Muṭayyabūn (“perfumed ones”). ‘Abd al-Dār’s group, known as the Aḥlāf or Confederates, included Makhzūm, Sahm, Jumaḥ and ‘Adī. A compromise agreement was reached without actual fighting. About the year 605, a league is mentioned called the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl which seems to be a continuation of the Muṭayyabūn. It comprised the same clans as the latter, except that of the four sons of ‘Abd Manāf only Hāshim and al-Muṭṭalib were in the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, while Nawfal and ‘Abd Shams remained aloof. The ostensible reason for this league was to help a Yamanī merchant to recover a debt from a man of Sahm. This suggests that the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl was not a general league against injustice (as maintained by Caetani) but was an association of commercially weaker clans attempting to curb unfair monopolistic practices by stronger and wealthier clans – the repudiation of debts would discourage non-Meccans from sending caravans to Mecca and increase the profits of the caravans of the great merchants of Mecca (sc. those not in the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl).

From many other pieces of evidence, it is clear that by this time Mecca had become an important commercial centre. Because of the sanctuary at Mecca and the institutions of the sacred months, when blood feuds were in abeyance, there had doubtless been some commerce for many centuries. It would appear, however, that during the second half of the 6th century A.D. the trade of Mecca had increased enormously. It might be conjectured that the wars between the Byzantines and Persians had made the route through western Arabia more attractive than that from the Persian Gulf to Aleppo. Even if this is not so, the leading merchants of Mecca had gained control of a great volume of trade passing between Syria and the Mediterranean on the one hand and South Arabia and the Indian Ocean on the other. Despite the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, it would appear that most of the merchandise was carried in caravans organised by wealthy Meccans. The Qur’ān (XVI, 2) speaks of “the winter and summer caravans”, and it is usually stated that the former went to the Yemen and the latter to Syria. Normally, a caravan carried goods belonging to many groups and individuals, who presumably gave a proportion of their profits to the

organisers. The organisers had to enter into agreements with the political authorities in Syria and South Arabia, and possibly also with the ruler of al-Ḥīra and the Negus of Abyssinia, in order to be allowed to buy and sell; and they had to ensure the safety of the caravans by agreements with the nomadic chiefs through whose areas they passed.

It is possible that the expedition of the “men of the elephant” (Qurʾān, CV, 1) was occasioned by the growing prosperity of Mecca, and that Abraha, the Abyssinian ruler of the Yemen, wanted to reduce its commerce by attacking the sanctuary which facilitated it.

The war of the Fijār certainly marks a stage in the growth of Meccan commercial strength, since it appears to have resulted in the elimination of al-Ṭāʾif as a rival centre of trade and its incorporation into the Meccan system in a subordinate position. The term “system” is appropriate since Mecca was a financial centre, and not a mere focus of trade. By about A.D. 600, the leading men were skilled in the manipulation of credit and interested in possibilities of investment along the routes they travelled, such as the mines in the territory of the tribe of Sulaym. It may be noted that one or two women were merchants, trading on their own account and employing men as their agents; such were Khadija, Asmāʾ bint Mukharriba, mother of Abū Jahl, and Hind, wife of Abū Sufyān. Among the goods carried were leather, ingots of gold and silver, gold dust (*tibr*), perfumes and spices, the two latter from South Arabia or India. From Syria they conveyed the products of Mediterranean industry, such as cotton, linen and silk fabrics, and also arms, cereals and oil. Some of these goods would be sold to nomadic tribesmen, others would be sold in markets at the further end of the trade route.

Henri Lammens spoke of Mecca as a “merchant republic”, and this description fits up to a point, but the underlying political concepts were those of Arabia, not of Greece or Italy. Almost the only organ of government, apart from clan assemblies, was the *malaʾ* or “senate”. This was in fact a meeting of the chiefs and leading men of various clans, but had no executive powers. Any punitive measures could be taken only by the chief of the offender’s clan, since otherwise the *lex talionis* or vendetta and blood feud would be invoked. There was no president or doge, but sometimes a man’s personal talents gave him

a degree of primacy (as Abū Sufyān had for three years after the defeat at Badr in 624). The Quraysh, however, were renowned for their *ḥilm* or “steadiness”, and this in practice meant putting their commercial interests before all other considerations. Because of this, the *malaʾ* was often able to compose differences between its members and come to a common mind. Thus most of the leading men were agreed on a policy of neutrality in the struggle of the two giant empires of the day, the Byzantine Greek one and the Sasanid Persian one. Both were trying to extend their spheres of influence in Arabia. When, in about 570 or 575, the Persians conquered the Yemen from the Abyssinians, it became all the more necessary for the Meccans to remain neutral. Some years after the war of the Fijār, a man of the clan of Asad called ʿUthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith entered into negotiations with the Byzantines and told his fellow-Meccans that he could get favourable trade terms for them if they accepted him as their leader; though he was denounced by a man of his clan as aiming at kingship, the rejection of his proposition was doubtless also due to the need of avoid too close an association with the Byzantines.

In addition to the *malaʾ*, there were certain traditional offices or functions, usually attached to specific families. The *siqāya* or superintendence of the water-supply, especially for pilgrims, has already been mentioned. The *riḡāda* was the provisioning of pilgrims; the *liwāʾ* was the carrying of the standard in war; the *nasī* was the privilege of deciding when an intercalary month should be inserted to keep the lunar calendar in line with the solar year; and there were several others.

The culture and religion of the Meccans were essentially the same as those of their nomadic neighbours. They applied the *lex talionis* in much the same way, and had similar ideas about the relations of a chief or *sayyid* to the full members of his clan or tribe, namely, that he was only *primus inter pares*. They likewise gave a central place to the conception of honour, though in detail Meccan ideas of honour may have been modified by the ideas of wealth and power. Like most nomadic Arabs, the majority of Meccans were pagans, acknowledging many gods, but probably having little faith in these and being mainly materialistic in outlook. The Qurʾān, however, in a number of passages, describes pagans who, besides the minor deities, acknowledging Allāh as a “high god” or supreme god, and especially his function of creating

This form of belief is known to have been predominant among the Semitic peoples of a whole wide region (cf. J. Teixidor, *The pagan god*, Princeton 1977). In addition, besides Byzantine visitors or temporary residents, one or two Meccans seem to have become Christians, such as 'Uthmān b. al-Ḥuwayrith, and others are said to have been attracted to monotheism. One or two, whose business contacts were with Iraq, had some interest in Persian culture.

### 3. *Mecca and the beginnings of Islam*

Although the Qur'ānic message had from the first a universal potential, it was originally addressed to Meccans. The attraction of the message for many Meccans was due to its relevance to the moral, social and spiritual malaise which had developed in Mecca as a result of the great increase in wealth. It is thus not accidental that Mecca still remains the focus of the religion of Islam.

Muḥammad was born in Mecca into the clan of Hāshim about A.D. 570. This clan may have been more important earlier, but was not now among the very wealthy clans, and played a prominent part in the Ḥilf al-Fuḍūl, which was directed against monopolistic practices. Because Muḥammad was a posthumous child and his grandfather died when he was about eight, he was excluded by Arabian custom from inheriting anything from either. Most of his near kinsmen were engaged in trade, and Muḥammad accompanied his uncle Abū Ṭālib on trading journeys to Syria. Then he was employed as a steward by the woman merchant Khadīja and subsequently married her. This was about 595, and thereafter he seems to have continued to trade with her capital and in partnership with one of her relatives. It was no doubt his personal experience of these consequences of being an orphan which made Muḥammad specially aware of the problems facing Meccan society; and it was about 610, after he had long mediated on these matters, that the Qur'ānic revelation began to come to him.

The Qur'ān may be said to see the source of the troubles of Mecca as the materialism of many Meccans and their failure to believe in God and the Last Day. In particular, it attacked the great merchants for their undue reliance on wealth and their misuse of it by neglecting the traditional duties of the leading men to care for the poor and unfortunate. At the

same time, the Qur'ān summoned all men to believe in God's power and goodness, including his position as final Judge, and to worship him. In the years up to 614 or 615 many people responded to this summons, including sons and younger brothers of the great merchants. By 614 some of these great merchants, especially younger ones like Abū Jahl, had come to feel their position threatened by Muḥammad, since his claim to receive messages from God and the number of people attracted by his preaching might eventually give him great political authority. A movement of opposition to the new religion then appeared. The great merchants applied pressures of various kinds to Muḥammad and his followers to get them to abandon their beliefs, or at least to compromise. Some of his followers, persecuted by their own families, went to Abyssinia for a time. Muḥammad himself was able to continue preaching so long as he had the protection of his clan. About 619, however, his uncle Abū Ṭālib died and was succeeded as head of the clan by another uncle, Abū Lahab, who was in partnership with some of the great merchants and found a pretext for denying clan protection to Muḥammad. In 622, therefore, Muḥammad accepted an invitation to go to Medina where a great many people were ready to accept him as a prophet. His move from Mecca to Medina was the *Hijra* or emigration.

The greater part of the period between the *Hijra* and Muḥammad's death was dominated by the struggle between Muḥammad's supporters and the great merchants of Mecca. After some fruitless Muslim razzias against Meccan caravans, the Meccans were provoked by the capture of a small caravan under their noses, as it were, at Nakhla early in 624. Because of this they sent a relatively large force to protect a very wealthy caravan returning from Syria in March 624; and this expedition ended disastrously for them in the battle of Badr, where they lost many of their leading men by death or capture, including the leader of the expedition, Abū Jahl. Meccan affairs were guided by Abū Sufyān for the next three years. His attempt in 625 to avenge the defeat of Badr led to his having the better of the fighting at Uhud in the oasis of Medina, but he failed to disturb Muḥammad's position there. His next attempt in 627, with numerous allies, was a more ignominious failure through Muḥammad's adoption of the *khandaq* or trench and the break-up of the alliance. Abū Sufyān then seems to have worked for peace



and reconciliation with the Muslims, while other men still hoped to retrieve the fortunes of Mecca, and, for example, forcibly prevented Muḥammad and 1,600 Muslims from making the pilgrimage in 628. Nevertheless, they made the treaty of al-Ḥudaybiyya with him as with an equal. A breach of the terms of this treaty by Meccan allies led to a great Muslim expedition against Mecca with some 10,000 men. The town was surrendered almost without a blow, and all the Meccans, except a handful who were guilty of specific offences against Muḥammad or some Muslim, were assured their lives and property would be safe if they behaved honourably. For some time, Muḥammad had been aiming at reconciling the Meccans rather than crushing them by force. When, a week or two after the conquest or *fath*, it was learnt that there was a large concentration of nomads to the east of Mecca, some 2,000 Meccans took to the field with Muḥammad and helped him to gain the victory of Ḥunayn. Some of the pagan Meccans became Muslims almost at once, others only after a longer period.

A young Muslim of a Meccan family was left as governor of Mecca and it was made clear that Medina would remain the capital. The Ka'ba had for many years been the *qibla* or direction towards which all Muslims turned in prayer. At the *fath* it was purged of idols and became a centre of Islamic worship, while the Black Stone was retained as an object to be revered. The annual *Ḥajj* was retained as an Islamic ceremony, and this also gave special importance to Mecca in Islamic eyes. Its commercial activity appears to have dwindled away, perhaps largely because many of the leading men moved to Medina and subsequently found their administrative abilities fully employed in organising an empire. After the conquest of Iraq, the trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean seems to have resumed the old route by the Euphrates valley.

#### 4. Mecca from 632 to 750

Not much is heard about Mecca under the first four caliphs. 'Umar and 'Uthmān were concerned with the danger of flooding and brought Christian engineers to build barrages in the high-lying quarters. They also constructed dykes and embankments to protect the area round the Ka'ba. The first Umayyad caliph, Mu'āwiya, the son of Abū Sufyān, though mostly liv-

ing in Damascus, took an interest in his native town. He had new buildings erected, developed agriculture in the surrounding district, and improved the water-supply by digging wells and building storage dams. The work of flood prevention continued under the Umayyads. In an attempt to control the *sayl*, a new channel was dug for it and barriers were erected at different levels. Despite these improvements, the problem was not fully solved, since the Baṭḥā' was a basin with no outlet. In the course of operations, buildings on the bank of the *sayl* and adjoining the Ka'ba were taken down, and the appearance of Mecca was thus considerably altered.

For a brief period after the death of Mu'āwiya, Mecca had again some political importance as the seat of the rival caliph 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. The succession to Mu'āwiya of his son Yazīd in 611/680 was disliked by many members of Quraysh, and Ibn al-Zubayr took advantage of such feelings to build up a party of supporters in Mecca, and eventually had himself proclaimed caliph there. For a time he controlled most of Arabia and Iraq, but the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik gradually consolidated his power, and in 73/692 his general al-Ḥajjāj defeated and killed Ibn al-Zubayr, thus ending his bid for power and restoring to Umayyad rule Mecca and the other regions acknowledging the Zubayrids. In 63/682, when Ibn al-Zubayr was deep in intrigue but had not yet openly claimed the caliphate, an Umayyad army was sent to Mecca, and during its presence there the Ka'ba was partly destroyed by fire, probably through the carelessness of a supporter of Ibn al-Zubayr. Subsequently, the latter had the Ka'ba rebuilt, including the Ḥijr within it; but this change was reversed by al-Ḥajjāj. The caliph al-Walīd I is credited with the construction of galleries circling the vast courtyard round the Ka'ba, thus giving the mosque (*al-masjid al-haram*) its distinctive form. In the period of the decline of the Umayyads, in 130/747 Mecca was briefly occupied by Abū Ḥamza, a Khārījite rebel from the Yemen, but he was soon surprised and killed by an army sent by the caliph Marwān II. For most of the Umayyad period, Mecca had a sub-governor responsible to the governor of the Ḥijāz who resided at Medina. It attracted wealthy people who did not want to be involved in politics and became a place of pleasure and ease with many poets and musicians. There were also some religious scholars, but fewer than at Medina.

## II. FROM THE 'ABBASID TO THE MODERN PERIOD

### 1. *Mecca under the 'Abbasids down to the foundation of the Sharīfate (132–350/750–961)*

Although the political centre of gravity in Islam now lay in Baghdad, this period at first presents the same picture as under Umayyad rule. The *Haramayn* are as a rule governed by 'Abbasid princes or individuals closely connected with them. Sometimes Mecca and Ṭā'if were under one ruler, who was at the same time leader of the *Hajj*, while Medina had a separate governor of its own.

Arabia had, however, from the 1st century A.H. contained a number of 'Alid groups, who, as was their wont, fished in troubled waters, lay in wait as brigands to plunder the *Hajj* caravans, and from time to time hoisted their flags when they were not restrained either by the superior strength or by the bribes of the caliphs. We find al-Manṣūr (136–56/754–74) already having trouble in Western Arabia. Towards the end of the reign of al-Mahdī (156–69/774–85) a Ḥasanid, al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, led a raid on Medina, which he ravaged; at Fakhkh near Mecca, he was cut down with many of his followers by the 'Abbasid leader of the *Hajj*. The place where he was buried is now called al-Shuhadā'. It is significant that he is regarded as the "martyr of Fakhkh".

Hārūn al-Rashīd on his nine pilgrimages expended vast sums in Mecca. He was not the only 'Abbasid to scatter wealth in the holy land. This had a bad effect on the character of the Meccans. There were hardly any descendants left of the old distinguished families, and the population grew accustomed to living at the expense of others and were ready to give vent to any dissatisfaction in rioting. This attitude was all too frequently stimulated by political conditions. In the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198–218/817–33) it was again 'Alids, Ḥusayn al-Aftas and Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā, who extended their rule over Medina, Mecca and the Yemen, ravaged Western Arabia and plundered the treasures of the Ka'ba. How strong 'Alid influence already was at this time is evident from the fact that al-Ma'mūn appointed two 'Alids as governors of Mecca.

With the decline of the 'Abbasid caliphate after the death of al-Ma'mūn, a period of anarchy began in the holy land of Islam, which was frequently

accompanied by scarcity or famine. It became the regular custom for a number of rulers to be represented at the *Hajj* in the plain of 'Arafāt and to have their flags unfurled; the holy city was rarely spared fighting on these occasions. The safety of the pilgrim caravans was considerably affected; it was very often 'Alids who distinguished themselves in plundering the pilgrims.

The 'Alid cause received an important reinforcement at this time by the foundation of a Ḥasanid dynasty in Ṭabaristān. In Mecca, the repercussion of this event was felt in the appearance of two Ḥasanids, Ismā'il b. Yūsuf and his brother Muḥammad, who also ravaged Medina and Jeddah in the way that had now become usual (251/865–6).

The appearance of the Carmathians or Qarāmīta brought still further misery to the country in the last fifty years before the foundation of the sharīfate. Hard pressed themselves at the heart of the empire, the caliphs were hardly able even to think of giving active support to the holy land, and, besides, their representatives had not the necessary forces at their disposal. From 304/916 onwards the Carmathians barred the way of the pilgrim caravans. In 318/930, 1,500 Carmathian warriors raided Mecca, massacred the inhabitants by the thousand and carried off the Black Stone to Baḥrayn. It was only when they realised that such deeds were bringing them no nearer their goal – the destruction of official Islam – that their zeal began to relax and in 339/950 they even brought the Stone back again. Mecca was relieved of serious danger from the Carmathians. The following years bear witness to the increasing influence of the 'Alids in western Arabia in connection with the advance of Fatimid rule to the east and with Buyid rule in Baghdad. From this time, the Meccan 'Alids are called by the title of Sharīf, which they have retained ever since.

### 2. *From the foundation of the Sharīfate to Qatāda (ca. 350–598/960–1200)*

#### i. *The Mūsāwīs*

The sources do not agree as to the year in which Ja'far took Mecca; 966, 967, 968 and the period between 951 and 961 are mentioned. 'Alids had already ruled before him in the holy land. It is with him, however, that the reign in Mecca begins of the Ḥasanids, who are known collectively as Sharīfs,

while in Medina this title is given to the reigning Ḥusaynids.

The rise and continuance of the Sharīfate indicates the relative independence of Western Arabia in face of the rest of the Islamic world from a political and religious point of view. Since the foundation of the Sharīfate, Mecca takes the precedence possessed by Medina hitherto. How strongly the Meccan Sharīfate endeavoured to assert its independence, is evident in this period from two facts. In 365/976 Mecca refused homage to the Fatimid caliph. Soon afterwards, the caliph began to besiege the town and cut off all imports from Egypt. The Meccans were soon forced to give in, for the Ḥijāz was dependent on Egypt for its food supplies. The second sign of the Sharīfs' feeling of independence is Abu 'l-Futūḥ's (384–432/994–1039) setting himself up as caliph in 402/1011. He was probably induced to do this by al-Ḥākim's heretical innovations in Egypt. The latter, however, was soon able to reduce the new caliph's sphere of influence so much that he had hurriedly to return to Mecca where in the meanwhile one of his relatives had usurped the power. He was forced to make terms with al-Ḥākim in order to be able to expel his relative.

With his son Shukr (432–53/1039–61) the dynasty of the Mūsāwīs, i.e. the descendants of Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. came to an end. He died without leaving male heirs, which caused a struggle within the family of the Ḥasanids with the usual evil results for Mecca. When the family of the Banū Shayba (the Shaybīs) went so far as to confiscate for their private use all precious metals in the House of Allāh, the ruler of Yemen, al-Ṣulayḥī, intervened and restored order and security in the town. This intervention by an outsider appeared more intolerable to the Ḥasanids than fighting among themselves. They therefore proposed to al-Ṣulayḥī that he should instal one of their number as ruler and leave the town. He therefore appointed Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad (455–87/1063–94) as Grand Sharīf. With him begins the dynasty of:

## ii. *The Hawāshim*

(455–598/1063–1200), which takes its name from Abū Ḥāshim Muḥammad, a brother of the first Sharīf Ja'far; the two brothers were descendants in the fourth generation from Mūsā II, the ancestor of the Mūsāwīs.

During the early years of his reign, Abū Ḥāshim had to wage a continual struggle with the Sulaymānī branch, who thought themselves humiliated by his appointment. These Sulaymānīs were descended from Sulaymān, a brother of the above-mentioned Mūsā II. The reign of Abū Ḥāshim is further noteworthy for the shameless way in which he offered the suzerainty, i.e. the mention in the *khutba* as well as the change of official rite which is indicated by the wording of the *adhān*, to the highest bidder i.e. the Fatimid caliph or the Saljuq sultan. It was very unwelcome to the Meccans that imports from Egypt stopped as soon as the official mention of the Fatimid in the *khutba* gave way to that of the caliph. The change was repeated several times with the result that the Saljuq, tired of this comedy, sent several bodies of Turkomans to Mecca. The ill-feeling between sultan and Sharīf also inflicted great misery on pilgrims coming from Iraq. As the leadership of the pilgrim caravans from this country had gradually been transferred from the 'Alids to Turkish officials and soldiers, Abū Ḥāshim did not hesitate occasionally to fall upon the pilgrims and plunder them.

The reign of his successors is also marked by covetousness and plundering. The Spanish pilgrim Ibn Jubayr, who visited Mecca in 578/1183 and 580/1185, gives hair-raising examples of this. Even then, however, the Hawāshim were no longer absolutely their own masters, as over ten years before, the Ayyubid dynasty had not only succeeded to the Fatimids in Egypt but was trying to get the whole of nearer Asia into their power. The Ayyubid ruler Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (Saladin)'s brother, who passed through Mecca on his way to South Arabia, abandoned his intention of abolishing the Sharīfs, but the place of honour on the *Hajj* belonged to the Ayyubids and their names were mentioned in the *khutba* after those of the 'Abbasid caliph and the Sharīf (Ibn Jubayr). The same Ayyubid in 582/1186 also did away with the Shi'ite (here Zaydī, for the Sharīfs had hitherto been Zaydīs) form of the *adhān*, had coins struck in Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's name and put the fear of the law into the hearts of the Sharīf's bodyguard, who had not shrunk from crimes of robbery and murder, by severely punishing their misdeeds. A further result of Ayyubid suzerainty was that the Shāfi'ī rite became the predominant one. But even the mighty Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn could only make improvements in Mecca. He could

abolish or check the worst abuses, but the generally unsatisfactory state of affairs remained as before.

iii. *The rule of Qatāda and his descendants down to the Wahhābī period (ca. 596–1202/1200–1788)*

Meanwhile, a revolution was being prepared which was destined to have more far-reaching consequences than any of its predecessors. Qatāda, a descendant of the same Mūsā (see above, i.) from whom the Mūsawīs and the Hawāshim were descended, had gradually extended his estates as well as his influence from Yanbu‘ to Mecca and had gathered a considerable following in the town. According to some sources, his son Ḥanzala made all preparations for the decisive blow to the holy city; according to others, Qatāda seized the town when the whole population was away performing a lesser *‘umra* in memory of the completion of the building of the Ka‘ba by ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, which was celebrated on this day along with the festival of Muḥammad’s ascension to heaven. However it came about, Qatāda’s seizure of the town meant the coming of an able and strong-willed ruler, the ancestor of all later Sharīfs. He steadfastly followed his one ambition to make his territory an independent principality. Everything was in his favour; that he did not achieve his aim was a result of the fact that the Ḥijāz was once again at the intersection of many rival lines of political interest.

Qatāda began by ruining his chances with the great powers; he ill-treated the son of the Ayyubid al-Malik a-‘Ādil (540–615/1145–1218) in brutal fashion. He roused the ire of the caliph by his attitude to pilgrims from Iraq. He was able, however, to appease the latter and the embassy he sent to Baghdad returned with gifts from the caliph. The caliph also invited him to visit Baghdad. According to some historians, however, the Sharīf turned home again before he actually reached Baghdad. On this occasion, he is said to have expressed his policy of the “splendid isolation” of the Ḥijāz in verse, as he did in his will in prose (see Snouck Hurgronje, *Qatādah’s policy of splendid isolation*, cited in Bibl.). On the other hand, Qatāda is said to have vigorously supported an *Imām* of Ḥasanid descent in founding a kingdom in the Yemen. After the reconquest of this region by a grandson of al-‘Ādil, the Ayyubids of Egypt, Syria, and South Arabia were mentioned in the *khutba* in

Mecca along with the caliph and Sharīf. Qatāda’s life ended in a massacre which his son Ḥasan carried out in his family to rid himself of possible rivals. The Ayyubid prince Mas‘ūd, however, soon put a limit to his ambition and had Mecca governed by his generals. On his death, however, power again passed into the hands of the Sharīfs, whose territory was allowed a certain degree of independence by the rulers of the Yemen as a bulwark against Egypt.

About the middle of the 7th/13th century, the world of Islam assumes a new aspect as the result of the advent of persons and happenings of great importance. In 656/1258 the taking of Baghdad by the Mongol Hülegü put an end to the caliphate. The pilgrim caravan from Iraq was no longer of any political significance. In Egypt, power passed from the Ayyubids to the Mamluks; Sultan Baybars (658–76/1260–77) was soon the most powerful ruler in the lands of Islam. He was able to leave the government of Mecca in the hands of the Sharīf, because the latter, Abū Numayy, was an energetic individual who ruled with firmness during the second half of the 7th/13th century (652–700/1254–1301). His long reign firmly established the power of the descendants of Qatāda.

Nevertheless, the first half century after his death was almost entirely filled with fighting between different claimants to the throne. ‘Ajlān’s reign (747–76/1346–75) was also filled with political unrest, so much so that the Mamluk Sultan is said on one occasion to have sworn to exterminate all the Sharīfs. ‘Ajlān introduced a political innovation by appointing his son and future successor Aḥmad co-regent in 762/1361, by which step he hoped to avoid a fratricidal struggle before or after his death. A second measure of ‘Ajlān’s also deserves mention, namely the harsh treatment of the *mu’adhdhin* and *imām* of the Zaydīs; this shows that the reigning Sharīfs had gone over to the predominant rite of al-Shāfi‘ī and forsaken the Zaydī creed of their forefathers.

Among the sons and successors of ‘Ajlān, special mention may be made of Ḥasan (798–829/1396–1426) because he endeavoured to extend his sway over the whole of the Ḥijāz and to guard his own financial interests carefully, at the same time being able to avoid giving his Egyptian suzerain cause to interfere. But from 828/1425 onwards, he and his successors had to submit to a regular system of control as regards the allotment of the customs.

From the time of Ḥasan, in addition to the body-guard of personal servants and freedmen, we find a regular army of mercenaries mentioned which was passed from one ruler to another. But the mode of life of the Sharīfs, unlike that of other oriental rulers, remained simple and in harmony with their Arabian surroundings. As a vassal of the Egyptian sultan, the Sharīf received from him every year his *tawqīʿ* or investiture diploma and a robe of honour.

Of the three sons of Ḥasan who disputed the position in their father's lifetime, Barakāt (I) was chosen by the sultan as co-regent; twenty years later, he succeeded his father and was able with slight interruptions to hold sway till his death in 859/1455. He had to submit to the sultan, sending a permanent garrison of 50 Turkish horsemen under an *amīr* to Mecca. This *amīr* may be regarded as the precursor of the later governors, who sometimes attained positions of considerable influence under Turkish suzerainty. Mecca enjoyed a period of prosperity under Barakāt's son Muḥammad, whose reign (859–902/1455–97) coincided with that of Sultan Qāʾitbay in Egypt. The latter has left a fine memorial in the many buildings he erected in Mecca. Under Muḥammad's son Barakāt II (902–31/1497–1525), who displayed great ability and bravery in the usual struggle with his relatives, without getting the support he desired from Egypt, the political situation in the Near East was fundamentally altered by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm's conquest of Egypt in 923/1517.

Although henceforth Istanbul had the importance for Mecca that Baghdad once had, there was little real understanding between Turks and Arabs. Mecca at first experienced a period of peace under the Sharīfs Muḥammad Abū Numayy 931–73/1525–66) and Ḥasan (973–1009/1566–1601). Under Ottoman protection, the territory of the Sharīfs was extended as far as Khaybar in the north, to Ḥalī in the south and in the east into Najd. Dependence on Egypt still existed at the same time; when the government in Istanbul was a strong one, it was less perceptible, and vice-versa. This dependence was not only political but had also a material and religious side. The Ḥijāz was dependent for its food supply on corn from Egypt. The foundations of a religious and educational nature now found powerful patrons in the Sultans of Turkey. A darker side of the Ottoman suzerainty was its intervention in the administration of justice. Since the Sharīfs had adopted the Shāfiʿī *madhhab*,

the Shāfiʿī *qāḍī* was the chief judge; this office had also remained for centuries in one family. Now the highest bidder for the office was sent every year from Istanbul to Mecca; the Meccans of course had to pay the price with interest.

With Ḥasan's death, a new period of confusion and civil war began for Mecca. In the language of the historians, this circumstance makes itself apparent in the increasing use of the term *Dhawī*... for different groups of the descendants of Abū Numayy who dispute the supremacy, often having their own territory, sometimes asserting a certain degree of independence from the Grand Sharīf, while preserving a system of reciprocal protection which saved the whole family from disaster.

The struggle for supremacy, interspersed with disputes with the officials of the suzerain, centred in the 11th/17th century mainly around the 'Abādila, the Dhawī Zayd and the Dhawī Barakāt. Zayd (1040–76/1631–66) was an energetic individual who would not tolerate everything the Turkish officials did. But he was unable to oppose successfully a measure which deserves mention on account of its general importance. The ill-feeling between the Sunni Turks and the Shiʿite Persians had been extended to Mecca as a result of an order by Sultan Murād IV to expel all Persians from the holy city and not to permit them to make the pilgrimage in future. Neither the Sharīfs nor the upper classes in Mecca had any reason to be pleased with this measure; it only served the mob as a pretext to plunder well-to-do Persians. As soon as the Turkish governor had ordered them to go, the Sharīfs however gave permission as before to the Shiʿites to take part in the pilgrimage and to remain in the town. The Sharīfs likewise favoured the Zaydis, who had also been frequently forbidden Mecca by the Turks.

The further history of Mecca (down to the coming of the Wāhhābīs is a rather monotonous struggle of the Sharīfian families among themselves (Dhawī Zayd, Dhawī Barakāt, Dhawī Masʿūd) and with the Ottoman officials in the town itself or in Jeddah.

iv. *The Sharīfate from the Wāhhābī period to its end and the Suʿūdī kingdom*

Although the Wāhhābīs, puritanical followers of the reformer Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wāhhāb, had already made their influence perceptible under his

predecessors, it was Ghālib (1788–1813) who was the first to see the movement sweeping towards his territory like a flood; but he left no stone unturned to avert the danger. He sent his armies north, east and south; his brothers and brothers-in-law all took the field; the leaders of the Syrian and Egyptian pilgrim caravans were appealed to at every pilgrimage for help, but without success. During the period of the French occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), he made a rapprochement with the French there, hoping to ensure the continuance of the corn imports from Egypt upon which the Ḥijāz relied and to reduce Turkish influence there (see M. Abir, *Relations between the government of India and the Sharif of Mecca during the French invasion of Egypt, 1798–1801*, in *JRAS* [1965], 33–42). In 1799 Ghālib made a treaty with the *amīr* of al-Dir‘iyya, by which the boundaries of their territories were laid down, with the stipulation that the Wahhābīs should be allowed access to the holy territory. Misunderstandings proved inevitable, however, and in 1803 the army of the *amīr* Su‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz approached the holy city. After Ghālib had withdrawn to Jeddah, in April Su‘ūd entered Mecca, the inhabitants of which had announced their conversion. All *qubbās* were destroyed, all tobacco pipes and musical instruments burned, and the *adhān* purged of praises of the Prophet. In July, Ghālib returned to Mecca but gradually he became shut in there by enemies as with a wall. In August, the actual siege began and with it a period of famine and plague. In February of the following year, Ghālib had to submit to acknowledging Wahhābī suzerainty while retaining his own position.

The Sublime Porte had during all these happenings displayed no sign of life. It was only after the Wahhābīs had in 1807 sent back the pilgrim caravans from Syria and Egypt with their *maḥmāls*, that Muḥammad ‘Alī was given instructions to deal with the Ḥijāz as soon as he was finished with Egypt. It was not till 1813 that he took Mecca and there met Ghālib who made cautious advances to him. Ghālib, however, soon fell into the trap set for him by Muḥammad ‘Alī and his son Tusun. He was exiled to Salonika, where he lived till his death in 1816. In the meanwhile, Muḥammad ‘Alī had installed Ghālib’s nephew Yaḥyā b. Sarūr (1813–27) as Sharīf. Thus ended the first period of Wahhābī rule over Mecca, and the Ḥijāz once more became dependent on Egypt. In Mecca, Muḥammad ‘Alī

was honourably remembered because he restored the pious foundations which had fallen into ruins, revived the consignments of corn, and allotted stipends to those who had distinguished themselves in sacred lore or in other ways.

In 1827, Muḥammad ‘Alī had again to interfere in the domestic affairs of the Sharīfs. When Yaḥyā had made his position untenable by the vengeance he took on one of his relatives, the viceroy deposed the Dhawī Zayd and installed one of the ‘Abādila, Muḥammad, usually called Muḥammad b. ‘Awn (1827–51). He had first of all to go through the traditional struggle with his relatives. Trouble between him and Muḥammad ‘Alī’s deputy resulted in both being removed to Cairo in 1836. Here the Sharīf remained till 1840 when by the treaty between Muḥammad ‘Alī and the Porte the Ḥijāz was again placed directly under the Porte. Muḥammad b. ‘Awn returned to his home and rank. Ottoman suzerainty was now incorporated in the person of the *wālī* of Jeddah. Friction was inevitable between him and Muḥammad b. ‘Awn; the latter’s friendship with Muḥammad ‘Alī now proved of use to him. He earned the gratitude of the Turks for his expeditions against the Wahhābī chief Fayṣal in al-Riyāḍ and against the ‘Aṣīr tribes. His raids on the territory of the Yemen also prepared the way for Ottoman rule over it.

In the meanwhile, the head of the Dhawī Zayd, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib (1851–56), had made good use of his friendship with the Grand Vizier and brought about the deposition of the ‘Abādila in favour of the Dhawī Zayd. ‘Abd Muṭṭalib, however, did not succeed in keeping on good terms with one of the two pashas with whom he had successively to deal. In 1855 it was decided in Istanbul to cancel his appointment and to recall Muḥammad b. ‘Awn. ‘Abd Muṭṭalib at first refused to recognise the genuineness of the order; and he was supported by the Turkophobe feeling just provoked by the prohibition of slavery. Finally, however, he had to give way to Muḥammad b. ‘Awn, who in 1856 entered upon the Sharīfate for the second time; this reign lasted barely two years. Between his death in March 1858 and the arrival of his successor ‘Abd Allāh in October of the same year, there took place the murder of the Christians in Jeddah (15 June) and the atonement for it.

The rule of ‘Abd Allāh (1858–77), who was much liked by his subjects, was marked by peace at home

and events of far-reaching importance abroad. The opening of the Suez Canal (1869) meant on the one hand the liberation of the Ḥijāz from Egypt, on the other, however, more direct connection with Istanbul. The installation of telegraphic connections between the Ḥijāz and the rest of the world had a similar importance. The reconquest of the Yemen by the Turks was calculated to strengthen the impression that Arabia was now Turkish territory for ever.

The brief reign of his popular elder brother Ḥusayn (1877–80) ended with the assassination of the Sharīf by an Afghān. The fact that the aged ‘Abd Muṭṭalib (see above) was sent by the Dhawī Zayd from Istanbul as his successor (1880–82) gave rise to an obvious suspicion. Although the plebs saw something of a saint in this old man, his rule was soon felt to be so oppressive that the notables petitioned for his deposition (Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i, 204 ff.). As a result in 1881, the energetic ‘Othmān Nūrī Pasha was sent with troops to the Ḥijāz as commander of the garrison with the task of preparing for the restoration of the ‘Abādila. ‘Abd Muṭṭalib was outwitted and taken prisoner; he was kept under guard in one of his own houses in Mecca till his death in 1886.

‘Othmān Pasha, who was appointed *wālī* in July 1882, hoped to see his friend ‘Abd Ilāh, one of the ‘Abādila, installed as Grand Sharīf alongside of him. ‘Awn al-Rafīq (1882–1905) was, however, appointed (portrait in Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka*). As the *wālī* was an individual of great energy, who had ever done much for the public good and ‘Awn, although very retiring, was by no means insignificant, but was indeed somewhat tyrannical, trouble between them was inevitable, especially as they had the same powers on many points, e.g. the administration of justice and supervision of the safety of the pilgrim routes. After a good deal of friction, ‘Othmān was dismissed in 1886. His successor was Jemāl Pasha, who only held office for a short period and was succeeded by Ṣafwat Pasha. Only Aḥmad Rātīb could keep his place alongside of ‘Awn, and that by shutting his eyes to many things and being satisfied with certain material advantages. After ‘Awn’s death, ‘Abd Ilāh was chosen as his successor. He died, however, before he could start on the journey from Istanbul to Mecca. ‘Awn’s actual successor was therefore his nephew ‘Alī (1905–8). In 1908 he and Aḥmad Rātīb both lost their positions with the Young Turk Revolution.

With Ḥusayn (1908–1916–1924), also a nephew of ‘Awn’s, the last Sharīf came to power as the nominee of the young Turks in Istanbul. But for the Great War, his Sharīfate would probably have run the usual course. The fact that Turkey was now completely involved in the war induced him to declare himself independent in 1916. He endeavoured to extend his power as far as possible, first as liberator (*munqidh*) of the Arabs, then (22 June 1916) as king of the Ḥijāz or king of Arabia and finally as caliph. Very soon, however, it became apparent that the ruler of Najd, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Āl Su‘ūd, like his Wahhābī forefathers, was destined to have a powerful say in the affairs of Arabia. In September 1924 his troops took al-Ṭā‘if, and in October, Mecca. King Ḥusayn fled first to ‘Aqaba and from there in May 1925 to Cyprus. His son ‘Alī retired to Jeddah. Ibn Su‘ūd besieged this town and Medina for a year, avoiding bloodshed and complications with European powers. Both towns surrendered in December 1925.

We owe descriptions of social life in Mecca during the last decades of the pre-modern period to two Europeans, the Briton Sir Richard Burton, who as the dervish physician Mīrzā ‘Abd Allāh visited Mecca in 1853 at the time of the Pilgrimage, and the Dutchman Snouck Hurgronje, who lived in Mecca for some months during 1884–5 with the express aim of acquiring a knowledge of the daily life of the Meccans but also with a special interest, as a Dutchman, in the Jāwa or Indonesians who went as pilgrims to Mecca and who often stayed there as *muḥāwirūn*.

The institution of the pilgrimage and the ceremonies connected with the various holy sites in or near the city (see Figs. 63–6) dominated Meccan life, many of its citizens having specific roles concerning the religious rites and being organised in special guilds, such as the *zamzamiyyūn* who distributed water from the well of Zamzam in the courtyard of the Ka‘ba; the Bedouin *mukharrijūn* or camel brokers, who arranged transport between Jeddah, Mecca, al-Ṭā‘if and Medina; and above all, the *muṭawwifūn* or guides for the intending pilgrims and their conductors through the various rites (*manāsik*) of the *Hajj*. These *muṭawwifūn* had their connections with particular ethnic groups or geographical regions of the Islamic world (there were, in Snouck Hurgronje’s time, 180 guides plus hangers-on who were concerned with the Jāwa pilgrims alone), and their agents (*wukalā’*) in Jeddah would take charge of the

pilgrims as soon as they disembarked. Such groups as these, together with the townspeople in general who would let out their houses or rooms, were geared to the exploitation of the pilgrims, and it was only in the rest of the year that tradesmen, scholars, lawyers, etc., could really pursue their other vocations.

At this time also, the slave trade was still of considerable importance. There were a few white Circassians (Cherkes), but much more important for hard manual labour like building and quarrying were the black negro slaves (*sūdān*), and, for domestic service, the somewhat lighter-skinned so-called Abyssinians (*hubūsh*). Despite the prohibitions of slave-trading imposed in their own colonial territories and on the high seas, Snouck Hurgronje further observed some slaves from British India and the Dutch East Indies, and the Mecca slave market was a flourishing one.

### III. THE MODERN CITY

#### 1. *Politics and administration*

‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī, was declared king of the Ḥijāz on 5 Rabī‘ I 1346/4 October 1924 following the abdication of his father the previous day, but the odds against his stabilising a collapsing situation were insurmountable. Wahhābī forces under Khālīd b. Lu‘ayy and Sulṭān b. Bijād had already occupied al-Tā‘if, where excesses had taken place, and a significant number of Meccans, in fear for their lives, had fled to Medina and Jeddah. Since, unlike other Ḥijāzī cities, Mecca had no walls, and since King ‘Alī’s “army” probably did not exceed 400 men, the monarch ordered his troops out of the capital on 14 Rabī‘ I/13 October 1924 to take up new positions in Baḥra, about half-way between Mecca and Jeddah. The next morning, the city was looted, not by the Ikhwān (Wahhābīs) but by local Bedouin who found it unguarded. ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Āl Su‘ūd, the sultan of Najd and its Dependencies, was in al-Riyāḍ and had ordered Khālīd b. Lu‘ayy and Ibn Bijād not to enter Mecca by force before his own arrival, for fear of further savagery in Islam’s holiest city. However, when Khālīd and Ibn Bijād found that the enemy had fled, they decided to move. On 17 Rabī‘ I/16 October, by which time the Bedouin had left, Ibn Bijād ordered four Ikhwān from Ghatghaṭ to enter the shuttered city without weapons and wearing *iḥrām* clothing. As they traversed the deserted

streets, they read a proclamation annexing the city and guaranteeing the safety of its inhabitants. Slowly the citizenry began to re-emerge. On the following day, Khālīd and Sulṭān led their forces, all *muḥrimūn*, into the holy city to the *Ḥaram*, where the ‘*umra*’ was performed. There was some sporadic destruction of water pipes, tobacco supplies, Sharīfian property and domed tombs, and the Ikhwān delivered sermons. Among the revered antiquities destroyed was the reputed birthplace of the Prophet and two houses revered as those of Khadīja and of Abū Bakr. But on the whole, good order was kept. As a Su‘ūdī official observed, the Ikhwān entered Mecca saying “*Lā ilāha illā Allāh*” and “*Allāhu Akbar*”, not fighting and killing. Khālīd b. Lu‘ayy was “elected” *amīr* and promptly installed himself in the Sharīfian reception room to receive the submission of the civil and religious notables.

The *amīr* of Mecca served unaided for a month-and-a-half, and had to confront both domestic and international problems almost at once. On 6 Rabī‘ II 1343/4 November 1924, the consuls resident in Jeddah (British, Dutch, French, Persian and Italian), who no doubt anticipated an immediate Su‘ūdī advance on Jeddah, sent Ibn Lu‘ayy a letter addressed to Sulṭān ‘Abd al-‘Azīz holding the Najdīs responsible for the safety of the subjects and citizens of their several countries but also indicating their neutrality in the ongoing conflict with the reduced Sharīfian kingdom. Ibn Lu‘ayy forwarded it on to the sultan. Ibn Lu‘ayy also received a rather treasonable communication of 7 Rabī‘ II/5 November from the Ḥijāz National Party in Jeddah. This group, which was nominally led by Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Sarrāj, the *muftī* of Mecca, who reputedly had been the only official of al-Ḥusayn’s government who had been willing to stand up to him in debate, had been transformed into King ‘Alī’s cabinet. Following Baker’s account, we learn that they nevertheless, secretly, wrote to Ibn Lu‘ayy seeking some accommodation. Ibn Lu‘ayy responded on 20 Rabī‘ II/18 November curtly, “We, the Muslims, have no aim but to subject ourselves to God’s orders and to love those who carry out those orders even if he be an Abyssinian negro, to fight the *kuffār*... or the *mushrikīn*... As God said (LVIII, 22) in his Holy Book... ‘Thou wilt not find those who believe in God and the last day loving those who resist God and His Prophet even though they be their fathers, sons, brothers or kin’... if you look at our own situation



and consider our actions you will see that this is our way of defending Islam.” He enclosed a copy of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s proclamation to the people of Jeddah and Mecca, suggesting an international conference on the future of al-Ḥijāz and meanwhile assuring security for all. The Ḥijāz committee responded to the effect that, since al-Ḥusayn had gone and since King ‘Alī and the Party accepted the same kind of Islam that Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz believed in, there was no reason to continue fighting. They asked to send delegates to Mecca so that a truce could be signed pending the decision of the international conference. Khālīd gave them no encouragement; he wrote on 22 Rabi‘ II/20 November, “God has already purified the Holy *Haram* by ridding it of Ḥusayn... We shall oppose all those who continue to support ‘Alī.” Muḥammad Ṭawīl, who was the real power in the Ḥijāz National Party, nevertheless, requested permission to send a delegation; Khālīd agreed, and the delegation went to Mecca the next day. Any lingering doubt as to Wahhābī intentions was removed by the ultimatum which Khālīd gave his visitors. They could arrest ‘Alī, get him out of the country, or join the Wahhābīs in seizing Jeddah.

Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had left al-Riyāḍ with an army of 5,000 sedentary Arabs on 13 Rabi‘ II 1343/11 November 1924 for Mecca and arrived there in remarkably fast time on 8 Jumādā I/5 December. Upon his departure from al-Riyāḍ he had issued a proclamation on his purposes in going to Mecca. He also sent an advance party of three close advisors, Dr. ‘Abd Allāh al-Damlūjī (from Mosul), Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Āl Sulaymān (from ‘Unayza in al-Qaṣīm, Najd), and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ Wahba (of Egyptian origin) to study the situation in Mecca and to assist in reassuring the population. Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ reports that he delivered a number of speeches to ulema, merchants and government employees in various meetings. He stressed that ‘Abd al-‘Azīz would reform corruption, end the isolation of the Ḥijāz from the mainstream of the Muslim world and put the administration of the country, and especially of the Ḥaramayn, on a sound basis. These speeches probably helped; in any case, just before ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s arrival, Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ received a letter from the director of the Egyptian *takīyya*, Aḥmad Ṣābir, congratulating him on one of them.

Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz himself reached al-Ṭā’if on 6 Jumādā I/3 December, changed into *ihram*, entered

the city and then, by the Bāb al-Salām, entered the sacred mosque. No member of his house had prayed there since 1227–8/1812. Ibn Su‘ūd eschewed the Sharīfian palaces and instead set up his camp outside the city in al-Shuhadā’, where for two weeks he received all and sundry. Universal report is that his humility, his unpretentiousness, his sincere apologies for what had happened at al-Ṭā’if and his rejection of sycophancy (to those who tried to kiss his hand he said that his custom was only to shake hands) combined to win local hearts. The proclamation that he had issued on 12 Jumādā I 1343/9 December when he entered the city had already made a favourable impression. Article 4 was as follows: “Every member of the ulema in these regions and each employee of al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf or *muṭawwif* with a clear title shall be entitled to his previous entitlement. We will neither add to it nor subtract anything from it, with the exception of a man against whom people bring proof of unsuitability for a post, for unlike the past situation, such practices will be forbidden. To whomever has a firm previous claim on the *bayt al-māl* of the Muslims, we will give his right and take nothing from him.”

Having established some rapport with the citizens of Mecca, Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz now took command of his forward troops located at al-Raghāma about 4 km/2½ miles east of Baḥra. The governance of the city rested still with Ibn Lu’ayy, but ‘Abd al-‘Azīz now turned the civil administration of the city over to ‘Abd Allāh al-Damlūjī and to Ḥāfiẓ Wahba on a kind of rotating basis. He then decided he would rather have al-Damlūjī close at hand and left the administration of Mecca divided so that Khālīd b. Lu’ayy handled Ikhwān and military affairs and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ civil matters. Soon thereafter the administration was further elaborated. The municipality was turned over to a Meccan, Shaykh Aḥmad al-Subaḥī, and an embryonic consultative council was established under the chairmanship of Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Shaybī, the keeper of the key of the Ka’ba. This simple council was the kernel of the later *Majlis al-Shūrā*. This administrative set-up continued until the capture of Jeddah a year later.

The dual amirate was not harmonious. Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ reports perpetual conflicts between himself and Khālīd. It was, he says, a conflict between Bedouin and sedentary mentalities. “He wanted to confiscate all the houses and seize their contents because their

owners had fled. Since they had only fled out of fright, I tried and in many cases succeeded in preserving them; in other cases I failed.” Smoking was a perpetual source of trouble. Ibn Lu’ayy wanted to use force on offenders; Ḥāfiz, kindness. One of the ironies was that although smoking had been banned, cigarettes were taxed.

There were other problems. King ‘Alī, attempts at reconciliation having failed, stopped all supplies going from Jeddah to Mecca. Since 300–400 camel loads a day were needed, the situation became very strained. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Shaybī wrote to King ‘Alī as follows: “How far do your deeds differ from the statement of God. What is the reason for stopping our food? We are not responsible for the Nejdī Army entering Mecca; you are, for the following reasons (i) you did not settle differences with the Sultan of Nejd, (ii) when the Nejd army entered Taif we asked you to evacuate our families and belongings, but you refused. You promised to protect us but you ran away. When you came to Mecca we asked you and your father to protect us... and again you ran away... we would like to ask your Highness if the neighbours of the House of God are animals. We beg your Highness to leave us and Jeddah.” (quotation from Baker). ‘Alī sent one of his dilapidated aircraft to drop a leaflet in reply saying that he had left in order to prevent a repetition of the *émeutes* in al-Tā’if. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s response to him was more concrete. He sent the Ikhwān to capture Rābiḡh and al-Līth thus (a) giving them something to do; (b) breaking the blockade; and (c) cutting the communications between Jeddah and Medina.

In fact, the situation in Mecca improved while that in Jeddah slowly deteriorated. Not only did Meccans begin to return home, but native Juddāwīs themselves began to arrive in Mecca. The superior administration in Mecca was a noticeable factor. In April an interesting visitor arrived, Comrade Karīm Khān Ḥakimoff, the Soviet consul in Jeddah. He had been granted permission by King ‘Alī to mediate and arrived with his Persian colleague. They were of course received by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. Reportedly, Ḥakimoff characterised the hostilities as resulting from imperialist plots, but he did get permission for Fu’ād al-Khaṭīb, King ‘Alī’s foreign minister, to come and negotiate. On 2 May, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz met with al-Khaṭīb at a coffee shop midway between the warring lines. The sultan never wavered: the former King al-Ḥusayn now in ‘Aqaba was still really running affairs;

even if he were not, King ‘Alī was indistinguishable from him; both had to go.

The sieges of Medina and Jeddah dragged on, but the approaching *Ḥajj* season of 1344/June–July 1925 began to occupy ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s attention. Despite the difficulty that the siege of Jeddah imposed, he was anxious for the *Ḥajj* to go well. He announced that Rābiḡh, al-Līth and al-Qunfudha were official pilgrim ports and sent out a general invitation (*nida’ ‘amm*) to all Muslims which incidentally indicated that charitable contributions and economic development projects would be welcome.

This was the year that Eldon Rutter, an English Muslim, made the pilgrimage and left a first-hand account thereof. Of course, the number who came was very small. His *muṭawwif* claimed normally to have had some 1,000 plus clients, but this year he had only Eldon Rutter. The Englishman estimated that the total number who came was approximately 70,000, of whom he thought some 25–30,000 were Najdīs. They camped apart, and Rutter notes that they took no notice of the tobacco that was on sale everywhere. “It is the smoking... which is unlawful, not the selling of it!” At ‘Arafāt, while returning toward his tent from a visit to Maṣjid Namira (also known as Maṣjid Ibrāhīm and Maṣjid ‘Arafa), Rutter and his companions “passed the burly figure of Ibn Sa’ūd, dressed in a couple of towels and bestriding a beautiful Nejd horse which looked rather like a little animated rocking horse under his long form. He was attended by four mounted guards carrying rifles.” Another of Rutter’s vivid descriptions is that of the break-up of the pilgrim throng at ‘Arafāt: “Far out on the northern side of the plain rode the scattered hosts of the Nejd Ikhwān – dim masses of hosting camelry, obscurely seen in the falling dusk. Here and there in the midst of the spreading multitude, a green standard, born aloft, suddenly flashed out from the dust-cloud, only to disappear the next moment behind the obscuring screen, which rose in spreading billows from beneath the feet of the thousands of trotting deluls.” There were also Wahhābīs riding as police against the returning crowd on the look-out for thieving, which was much less that year because potential thieves knew that the Wahhābīs would apply Islamic law literally and promptly. The Najdī flag was flying over the hospital at Munā, where ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had pitched his tent on the “cope-stoned earthen platform where the tents of the Sharīf of Mekka

were formerly pitched at this season.” All guests, including Rutter, were received by the sultan, and he rose to greet each and every one. By this time, the sultan had apparently settled for more comfortable quarters when in the city. Rutter mentions passing his residence in al-Abṭaḥ (al-Mu‘ābada), a spacious well-built mansion which belonged to ‘Umar al-Saqqāf and over which the green flag flew. Rutter met with ‘Abd al-‘Azīz a number of times, learned that he personally approved the editorials in the new official journal, *Umm al-Qurā*, and on one occasion heard the king say that his three concerns were Allāh, “my beloved” Muḥammad and the Arab nation.

In short, despite occasional harassment of foreign pilgrims by the Ikhwān, the pilgrimage was a brilliant success for the new régime. The numbers who came were obviously small but the organisation was excellent. Glowing reports filtered back to home countries, and the bogey-man image of the Wahhābī leader began to recede.

Meanwhile, the sieges were dragging on to their end. Rutter describes one aerial attack in which the Sharīfian bombs were dropped on the hills bordering al-Mu‘ābada. He opines that they were probably aimed at the house in al-Abṭaḥ. The result was not impressive; the straw hut of a Takrūnī (west African) was destroyed, and an old woman was slightly wounded in the leg. Autumn brought visitors. Philby on a personal mission was received by the sultan at al-Shumaysī on the edge of the sacred territory. Sir Gilbert Clayton, who was negotiating with ‘Abd al-‘Azīz at his camp in Baḥra, noted in his diary for 22 Rabī‘ I/21 October the arrival of a Persian delegation. Led by Mīrzā ‘Alī Akbar Khān Bahmān, the Persian minister in Egypt, and Mīrzā Ḥabīb Khān Huwayda, the consul-general of Persia in Palestine, its function was to investigate alleged Wahhābī desecration and destruction of shrines in Mecca and Medina. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz received them most cordially and sent them on to Mecca by car. The sultan said he welcomed the investigation because the charges were false. Incidentally, Clayton indicated in his diary (19 October 1925) his belief that Ibn Su‘ūd could have captured Jeddah whenever he wanted, but that he was going slowly because, *inter alia*, he wanted “to gauge more fully the effect which his attack on the Holy Places and his capture of Mecca has had on the Moslem world in general and especially in India and Egypt.” In any case, by the middle of November 1925, large numbers of

Wahhābīs began to arrive in groups ranging from half-a-dozen to several hundred. The wadi from Jabal al-Nūr to the city was crowded with them and many were sent on to the front. Clearly, the sultan was preparing to storm Jeddah, but it turned out not to be necessary. Medina surrendered on 19 Jumādā I 1344/5 December 1925, followed two weeks later by Jeddah. On 20 Jumādā II 1344/5 January 1926, certain notables in Jeddah formally approached the sultan of Najd to ask him if he would also become king of the Ḥijāz, hoping by this device to maintain the integrity of the Ḥijāz. When they had left, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz convened the ulema and other notables. They approved. On 22 Jumādā II/7 January in Mecca, Ibn Su‘ūd released a formal statement of his intentions pointing out that there had been almost no response to his appeal for a conference to discuss the problem of the Ḥijāz. “So as I find that the Islamic World is not concerned about this important matter, I have granted them [the people of the Ḥijāz] the freedom to decide what they will.” The wishes of the “people” manifested themselves the same evening in the form of a petition confirming their support for ‘Abd al-‘Azīz: “We acknowledge you, Sultan Abdulaziz, as king of Hejaz in accordance with the Holy Book and the *Ṣunna* of the Prophet and that Hejaz will be for the Hejazeen...Mecca will be the capital and we shall be under your protection”. Rutter was present in the Great Mosque for the *mubāya‘a*: “Upon a Friday [23 Jumādā II/8 January] after the midday prayer, I mounted the crumbling stone steps of the school el Madrassat el Fakhrīya, which stands beside the Bāb Ibrāhīm, in order to visit an acquaintance who was employed as a schoolmaster there. As we sat sipping tea beside a window looking into the Haram, we were surprised to observe a sudden rush of people toward Bāb es-Safā. They were evidently attracted by something which was happening near that gate. Rising, we descended the steps and passed into the Haram. Making our way toward Bāb es-Safā, we came upon a great press of Mekkans and Bedouins. In the midst of them was one of the Haram preachers [probably ‘Abd al-Malik Murād] perched upon a little wooden platform or pulpit, apparently addressing the multitude. Elbowing our way into the crowd, we were able to see Ibn Sa‘ūd sitting in a prepared place near the gate. The preacher was addressing to the Sultān a speech of adulation. Presently, he made an end, and then several of the

Ashrāf, the Shaybi, and other prominent Meccans in turn, took the Sultan's hand and acknowledged him King of the Hijāz. Ibn Sa'ūd received these advances with his usual cordial smile, and upon the conclusion of the ceremony he rose, and accompanied by his armed guards, made his way slowly through the crowd towards the Kaaba and proceeded to perform the towāf. Having completed this, and prayed two prostrations in the Makām Ibrāhīm, he left the Mosque and went to the Hamīdiya where he held a general reception... Suddenly one of the old guns in the Fort of Jiyād [Ajyād], boomed and was immediately followed by another on Jebel Hindi. The troops of the garrison were saluting the new king. A hundred and one times the peace of the city was broken." Rutter reports some hostile reactions to the elevation of Su'ūdī, as some Meccans dubbed their king, but contrasts most favourably the honest treatment received by pilgrims under the new dispensation.

The hostilities over, the new king of the Hijāz remained in his new capital, Mecca, and addressed himself to these major issues: the *Hajj* of 1344/1926, the Islamic conference which he had previously announced and which was scheduled in conjunction with it, and the administration of the kingdom. The *Hajj* that summer attracted 191,000, approximately an eight-fold increase over the previous year, but the Holy City was also the scene of the rather serious *maḥmal* affair. The Egyptian *maḥmal* arrived in the usual way with the *kiswa* or covering, with the retinue of civilians and soldiers including their flags and bugles, and with contributions of cash and kind much of which represented *waqf* income dedicated to the *Ḥaram* from Egypt. The Egyptian *amīr al-Hajj* was Maḥmūd 'Azmī Pasha. The whole procedure was almost programmed for trouble, given the cultural differences of the groups involved and especially the religious sensitivities of the Ikhwān. As Lacey observed: "The glorious shoulder-borne litter smacked to them of idolatry [and] its retinue of armed guards piqued their pride...". In the event, the Ka'ba was dressed in its new Egyptian *kiswa* without incident, and the ceremonies were proceeding normally, but on the eve of 9 Dhū 'l-Hijja (some report the day of 10 Dhū 'l-Hijja) the situation exploded. One report is that the spark was some music (= probably bugling) played by the Egyptian soldiers. Other reports indicate that the Najdī Bedouin simply saw

the *maḥmal* and began to shout out that it was an idol. Whatever the precise trigger event was, in the crowded mass of pilgrims between Munā and 'Arafāt some Ikhwān tried to interfere with the Egyptians and began to throw stones at them. The Egyptians responded with gunfire reportedly at the order of Maḥmūd 'Azmī. In all, some 25 men and women pilgrims were killed and 100 wounded; 40 camels were also killed; but the carnage could easily have been much worse. Just as the Ikhwān were preparing a massive assault on the Egyptians, King 'Abd al-'Azīz rode up and at considerable personal risk managed to separate the two groups and to cool the hot blood. Once order was restored, the king ordered his son Fayṣal to guard the Egyptians with a detachment of Su'ūdī troops until the end of the ceremonies. When the *Hajj* had ended, he ordered Mushārī b. Su'ūd b. Jalwī to escort the Egyptians to Jeddah with a detachment of Su'ūdī troops, and as a cable of 16 Dhū l-Hijja 1344/from 'Abd Allāh Āl Sulaymān in Mecca to Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, then serving as the king's envoy in Cairo, makes clear, the departure of the Egyptians from Mecca was scarcely willing, but the king was going to have them out, willing or not. As Lacey had summarised it, "the *Maḥmal* never trooped again in glory through the streets of Mecca", but the incident further soured Egypto-Su'ūdī relations to the degree that diplomatic relations were not established between the two countries as long as King Fu'ād reigned in Cairo.

Since the fall of the city to his arms, King 'Abd al-'Azīz had repeatedly proclaimed his intention to convene an Islamic conference in Mecca to which delegates from all Muslim countries and communities would be invited. The stated idea was to discuss the governance of Islam's holiest sites and ceremonies, but the basic motivation was to put to rest the fears of Muslims beyond Arabia over the capability of a Su'ūdī-Najdī-Wahhābī régime to care for the *Ḥaramayn* responsibly. In the event, the conference probably attained its goal, but the results were passive not active. Egypt had declined to attend, and the *maḥmal* incident was most distracting. The delegates who did attend debated with great freedom a wide variety of religious subjects but to no very particular point. On the underlying political issue, it was crystal-clear that 'Abd al-'Azīz was going to run the country and there was no indication of any incapacity on his part. That issue was settled without being raised.

The series of *ad hoc* administrative arrangements made by the king during and after the conquest now gave way to more permanent arrangements. It should be remembered that until the unification of the “dual kingdom” (on 25 Rajab 1345/29 January 1927 ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had been proclaimed king of Najd and its Dependencies) as the Kingdom of Su‘ūdī Arabia in 1932, and even beyond that time, the Ḥijāz and especially its capital Mecca received most of the government’s attention. It is not always easy to separate what applied: (a) to Mecca as a city, (b) to the Ḥijāz as a separate entity including Mecca, and (c) to both the Kingdom of the Ḥijāz and the Kingdom of Najd, equally including Mecca. The evolution of advisory or quasi-legislative councils was as follows. Immediately after the Su‘ūdī occupation of Mecca (7 Jumādā I 1343/19 December 1924), ‘Abd al-‘Azīz convened a partly elected, partly appointed body of notables called *al-Majlis al-Ahlī* (the national council). It was elected and then it was re-elected on 11 Muḥarram 1344/1 August 1925. Representation was on the basis of town quarters, and included prominent merchants and ulema, but in addition, the king appointed a number equal to the elected members and also appointed the presiding officer; indeed, no elected member could take his seat without ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s approval. After the second election, this group came to be known as *Majlis al-Shūrā* (consultative council). After the Islamic conference ended, this arrangement was significantly changed. A national (Ḥijāzī) council – a kind of constituent assembly – with 30 Meccan members was convened to study an organic statute (*al-Ta‘līmāt al-Asāsiyya li ‘l-Mamlaka ‘l-Ḥijāziyya*). Known as *al-Jam‘iyya al-Umūmiyya* (the general assembly), it accepted on 21 Šafar 1345/31 August 1926 Ibn Su‘ūd’s draft of the organic statute which specified that Mecca was the capital of the kingdom, that administration of the kingdom was “in the hand of King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz,” and that a *nā‘ib ‘āmm* (deputy general, viceroy) would be appointed on behalf of the king. Fayṣal b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the king’s second living son, was appointed *nā‘ib ‘āmm*. Under his chairmanship and in accordance with the statute, a new *Majlis al-Shūrā* of 13 members (five from Mecca), this time all appointed, was convened. Various administrative and budgetary matters were routinely discussed by it. The *Majlis al-Shūrā*, no matter how limited its real powers were, did play a major role as a sounding board in the Ḥijāz for vari-

ous government policies. It has never been dissolved and even under the very much changed situation caused by oil price increases in 1973, it apparently still meets ceremonially from time to time.

One should also note that the *Majlis al-Shūrā*, meeting in Mecca on 16 Muḥarram 1352/11 May 1933, recognised the king’s oldest living son, Su‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, as heir designate (*walī al-‘ahd*). The prince himself was not present, and Fayṣal b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz received the *bay‘a* on his behalf. The decree was read aloud in the *Ḥaram* and the ministers, notables and ordinary people filed by to present their congratulations. The organic statute also established arrangements for local government and national departments; all of the latter were in Mecca. Nor did this situation change radically with the proclamation of the unified Kingdom of Saudi Arabia in 1351/1932. As late as 1952, the Minister of Health and Interior (H.R.H. Prince ‘Abd Allāh b. Fayṣal b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz) and the ministry officials were in Mecca, as was the Ministry of Finance under ‘Abd Allāh Āl Sulaymān Āl Ḥamdān and the Directorates General of Education, P.T.T., Public Security, *awqāf*, and other central government agencies. It may be noted here that Fayṣal was named Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1349/1930, but also that his father continued to make all important decisions in all matters as long as he was vigorous.

Mecca was one of only five cities in the Ḥijāz that had had a municipality in Ottoman and Ḥāshimite times (for a plan of Mecca and the Ḥaram at these times, see Fig. 61). The municipality was re-established by the Su‘ūdī regime in 1345/1926 with its own organisational structure. Three years later, its powers and responsibilities were increased and its name was changed to *Amānat al-‘Āyima*. According to Hamza, the underlying idea of the king was to turn purely local matters over to local people. Further organisational adjustments were made in 1357/1938. The budget was in reality under the control of the king and his deputy general, but formally it was under the purview of the of the *Majlis al-Shūrā*. Once the budget was approved, the municipality apparently enjoyed a certain independence in administering it. It was able to levy local fees (*rusūm*). Figures are very incomplete, but in 1345/1926–7 the municipal budget totaled SR 158,800 and in 1369/1949–50 SR 4,034,000. Municipality responsibilities included city administration, cleaning, lighting, supervision

of establishments, roads, installation of awnings, condemnation and destruction of properties, land registration, price regulation (for necessities), cleanliness of food preparers, slaughter houses, weights and measures, supervision of elections of guilds of industries and trades and of their activities, supervision of burial procedures, kindness to animals and fines. No other municipality in the land had such broad responsibilities.

The one area where Najdīs played an important role in the Meccan scene after the conquest was in organised religion. As early as Jumādā II 1343/January 1925, conferences between the Wahhābī ulema of Najd and the local ulema of Mecca were going forward with minimal difficulty. Shortly after the conquest, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz had transferred ‘Abd Allāh b. Bulayhid (1284–1359/1867 to 1940–1) from the *qaḍā’* of Ḥā’il to that of Mecca, where he remained for about two years. He was succeeded by ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. Philby, writing around 1369–70/1950, referred to him as the “archbishop of Mecca” and Aramco still reported him to be chief *qāḍī* in Dhu’l-Qa’da 1371/July 1952. Yet care was taken not to alienate the local ulema. For example, when the Ḥijāzī *Hay’at al-Amr bi’l-Ma’rūf wa’l-Nahy ‘an al-Munkar* was established in 1345/1926, ‘Abd Allāh al-Shaybī was made chairman of the committee. The function of the *Hay’a* was in general to supervise morals, encourage prayer, control muezzins and *imāms* of mosques, and report infractions of the *sharī’a*. In general, the influence of the ulema was high and they were deferred to. The king could not dispose of *sharī’a* questions on his own and regularly referred them to either a *qāḍī* or to the full “bench” of the Meccan or Riyāḍī ulema. The king’s direct influence over this largely autonomous group was through the power of appointment, but he was of course influential indirectly.

Mecca was one of only three cities in the Ḥijāz that had had police at the time of the Su‘ūdī take-over; however, since King ‘Alī had taken them all to Jeddah as part of his military forces, none were immediately available. According to Rutter, a squad of powerful black slaves belonging to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz kept order. Mecca was also the seat of police administration. In 1953–5, a new government building was constructed in Jarwal as the main headquarters for the police, and in 1385/1965–6 a police emergency

squad was established which responded to the emergency telephone number of 99. In the first decades after the conquest, police were almost all recruited from ‘Asīr and Najd. By the mid-1930s, they wore European-style uniforms and numbered 33 officers and 896 other ranks. As long as it was necessary, the police force also included a special squad called *Qalam Taftīsh al-Raqīq* (section for the inspection of slaves). Executions were usually carried out on Fridays after the noon prayer between the Ḥamīdiyya (government house) and the southern corner of the Ḥaram. Philby (*Jubilee*, 118–20) details a triple execution in 1931 over which Fayṣal presided from a window in the *majlis* of al-Ḥamīdiyya, where a group of notables had also gathered. There was a large crowd of commoners in the street. When the beheadings were over, the police tied the corpses “each with its head by its side” to the railings of the building until sundown.

There were three levels of judicial jurisdiction established by the court regulations (*nizām tashkīlāt al-mahākīm al-shar‘iyya*) issued in Ṣafar 1346/August 1927, at least up until the post-World War II period. The lowest was the summary court (*mahkamah al-umūr al-musta‘jila*) presided over by a single *qāḍī* with jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court (*mahkamah al-sharī’a al-kubrā*) had a *qāḍī* as president plus two of his colleagues. In cases involving loss of limb or execution, the sentence had to be pronounced by the full court. The appeals court sat only in Mecca and was presided over by a president and four other ulema. It functioned as a court of appeals (criminal cases) and of cassation (civil cases). Appeals have to be filed within 20 days and if the court refuses to take the case, the verdict of the lower court stands. The president, who was Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykh, also administers the whole system and supervises all courts and *qāḍīs*. There has also been, since 1350–1/1932, an inspector of courts. Notaries (sing. *kātib al-‘adl*) were instituted in 1347/1928–9.

A few other administrative notes are in order. Immediately after the conquest, the government overprinted “Sultanate of Najd and al-Ḥijāz” on the Hāshimite stamps, but Su‘ūdī ones were soon in use and the Su‘ūdī government joined the International Postal Union of Berne in 1345–6/1927. In 1357–8/1939 Mecca’s post office was one of only four (the others being at Jeddah, Medina and Yanbu’) in the

country that could handle all operations specified by the international conventions, including the telegraph. There was a daily service to Jeddah and al-Ta'if and a twice-weekly service to Medina. In 1384/1964–5, Mecca's post office, which was handling in that year's *Hajj* 350,000 letters daily, became a postal centre independent of Jeddah. There was a customs office in the city which, like its counterpart in Medina, was presumably a branch of the main office in Jeddah. *Waqf* administration in Mecca reported directly to the viceroy. By a royal decree of 27 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1354/21 March 1936 the Meccan Directorate of *Awqāf* was changed into a directorate-general to which the other *awqāf* directorates of the Hijāz would report.

As far as fire fighting is concerned, Rutter describes a reasonably effective volunteer system in use before modern systems were adopted. He comments that in case of fire “the neighbours regard it as a point of honour to render all the assistance in their power, and official notice of the occurrence is taken by the police, some of whom also turn out and help.”

One may at this point reasonably inquire as to general Meccan acceptance of Su'ūdī hegemony in the pre-oil period. Leaving aside Ikhwān discontent at the régime's alleged softness toward religious laxity in Mecca and discounting nearby tribal unhappiness (“taxing” pilgrims was no longer possible), there was general acceptance of the régime and great pleasure at the total security and basic fairness. There was also some unhappiness which doubtless increased with the very straitened circumstances concomitant with the general world-wide depression. In 1345–6/1927 Ḥusayn Ṭāhir al-Dabbāgh, whose father had been Minister of Finance both under King al-Ḥusayn and under King 'Alī and who himself headed a business house, established in Mecca an anti-Su'ūdī “Hijāz liberation organisation” called *Anjumānī Hizb al-Aḥrār*. Its basic platform opposed any monarch in the Hijāz. Ḥusayn was exiled in 1928, but he probably left behind a clandestine cell of his party which also maintained an open operation in Egypt. We get another glimpse of anti-Su'ūdī feeling in Mecca in 1936 from the report of a Muslim Indian employee of the British legation in Jeddah named Iḥsān Allāh. According to him, dissatisfaction was widespread; older conservative merchants and ulema wished for an Egyptian takeover with British support, whereas middle-aged merchants and government officials simply viewed the government as backward, a “set

of old fools”; younger businessmen, army officers, and pilots longed for an Atatürk or a Mussolini. Iḥsān notes, however, that there was no action and that the preferred way to seek relief was by working for Hijāzī interests through the *Majlis al-Shūrā*. Intelligence reports are notoriously unreliable, but it would have been surprising had there not been some level of discontent. With the coming of oil, separatist feelings doubtlessly disappeared, and Mecca participated to the full in the extraordinary development that the Kingdom enjoyed as a whole. The extraordinary events of 1979 were the only dramatic break in the standard rhythms of the city's life.

## 2. Seizure of the Ḥaram

Not since the followers of Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ seized Mecca and carried the Black Stone back to their headquarters in al-Aḥsā' had there been such an astonishing event as that which unfolded in the *Ḥaram* at dawn on Tuesday, 1 Muḥarram 1400/20 November 1979. It was of worldwide interest not only because of its intrinsic importance for one of the world's major religions, but also against the background of the Soviet-American global rivalry, of the recent revolution in Iran, and of the general religious fervour surging through the Muslim world.

The events can be quickly told. The Ḥaram may have had 50,000 people in it, which is not many for a structure designed to accommodate 300,000. It had more than usual at that hour because the day was the first of the new Islamic century and thus deserved some special observance. The *imām*, Shaykh Muḥammad b. Subayyil, had gone to the microphone to lead the prayer, but he was then pushed aside. Several dozens of men produced rifles from their robes; firing broke out, the worshippers ran, and the armed men moved quickly to seal the 29 gates. Many people were wounded in these first exchanges, and a number were killed. Meanwhile two men, subsequently identified as Juḥaymān (“little glower”) b. Muḥammad al-'Uṭaybī and Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qaḥṭānī, were at the microphone proclaiming that the latter was the *Mahdī*. The rebels, a number of whose grandfathers had been killed while fighting as Ikhwān against 'Abd al-'Azīz in 1929, who considered themselves neo-Ikhwān, and who numbered in all some 250 including women and children, let the worshippers out aside from 300-odd

who were kept as hostages. With apparent presence of mind, Shaykh Muḥammad had removed his clerical garb and made his way to a telephone in his office according to some reports – a public phone according to others – and notified the authorities of the seriousness of what was happening. He managed to slip out with the other worshippers. At the beginning of the ensuing siege, the rebels used the powerful public address system, which had speakers in the 90 m high minarets and which was designed to be heard in the streets and plazas outside the mosque, to proclaim their message that the *Mahdī* was going to usher in justice throughout earth and that the *Mahdī* and his men had to seek shelter and protection in *al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf* because they were everywhere persecuted. They had no recourse except the *Ḥaram*. Attacks on the House of Suʿūd and its alleged policies and practices were virulent; the rebels opposed working women, television, football, consumption of alcohol, royal trips to European and other pleasure spots, royal involvement in business, and the encouragement of foreigners who came to Arabia and corrupted Islamic morality. Details of names and business contracts were specified. The *amīr* of Mecca came in for particular attack. Meanwhile, Suʿūdī Arabia was alive with rumours, some officially encouraged, to the effect that Juḥaymān was a homosexual, that he was a drug addict, a drunkard, etc.

The reaction of the Suʿūdī government was hesitant at first but never in doubt. Prince Fahd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the heir designate, was out of the country attending an international conference in Tunis. Prince ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz second in line to the throne was on vacation in Morocco. The king, Khālīd b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, was awakened at seven in the morning and informed of what had happened. He immediately ordered that all communication with the outside world to be cut. The ensuing communications blackout was so total that it was reported that even Prince Fahd had been unable to find out what was going on. In Mecca a police car, which may have been the first concrete reaction, drove toward the mosque to investigate. It was promptly fired on and left. Later the *amīr* drove up to try to assess the situation, only to have his driver shot in the head. The men inside were evidently well armed, trained and ruthless. By mid-afternoon, the 600-man special security force was in Mecca and national guard, police, and army units were being airlifted in from

Tabūk in the north and Khamīs Muḥayṭ in the south. Prince Sulṭān b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Minister of Defence; Prince Nāʿif b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Minister of Interior; and Prince Turkī b. Fayṣal b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the Chief of External Intelligence, all arrived in Mecca. In al-Riyāḍ, the king had simultaneously called together the senior ulema in order to get a *fatwā* authorising the use of force in the *Ḥaram*, since force there is by definition forbidden. The *fatwā* approving the action was apparently issued immediately but not published for several days. Authority was found in the *āya* of the Qurʾān: “Do not fight them near the Holy Mosque until they fight you inside it, and if they fight you, you must kill them, for that is the punishment of the unbelievers” (II, 149).

By Tuesday evening the siege was on, and the rebels had no way to escape, despite the fact that they had secretly and ingeniously cached large supplies of weapons, ammunition and food in the mosque. Electricity and all other services to the mosque were cut, but Juḥaymān’s snipers covered the open ground around the mosque. Horrified by what was going on, some national guardsmen (*mujāhidūn*) wanted to storm the mosque, but the king had ordered that casualties be minimised. The situation was extremely delicate, for Prince Sulṭān could hardly order heavy weaponry to destroy the mosque and Bayt Allāh. Ultimately, Prince Sulṭān ordered an attack on the *masʿā* which juts out from the mosque enclosure like an open thumb from a closed fist (see plan of the *Ḥaram*). According to some, an “artillery barrage” was laid down, but when the troops advanced, they suffered heavy losses and accomplished little. There was considerable confusion on the government side and some lack of coordination among the various services. At one point, two soldiers reportedly ran firing into the courtyard in order to be shot down and die as martyrs. Others were reported to have been unhappy at being called on to fight in the mosque. Since the national guardsmen were tribal, and it had become known that the leaders of the insurrection were tribal, suspicion of the national guardsmen arose. Sulṭān tried another approach involving a disastrous helicopter attack into the courtyard. It failed; the soldiers were winched down in daylight, and most died. When government soldiers died, the rebels are said to have exclaimed *amr Allāh* (“at the order of God”), when one of their own died, they either shot or burned off his face – a job the women



mostly performed – to conceal his identity. In a very difficult situation, friendly governments including the American, French and Pakistani “were prodigal with advice, much of it conflicting” (Holder and Johns, 524). By Friday, 4 Muḥarram/23 November, however, the superiority of the government forces began to tell. Using tear gas, they forced an entrance into the mosque including the second storey, and they drove the rebel marksmen from two of the minarets. Once inside, government forces were able to rake Juhaymān’s people, and despite a desperate pillar-to-pillar defence backed by barricades of mattresses, carpets and anything else that could be found, the rebels were gradually pushed down toward the maze-like complex of basement rooms. By Monday, 7 Muḥarram/26 November the government had gained control of everything above ground. But the fighting continued in nightmarish conditions below ground even though the number of the rebels was by then much reduced. By Wednesday the courtyard had been sufficiently cleared and cleaned to broadcast prayers live on TV and to begin to calm down the city and the country.

Below ground, difficult fighting continued. The rebels were few and their supplies now scant, but accompanied in some cases by their women and children they fought desperately. Gas, flooding, and burning tires were all tried in an effort to flush them out, but without success. The fate of Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Qaḥṭānī is not clear. Some reports indicate that he was killed early in the fighting; others that, in the depths of despair, Juhaymān had shot him. With many wounded, the hour of the rebels had come. At an hour-and-a-half after midnight on Wednesday 16 Muḥarram/5 December Juhaymān led his people out. “It is said that as they emerged, many weeping and too tired to stand, muttering constantly, spat on and reviled, one of the band

turned to a National Guardsman and asked: ‘What of the army of the north?’” (Holder and Johns, 526.) But many had to be individually overpowered. Juhaymān is reported to have been kicking and struggling even as his arms were pinned. Su‘ūdī TV covered this scene, and Juhaymān “stared defiantly at the cameras, thrusting forward his matted beard, his eyes fierce and piercing like a cornered beast of prey” (Lacey, 487).

The investigation and trial of the rebels did not take long. On Wednesday a.m., 21 Šafar 1400/9 January 1980 (not following the Friday noon prayer as was customary) in eight different Saudi cities amongst which they had been divided, 63 of the rebels were beheaded. Their citizenship was as follows: Su‘ūdīs 41, Egyptians 10, South Yamanīs 6, Kuwaytīs 3, North Yamanī 1, Sudanese 1 and Iraqi 1. Twenty-three women and thirteen children had surrendered along with their men. The women were given two years in prison and the children were turned over to welfare centres. The authorities found no evidence of foreign involvement. In addition, 19 who had supplied arms were jailed, while another 38 so accused were freed. The government casualty count listed 127 troops killed and 461 wounded, rebel dead as 117, and dead worshippers as 12 or more (all killed the first morning). Popular reaction to these extraordinary events was uniformly hostile to the rebels as defilers of God and his house. The only reported approval is by other members of the ‘Utayba tribe, who reportedly admired the fact that Juhaymān had in no way buckled under during interrogation.

### 3. *Population and Society*

Consistent population figures for Mecca are not easy to find. Those that follow are perhaps suggestive:

Date	Estimated population	Source
Before Su‘ūdī-Sharīfian war	125,000	Rutter
1923	60,000	Rutter
1932	100,000*	Wahba, <i>Jaḏīra</i>
1940	80,000	<i>Western Arabia &amp; the Red Sea</i>
1953	150,000	Philby, <i>Sa‘ūdī Arabia</i>
1962	71,998	‘Abd al-Raḥmān Šādiq al-Sharīf
1970	112,000	‘Abd al-Raḥmān Šādiq al-Sharīf
1974	198,186	‘Abd al-Raḥmān Šādiq al-Sharīf
1976	200,000 plus	Nyrop

\* Excluding women

Incidentally, the population density for Mecca district (not the city) has been estimated as 12 per km<sup>2</sup>. The age distribution in the city for 1974 was estimated to be as follows (in percentage).

Age	Mecca	Kingdom of Su'ūdī Arabia
Under 10	35	37
10–29	36	30.8
30–49	22	21.4
Over 50	7	10

Given the fact that Mecca has for centuries been the centre for a pilgrimage that was often slow and tortuous, and given the desire of the pious to live and die near Bayt Allāh, it is natural and has been observed by many that the population is a highly mixed one. Faces from Java, the Indian sub-continent and sub-Saharan Africa are noticeable everywhere. Almost every cast of feature on the face of the earth can be found. And the process continues; Nyrop (140) estimated that 20% of the population consisted of foreign nationals in the early 1960s – a figure which is particularly remarkable when one reflects that the non-Muslim foreigners who flocked to other Arabian cities in that era were absent from Mecca. In a way, this has constituted an important benefit for Mecca because the city is the continual recipient of new blood. The estimated population of the city in 2005 was 1,400,000.

Outsiders have frequently complained about the people of Mecca. Nor were the early Wahhābīs least in their low opinion of Meccans. 'Abd al-'Azīz is reported to have said that he “would not take the daughters of the Sharif or of the people of Mecca or other Moslems whom we reckon as *mushrikīn*”. Philby (*Jubilee*, 126) quotes the king in 1930 as having dismissed them with, *Ahl Makka dabash* (“the people of Mecca are trash”). Nor was Philby's own opinion of them high: “In truth, the citizen of God's city, by and large, is not an attractive character: his whole life being concentrated on the making of money out of gullible people, especially pilgrims, by a studied mixture of fawning and affability.” H.R.P. Dickson reports the Bedouin view that “every foul vice prevails there.” But of course, not all reports are bad. Wahba opines that Meccans (along with Medinans) care more about the cleanliness of their houses and their bodies than do other Arabians. One might

finally note the establishment in Mecca of the *Sundūq al-Birr* (the piety fund), which was started by one family and joined in by others, including the royal family. The organisation distributes welfare support to some hundreds of needy families and also helps victims of accidents and calamities. It proved to be a model for similar funds in other cities in Su'ūdī Arabia. Actual Meccan manners and customs seem unexceptionable (as the comments above about cooperative neighbourly firefighting suggest), and Rutter, who gives many interesting details of life in Mecca just after the Wahhābī conquest, specifically states that the city is not as immoral as it is pictured and that for example, Meccans use foul language much less than do Egyptians.

Marriages were arranged by the prospective bridegrooms's mother or other female relative, who negotiated with the prospective bride's parents. Both normally give their consent. Once the dowry and other details have been agreed, the bride's parents prepare a feast to which the groom and his friends are invited. Two witnesses are required, but there is usually a crowd. After instruction by the *shaykh*, the girl's father takes the groom's hand and states that he is giving him his daughter in marriage for a dowry of the agreed amount. The groom accepts this contract and the parties are at that point married. No women are present. Neither party has seen the other unless accidentally or as children. Consummation, if the individuals are old enough, is usually about a month later at the bride's house. The same night, she is escorted quietly by her family to the groom's house, and the whole procedure ends the evening after that with a party at the groom's house to which relatives of both families male and female are invited. The sexes are, however, still segregated on this occasion. In Rutter's day there was some polygyny and many slave concubines, but little divorce. He thought Meccan women, for whom silver was the commonest jewelry, were generally fairer than the men and notes that many women could play the lute and drum. They also smoked a great deal. Prostitution was never seen by him. A week after the birth of a child, the father invites his and his wife's relatives for the ceremony naming the infant. Again, the women are upstairs and the men down. When all have assembled, the father goes up and brings the child down on a cushion and places it on the floor while saying things like *ma shā' Allāh* – but not too vigorously lest devils be attracted. The father arranges the child so that his head is

toward the Ka'ba and his feet away from it. The father kneels, says *a'ūdhu bi-Allāh min al-Shayṭān al-raǧīm*, then bends over the child's head with his mouth close to the right ear of the infant and repeats the *adhān* three times. He then says: "I name thee so-and-so." The child is now a Muslim. The guests repeat the name, invoke God's blessing, and each puts a coin under the pillow. Another person then rings an iron pestle against a brass mortar. This is the signal to the women upstairs that the child has been named. They respond with *zaghṛadāt* (trilling ululations) of joy. With that, the father picks the infant up, the guests kiss it on the cheek, and the father takes it back upstairs to the women. He redescends with a tray full of sweets. On the 40th day after birth, every child is taken to the *Haram* and placed for a moment on the threshold of the Ka'ba. Other aspects of child rearing, at least up to Rutter's time, included the use of foster mothers by the wealthy and the *ashṛāf*'s turning their male children over to Bedouin foster mothers for the three-fold purpose of developing their independent spirit, learning the "pure" language of the desert and creating an indissoluble alliance with the tribe. Up to the age of four, clothes worn are scanty and sketchy. Starting at five, boys go to *kuttābs* or, Qur'ān schools and girls are veiled. Boys are circumcised at six or seven, and female circumcision is also practised. Rutter characterises children as generally submissive and respectful. Rutter thought that life expectancy was not great because of the lack of movement of air during the heat of the long summer and because of the high humidity during the wet season (November–February). Death is marked by brief keening, after which the women friends of the family come to comfort the bereaved women. The body is washed, then carried on a bier without a coffin and placed on the pavement of the *maṭāf* in front of the door of the Ka'ba. The mourners stand, and one repeats the burial prayers. The bier is then lifted, taken out the appropriately named Jamā'iz Gate to the Ma'lā Cemetery north of the *Haram*. Mourners and even passers-by rapidly rotate in carrying the bier. Burial is in shallow graves, and the shrouds have commonly been soaked in Zamzam water. After the burial, male friends pay a brief visit of condolence to the males of the deceased's family. There are often Qur'ān readings on the 7th and 40th days after death.

As to recreation, there was little sport, but impromptu wrestling and foot races sometimes occurred. Sing-

ing, the lute, the reed pipe and drums were popular both in homes and in the open air coffee houses just outside of town, but all music was discouraged by the Najdī puritans. "The club of the Mekkans," wrote Rutter, "is the great quadrangle of the Haram. Here friends meet by accident or appointment, sit and talk of religious or secular matters, read, sleep, perform the towāf in company, have their letters written (those of them who are illiterate) by the public writers who sit near Bāb es-Salām, or feed the sacred pigeons." There are, incidentally, many pigeons and they enjoyed a beneficial *waqf* for the supply of the grain. They had drinking troughs and two officials to serve them, one to dispense their grain and the other to fill the water troughs. Popular belief is that no bird ever perches on the roof of the Ka'ba. Rutter himself says that in months of sleeping on a roof overlooking the Ka'ba, even when the courtyard and the *maqāms* of the *imāms* were covered with birds, the roof of the Ka'ba was bare. Another popular belief concerns those who fall asleep in the *Haram*. Should their feet point toward the Ka'ba, they are sharply turned around to conform with custom. There were other pleasures. One of the greatest was repairing to the outdoor, half-picnic, half-tea or coffee house sites out of town. Rutter describes one in a ravine at the southeast end of Ajyād where a small stream of clear water often flows. Many groups would go there with samovars and waterpipes (*shīshas*). At sunset, after performing ablutions in the stream, all would pray. There was a singer, some of whose lays were religious, others, amorous. Along with these latter went clapping and dancing. In pre-Wahhābī times, alcohol may have been served and pederasty practiced. Incidentally, he comments that King al-Ḥusayn had already stopped the open drinking and prostitution of Ottoman times. Rutter also provides an interesting account of a visit to the oasis and farms of al-Ḥusayniyya about 20 km southeast of the city (and see Nallino's reference to similar visits to al-Sanūsiyya, 20 km/12 miles northeast of the capital). He also paints a picture of how Meccans spend a week or two on the upland (2,000 m/6,500 feet) plain of al-Hada overlooking the escarpment to the west of al-Ṭā'if. The largest house there belonged to the Ka'ba key-keeper, al-Shaybī. Religious occasions also formed part of the rhythm of participation in the life of the city. Twice yearly in Rajab and Dhu 'l-Qa'da there occurs the ritual of washing the inside of the Ka'ba. These occasions constitute major festivals. All

the important people and important visiting pilgrims attend and a big crowd gathers. Al-Shaybī provides the water in a large bottle and brooms which the dignitaries use for the purpose. There are some distinctly un-Islamic folk practices, such as people washing themselves in the used washing water and actually also drinking it. During Ramaḍān, there is much recitation of the Qurʾān. One hears it as one walks down the street. Purely secular “clubs” also existed in the form of coffee houses which provided tea, light food and *shīshas*. One of their characteristics is the high (about 1 m) woodframed platforms about 2 m long with rush-work surface. Characteristically, the mat work is done by Sudanese. These high mats are used as chairs, on which three or four can sit, or used as beds. The cafés have linen available if the latter use is required. These establishments are open day and night. Al-Kurḍī indicates that there were two Ottoman-era *ḥammāms*, but that the first, which had been near Bāb al-ʿUmra, was torn down to make way for the mosque expansion and the second, in al-Qashāshiyya quarter, was closed – a victim no doubt of private residential baths and showers.

Finally, some mention must be made of slaves. King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz had agreed as early as 1345/1927 to cooperate with the British government in suppressing the international slave trade, but slavery as such was not outlawed in Suʿūdī Arabia until 1962. In 1946 Ḥāfiẓ Wahba described it as a reasonably flourishing institution. Mecca was the largest slave market in Arabia – possibly because it was secure from prying non-Muslim eyes. Meccans trained male slaves (sing. *ʿabd*) and female slaves (sing. *jāriya*) well for household duties, and Wahba quotes prices as being £60 for a male and £120 for a female. Ethiopians were considered the best because they were more loyal and more sincere in their work. He indicates that they worked mostly in domestic chores or in gardens, but that Bedouin chiefs also acquired them as bodyguards. *Jāriyas* he notes were also used for other things. Manumission is an act of piety, and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ says that hardly a master died who did not free some of his slaves and leave them a legacy. Apparently, non-slave servants were very difficult to find, and Shaykh Ḥāfiẓ opined that a sudden prohibition of slavery would cause a revolution. He also notes that the trade was declining.

The coming of the Suʿūdī régime also had an important impact on the top of the social structure in

that the privileged position formerly held by the *sharīfs* was eliminated. Merchants, ulema and *muṭawwifūn* stood high on the local social scale, with pride of place perhaps going to the Shayba family.

Because of the cosmopolitan nature of the population, city quarters seem not to have had quite the same degree of near water-tight ethnic or religious compactness that is found in some other cities, but quarters did and do exist. Some generalised comments applying mostly to the pre-oil period follow. Jarwal, an extensive mixed area northwest of the *Haram*, was the site of many offices and the garages of motor transport companies. It is also the quarter in which Philby lived, the quarter where ʿAbd Allah Āl Sulaymān, the Minister of Finance under King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, had his palace, and the quarter in which immigrants from west and central Africa used to live – mostly in hovels. Writing in the early 1960s, al-Kurḍī indicates that the Jarwal and al-Misfala quarters had heavy concentrations of *bidonvilles* inhabited by poor Sudanese and Pakistanis. Their shanty dwellings were, however, being replaced by modern buildings. Al-Shubayka, to the west and a little south of the *Haram*, was, pre-World War II, mainly populated by Central Asian, Indian and East Indian *muṭawwifūn*. Ajyād, southeast of the *Haram*, was the old Ottoman quarter sometimes called “government quarter.” It continued in Suʿūdī times to contain a number of important institutions. Ajyād is dominated by an imposing-looking Ottoman fort, Qalʿat Ajyād, which is perched on the heights to the south of it. The quarter is said to have the best climate and the best views in the city. It was also the location of most of the better older houses and hotels. Pre-oil city quarters numbered 15 in all. There are also eleven modern outlying quarters. Some of these are dubbed *ḥayy*; others, *ḥāra*; and the last three *maḥalla*. Each quarter has an *ʿumda* as its administrative head.

The importance and centrality of the *Haram* dictated that areas immediately adjacent to it were of high importance and prestige, at least as long as the pilgrim business was the main source of revenue. Thus before the extension of the mosque, there were a number of *sūqs* which surrounded it or nearly so. These included al-Suwayqa just north of the northern corner which was the drapery and perfume bazaar; Sūq al-ʿAbīd the slave market; al-Sūq al-Ṣaghīr *ca.* 100 m/330 feet southeast of Bāb Ibrāhīm, which was in the main water course and often washed out

in floods; Sūq al-Ḥab the grain market some 700 m/2,300 feet north of the mosque; and finally the fruit market, also to the north, which was simply called al-Ḥalaqa, the market. Al-Mas'ā formerly was paved and covered during the early days of 'Abd al-'Azīz' reign, but it was still a public street with book and stationery stores at the southern (al-Ṣafā) end and stalls selling items for pilgrims along the rest of it. Another transient demographic feature that may be noticed is that in pre-oil days, the camps used by pilgrims were on the outskirts of the city nearest the direction from which they came, *i.e.*, those coming from Syria camped north of the city, etc.

With the broader economic and transportation possibilities available since World War II (and especially after the oil price increases of 1973 and beyond) and with the number of pilgrims swelling to almost two million (with attendant traffic and other problems), centre city has probably become less desirable.

#### 4. *The physical City*

Constrained as it is by the wadi courses and low mountains of its location, the size and physical appearance of Mecca has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhābīs most recently captured it. It should be borne in mind that the *Ḥaram* is in the widest part of the central, south-flowing wadi and that main streets follow wadi valleys. Before the most recent enormous enlargement of the mosque structure, a noticeable feature was what Philby called "oratory houses." These surrounded the entire periphery and abutted on the mosque itself. They had first floor balconies on the roof of the mosque's surrounding colonnade and were more or less considered an integral part of the mosque. Since the inhabitants of these houses could pray at home while observing the Prophet's injunction that whoever lives near the mosque should pray in it, they were in high demand at high rentals. On the other hand, the residents were said to have run up rather large hospitality bills! In the pre-oil era, Meccan buildings were mostly built of local dark grey granite, but by and large they gave no great impression of grandeur. The larger ran to about four storeys. Even before modernisation, major streets in Mecca were fairly wide. King al-Ḥusayn had electrified the *Ḥaram* during his brief reign, but probably it was not

until after the second World War that streets were lighted electrically. Previously they were lighted, on special occasions only, by oil lamps attached to the corners of houses. Al-Ḥusayn's palace had been located north-east of the *Ḥaram* in al-Ghazza, but when King 'Abd al-'Azīz built his own palace, he chose a site well to the north in al-Mu'ābada, where incidentally, the pre-oil wireless station was also built in the immediate vicinity of the king's palace. Certainly until the 1980s, this tradition continued, for the amīrate, the municipality secretariat, its technical units and the main courthouse were all located at that site. Expansion of the city in the period before there were adequate roads tended to be along the Jeddah road.

Modernisation in the oil era has brought completely different architectural approaches and materials, and much of the old has been swept away. Air conditioners are everywhere, cement and reinforced concrete reign, and buildings of up to 13 or more storeys high are everywhere visible. City planning in Su'ūdī Arabia has become pervasive, and the master plan studies and designs for Mecca were projected to be ready for implementation in 1976. Given the pilgrimage, traffic circulation had to be a major part of the plan. Key features of the traffic plan were: a series of broad open plazas around the *Ḥaram*, a major north-south road which essentially followed the main wādī bottom, a set of four concentric ring roads (none of which had been completed by 1402–3/1982–3), and a remarkable complex of roads leading to Munā, Muzdalifa, and 'Arafāt. Especially to be noted is the extensive tunnelling under Mecca's rocky crags for a number of these roads, not excluding a major "pedestrian way" for pilgrims which goes due east from al-Ṣafā before bending southwest toward 'Arafāt. About one kilometer of the "pedestrian way" is a tunnel (Nafaq al-Sadd) under Jabal Abī Qubays, the north-south running mountain east of the *Ḥaram*. In addition to the roads themselves – all built to international standards with clover-leaf intersections, overpasses and the like – there are vast systematic parking areas, helicopter pads and other facilities. Mecca may have some areas left without modern amenities such as running water and electricity, but essentially it is a modern city with all the assets and problems that modern implies. The growth in the area of the built-up section of Mecca can only be roughly estimated, but according to

Rutter's map (Fig. 61), the maximum length of the built-up section on the north-south axis was about 3 km; on the east-west axis it was about 2½ km. Fārisī's map (1402–3/1982–3) indicates a north-south axis of about 8 km and an east-west of just under 5½ km (see Fig. 62). This massive growth does not include very extensive new built up areas such as al-Fayṣaliyya and al-ʿAzīziyya – the latter reaching all the way to Muzdalifa.

### 5. Economy

The economy of Mecca consists of only two basic factors, commerce and industry concerned with the local market, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture is essentially non-existent in Mecca. Food was imported: fruit from al-Tāʾif, vegetables largely from the Wādī Fāṭima and a few other oases such as al-Ḥusayniyya. They included egg plant, radishes, tomatoes, vegetable marrows, spinach, Egyptian clover (*birsīm*) for fodder and hibiscus. Mecca itself had to content itself with a few date trees in the gardens of the wealthy. Industry in 1390/1970–1 counted 35 establishments employing 800 people with an estimate of SR (= Suʿūdī riyals) 22 million in use. By way of contrast, neighbouring Jeddah had 95 establishments with 4,563 employees and SR 329 million in use. Among the Meccan enterprises were corrugated iron manufacturing, carpentry shops, upholstering establishments, sweets manufacturies, vegetable oil extraction plants, flour mills, bakeries, copper smithies, photography processing, secretarial establishments, ice factories, bottling plants for soft drinks, poultry farms, frozen food importing, barber shops, book shops, travel agencies and banks. The first bank in Mecca was the National Commercial Bank (*al-Bank al-Ahlī al-Tijārī*) which opened in 1374/1954. Hotels and hostels are another major activity. According to al-Kurdī, there were no hotels before the Suʿūdī régime began. Important pilgrims were housed in a government rest house, others stayed in private homes as actual or paying guests. The first hotel project was undertaken and managed by Banque Misr for the account of the Ministry of Finance in 1355/1936–7. A decade later it was bought by Ṣidqa Kaʿkī, a member of Mecca's most successful business family. Banque Misr also managed a second hotel that belonged to Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh ʿĀl Sulaymān

and which opened in 1356/1937–8. This had its own electric power, an elevator, running water and some private baths. Construction activity, long important in Mecca, has obviously grown with the oil-fired building boom. The traditional building trades with their interesting organisation and special skills in stone masonry are fading away. It is also interesting to note that in 1936 a *Jamʿiyyat al-Qirsh* was founded with its seat in Mecca with the goal of encouraging economic development in order to make the country economically independent by stimulating new and existing industrial and agricultural projects. Goods available in the markets in the 1930s were almost all imported. Cotton textiles came from Japan, silk from China and India, and carpets, rosaries (*subḥa*, *misbaha*), and copper and silver items – the kinds of items that pilgrims wanted – came variously from Syria, India and Iraq. Many of the merchants catering to the pilgrim trade were foreigners or of foreign extraction and employed native Meccans as hawkers. Visitors felt that prices were high, profits large and local employees inadequately paid.

The importance of the *Hajj* for the economy of Mecca through most of the city's history is simple. As Rutter has put it, “[Meccans] have no means of earning a living but by serving the ḥājjis.” Fifty years later, D. Long confirmed that “the Hajj constitutes the largest single period of commercial activity during the year,” and that no one in the country was unaffected thereby. Indeed, once the Ḥijāz had been conquered, *Hajj* income was supposed to finance Najd in addition to the Holy Land. The money came in different ways. A direct tax, instituted by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in 1927, was seven gold rupees (\$16.80). In addition there was a kind of service charge, dubbed “landing and service fee,” which amounted to £1.5 (\$7.20) in the early thirties. As late as 1972, this charge, now called “fee for general services” was SR 63 (\$11.88). There were also taxes on internal motor transport, for example £7.5 (36.00) on the round trip car hire fare between Mecca and Medina in the 1920s, reduced to £6.00 (28.00) in 1932. In addition to direct levies, the government received indirect income from licence fees charged those who served the pilgrims, from customs duties on goods imported for re-sale to pilgrims and from other indirect levies. As Long (much followed in this section) noted, when the worldwide depression struck, King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, despite

his successful efforts to eliminate gross exploitation of the pilgrims, was forced to impose fees on the pilgrims in order to maintain the solvency of the government. Later, oil income essentially eliminated government dependence on pilgrim fees, and in 1371/1952 the king abolished the head tax altogether. That the government continued to be sensitive to the public relation aspects of any fees at all, is made clear by the official *Hajj* instructions for 1972 (quoted by Long) to the effect that such charges only cover the actual costs of necessary services. For Mecca, the *Hajj* has of course continued to be a major source of cash income. On the other hand, from a national Su'ūdī viewpoint, servicing the pilgrims became a major expenditure category far exceeding the income generated, though one should note that in recent years the national airline, Saudia, derived some 12% of its revenue from *Hajj*-generated customers. Long also made detailed estimates (101–5) of the effect of the *Hajj* on the private sector in Jeddah, Medina and especially Mecca. Roughly, he estimated that in 1972 pilgrims paid the guilds (*muṭawwifūn*, *wukalā'* and *zamāzima*) a total of \$7.9 million in fees, a figure which excludes gratuities. Lodging during the late 1960s cost each pilgrim an average of \$60, for a total housing income of \$40 million. The transportation syndicate's income based on fares paid by land and air pilgrims for internal transportation is estimated at \$11 million. All these estimates are for gross income. Net income is difficult to calculate, especially because fixed costs of capital items, such as accommodation at Munā and 'Arafāt which is only filled for a few days a year, are normally not counted. Meccan merchants continue to see the two months of pilgrim business as more or less their whole year's business, and as in the case of holiday expenditures in other countries the merchants raise their prices, despite government attempts to protect the pilgrims. Animals for ritual slaughter approximately double in value. The foreign provenance of pilgrim-specific goods continued in later years. Cheap (\$1 to \$10 each), European-manufactured prayer rugs sell a million or more each year, but it may be noted that in the 1970s prayer beads were manufactured by a local Meccan plastics factory. In more general categories, Swiss and Japanese watches move briskly; most textiles still come from Asia, though expensive ones may be from Europe; United States products predominate among

cosmetics, better quality canned foods and drugs; wheat is almost exclusively American; whilst China has predominated in cheap fountain pens, parasols and cheaper canned goods. One final point is that many non-Su'ūdī pilgrims who can afford them purchase luxury consumer items which are either heavily taxed or unavailable in their own countries. Foreign exchange trading also constitutes a brisk business for the Meccan banks – all nationalised by about 1400/1979–80. Long notices another economic factor, that more and more foreign pilgrims have come in the sixties, seventies and early eighties, but the shift in mode of travel has been equally dramatic as the chart below shows:

Mode of travel of non-Su'ūdī pilgrims  
(Selected years)

Year	Mode of Travel			Total Number
	Land	Sea	Air	
1381/1961	32%	43%	25%	216,455
1391/1971	30	20	50	479,339
1403/1982	22	6	72	1,003,911

The dramatic increase in numbers and equally dramatic shift to air travel have meant that the average length of stay has decreased from two to three, or even more, months to an average stay of only a few weeks. Purchases of food and rentals for lodging have declined proportionately with the decrease in time, and in addition, because of baggage limitations on air travel, gift items have trended toward the watch and away from bulky items. Sales to pilgrims as a proportion of total sales by Meccan merchants have also declined. Long (based on Jeddah information) estimated that they had declined from 33–50% of the total in 1381/1961 to about 25% in 1391/1971 – still highly significant. Based on an estimate of per capita expenditures of *ca.* \$230, Long estimated that gross sales by Su'ūdī merchants to foreign pilgrims aggregated \$53 million from the *Hajj*. If one adds Su'ūdī pilgrims, the figure rises to \$90 million. His estimate of *Hajj* income from all sources for the 1391/1971 *Hajj* was *ca.* \$213 million. It is not easy to know the proportion of this total which went to Mecca and Meccans, but the number has to be quite significant locally when one considers the size of the city and the concentrated nature of the business.

## 6. Al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and other religious buildings

From the moment ‘Abd al-‘Azīz entered Mecca, he and his successors have expended time, money and effort on the Great Mosque of Mecca. In the spring of 1925, the king was anxious to make the best impression possible for the first *Hajj* under his auspices. He ordered a general tidying-up, and when the pilgrims arrived, they found everything freshly painted and clean. An innovation of 1926 was the erection of tents inside the cloister to give relief from the sun; but unfortunately they could not withstand the wind. In 1927 the king ordered a thorough restoration to be undertaken “at his personal expense.” This programme lasted about a year and cost 2,000 gold pounds. The accomplishments included replacing tiles and marble, cleaning the domes of the cloister, repairing doors and pillars, repairing and painting (green) the roofs of the Maqām Ibrāhīm and of al-Maqām al-Ḥanafī. The Zamzam building was much beautified, the stones of the Ka’ba were pointed, and Bāb Ibrāhīm was widened and beautified. Moreover, determined to do something to protect worshippers from the fierce sun, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, for the 1346 *Hajj*, ordered ‘Abd Allāh Āl Sulaymān to erect all around the inside of the cloister a massive wooden frame to which heavy canvas was fixed as an awning. Once the pilgrims had left, this canopy was removed. But apparently there were some serious structural problems, for in 1354/1935–6 a more general study was undertaken. The order for this created a special four-man committee. Its mission was to carry out a general survey and then make recommendations for repairs and restoration. The committee recommendations included such things as disassembling walls and rebuilding them, using cement for mortar. Costs for this work, which began in Ramaḍān, were split between the Directorate of *Awqāf* and King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.

The electrification of the mosque had been instituted under the Hāshimite al-Ḥusayn, but was steadily improved under ‘Abd al-‘Azīz with generous outside support. In 1927–8 Ḥājī Dāwūd Atba (?) of Rangoon donated a 300 kilowatt generator, and as a result the king was able to increase the number of bulbs from al-Ḥusayn’s 300 to 1,000. In 1349/1930–1 new generating equipment was acquired so that “a reader could read his book by electric lights anywhere in

the mosque”. In addition, large free-standing, brass electric candelabra mounted on reinforced concrete columns 3 m high were placed in the mosque and six other brass candelabra were mounted on al-Ḥuṭaym, the semi-circular wall enclosing the Ḥajar Ismā’īl. An even larger contribution was made in 1934–5 by Janāb Nawwāb Bahādur Dr. Ḥājī Sir Muḥammad Muzammil Allāh Khān (1865–1938) of Bhikhampur, India, who presented much more elaborate equipment to the mosque. Toward the end of 1935–6, all was in working order and “the *Maṭāf* was as though in sunlight.” Microphones and loudspeakers were first used in the mosque in 1948–9.

Attention should now be turned to several specific features of the mosque area.

### (i) *Al-Mas’ā*

Firstly, it may be noted that the Hāshimite al-Ḥusayn was the first person in Islamic history to improve physically the running place, in effect a street at that time, between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa when in 1920–1 he ordered ‘Abd al-Wahhāb al-Qazzāz to erect a cover over it. A steel structure with wooden roof was built to the general benefit of all (see Fig. 66). This continued in use for many years, with some later improvements made by the municipality at the order of King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. The king also undertook another major improvement early in his reign (1926–7) when he ordered al-Mas’ā, which was rough ground, to be paved. The decision was reached to use square granite stones mortared with lime. Initial expenses were to be covered by the *Amānat al-‘Āṣima* and subsequent ones from the national treasury (*bayt al-māl*). Once protruding living rock had been levelled, the work began ceremonially with a large gathering that saw Prince Fayṣal b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz lay the “corner stone” and heard invocations from the *khaṭīb* of the mosque. This enterprise, completed before the *Hajj* of 1345, resulted in the first paved street in the history of the city.

### (ii) *Zamzam*

In the early repairs carried out under al-Dihlawī’s direction, the king paid special attention to the well of Zamzam and the two-chambered building above it. Two new *sabils* were constructed, one of six taps near Bāb Qubbat Zamzam, the other of three near the Ḥujrat al-Aghawāt; in addition, the older Ottoman



*sabīl* was renovated. All this was beautifully done in local marble with fine calligraphic inscriptions including the phrase “Imām [*sic*] ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Su‘ūd [*sic*] built this *sabīl*.”

(iii) *The Kiswa*

With the outbreak of World War I, the *kiswa* came as it had for many years previously from Egypt. When the Ottoman Empire entered the war on the side of Germany, the authorities in Mecca assumed that British-controlled Egypt would no longer send the *kiswa* and so they ordered one to be made in Istanbul. It was a particularly fine one and was dispatched by train to Medina, thence to be taken to Mecca. In the event, the Egyptian government did send the *kiswa*, bearing the embroidered name of Ḥusayn Kāmil, sultan of Egypt as well as that of Sultan Muḥammad Rashād. The Istanbul-manufactured *kiswa* remained in Medina, and the Cairo one (with Ḥusayn Kāmil’s name removed) was hung on the Ka’ba. After the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn revolted against the Ottomans, the Egyptians continued to send *kiswas* until 1922. In that year, at the end of Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da, as a result of a dispute between the Sharīf al-Ḥusayn and the Egyptian government, al-Ḥusayn sent the *maḥmal*, the Egyptian guard, the wheat ration, medical mission, *surra* (traditional funds forwarded from Egypt), alms, oblation and *kiswa* back from Mecca to Jeddah. With only a very short time left before the *Hajj*, al-Ḥusayn cabled to the *amīr* of Medina immediately to forward the Ottoman *kiswa* stored there to Rābiḡh. Simultaneously, he dispatched the steamship *Rushdī* to proceed from Jeddah to Rābiḡh. All worked well, and the Ottoman *kiswa* reached Mecca in time to be “dressed” on the Ka’ba by the deadline date of 10 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja. Subsequently, al-Ḥusayn ordered a *kiswa* woven in Iraq, lest the dispute with Egypt not be settled by the 1923 *Hajj*; however, in that year the Egyptian *kiswa* arrived and was used as usual. When the *Hajj* of 1924 approached, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ruled Mecca, and relations with Egypt had become so bad that Egypt did not send the *kiswa*. Luckily, the king had a fall-back position, namely, the *kiswa* that King al-Ḥusayn had had made in Iraq. In the next year, the Egyptians did send the *kiswa*, but that was the year of the famous *maḥmal* incident as a result of which Egypto-Su‘ūdī relations became very bad indeed. The Su‘ūdī expectation apparently was that

the Egyptians would again send the *kiswa* in 1345, but in fact they forbade it along with the other customary items. The Su‘ūdī government learned of this only at the beginning of Dhu ‘l-Qa‘da, and once again the king called on ‘Abd Allāh Āl Sulaymān, this time to have a *kiswa* made locally on a rush basis. Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh and the Meccan business community fell to, and by 10 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja – the due date – a black broadcloth *kiswa*, brocaded with silver and gold as usual, had been produced. For the first time the name of the Su‘ūdī monarch appeared – as the donor – brocaded on the band above the Ka’ba door. The *kiswa* continued to be made in a special factory in Mecca until relations with Egypt improved, after which it was reordered from there. In 1957–8, the donor legend was as follows: “The manufacture of the *kiswa* was carried out in the United Arab Republic during the régime of President Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir and donated to the noble Ka’ba during the régime of Khādim al-Ḥaramayn, Su‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Āl Su‘ūd, King of Su‘ūdī Arabia, A.H. 1377” (text in Kurdi, iv, 220). When relations between Su‘ūdī Arabia and Egypt later soured again, the government once more responded by opening a *kiswa* factory in Mecca, in the 1980s located on Jeddah Street [Shārī‘ Jidda] about 8 km/5 miles west of the *Haram*.

(iv) *Repair of the Ka’ba*

On the first day of Muḥarram 1377/29 July 1957, King Su‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz went to the roof of the Ka’ba to inspect reported damage. The fact was that the venerable building had an outer roof which needed repair, an inner wooden roof which was rotting and walls that were beginning to crumble. Repairs were needed immediately. Two commissions, one technical, the other religious, were established to undertake the work. A detailed examination was made on 7 Muḥarram, and a subsequent report recommended the following remedial steps: replacement of upper roof, repair of lower roof, insertion of a concrete beam between the two roofs around the perimeter, repair of the damaged walls and of the stairs leading to the roof and repair of the marble lining the inner walls. A royal decree was issued instructing, the Director of Public Works (*inshā‘āt ‘umūmiyya*) to carry out the work. All workers were Meccan; the architects and engineers were mostly

Egyptian. Specifications were that all materials should be local, the wood of the roof should be of the highest quality, the roof not be painted or decorated in any way and the concrete beam be exactly the same thickness as the original space between the two roofs. On 18 Rajab 1377/1957, Fayṣal b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz presided over the start of these repairs, and on 11 Sha‘bān, King Su‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz placed the last piece of marble facing-stone in the walls inside the Ka‘ba.

Even before the repair of the Ka‘ba, the mosque had begun to undergo the most stupendous expansion in its history. This development in Mecca had no doubt been informally decided upon by the king and other senior officials, even as the expansion of *al-Haram al-Nabawī* in Medina was getting under way in 1370/1951. In any case, the increase in the number of pilgrims after World War II had brought facilities of all sorts to acute levels of congestion and inadequacy to the degree that pilgrims in Mecca were praying in roads and lanes far outside the confines of the mosque. On 6 Ṣafar/24 September a royal decree established: (1) a Higher Committee chaired by Fayṣal b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, the heir designate, to supervise the planning; (2) an executive committee to supervise implementation; and (3) a committee to assess values of expropriated property. Later, the first two were merged into a higher executive committee with King Su‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as chairman and the minister of finance as vice chairman. The basic concept of the final design was little short of inspired, and may be considered an extension of the design concept developed for the enlargement of the mosque in Medina. It consisted of two ideas: (1) to maintain the old mosque intact and surround it by the new construction; and (2) to incorporate al-Mas‘ā fully into the mosque complex.

Work began in November 1955. A foundation-stone ceremony was held five-and-a-half months later in front of Bāb Umm Hānī with the king and other dignitaries in attendance, and this marked the beginning of construction. Incidentally, by *Hajj* time, pilgrims were able to perform the *sa‘y* undisturbed by hawkers and traffic for the very first time. Work concentrated in Stage I on the southeastern side of the mosque and also on the al-Mas‘ā “thumb.” A particular problem was the floods which sweep south down the wadi systems, around both sides of the mosque (but especially on the east). To deal with

this problem an underground conduit 5 m wide and 4–6 m deep was run under the road now known as Shāri‘ al-Masjid al-Ḥarām and under Shāri‘ Hijra where, well south of the mosque, it resurfaces in the Misfala quarter. Among the buildings removed in this phase of the work were those of the old general post, the Ministry of Education and the Egyptian *takiyya*. In Stage II, work continued in a counter-clockwise direction. Public fountains were also built on the new exterior façades as the work progressed. In Stage III, the southwest and northwest arcades and façades were built. The work was completed in 1398/1978.

All walls of the new construction are covered with local marble. The quarries were developed by Muḥammad b. Lādin, who had also started the companion marble processing factory in 1950 in preparation for the enlargement of the mosque in Medina. He identified the quarries by asking local Bedouin to bring him samples and then by purchasing the most promising land from the government. The equipment in the factory was all Italian, and a force of nine Italian marble specialists directed and trained a total work force of 294 Su‘ūdīs and others on a three-shift, round-the-clock basis. The mosque project as a whole called for processing 250,000 m<sup>2</sup> of marble.

There is one final aspect of the mosque enlargement and renovation that deserves mention, sc. Zamzam. In 1963–4, the building that had long covered it was torn down and the space was levelled. Access to the well is now below ground down an ample sloping marble staircase; there is no above-ground structure whatsoever.

Like other shrines, *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* has its servants and its administration. In late Ottoman days the administration was headed by the *wālī* of Mecca who was, therefore, the nominal *shaykh al-Ḥaram*, and it depended financially on the *ewqāf* (*awqāf*) in Istanbul. The operational head was the *nā‘ib al-Ḥaram* (deputy of the *Ḥaram*) who was appointed by the sultan. The Hāshimite contribution was to institute a special security force whose assignment was to watch out for thieves and corruption and also to provide needed services such as “lost and found.” Once he assumed power, King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz appointed the *nā‘ib al-Ḥaram*, and he also established a three-man administrative council (*Majlis Idārat al-Ḥaram al-Sharīf*) over which the *nā‘ib* presided. Financially,

since income ceased coming from many *waqfs* after the Su'ūdī takeover, King 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered the financing of all services to come from the public treasury. He also initially doubled the salaries of those who served. His own *waqf* department had support of the *Haram* building as one of its main charges. According to Rutter, below the *nā'ib* came the "opener of God's House" (*sādin*), who since pre-Islamic times had always been from the Shayba (*nisba*: Shaybī) family. Not the least of the perquisites of the *sādin* was the right to cut the *kiswa* up after the *Hajj* and to sell the small pieces to pilgrims as religious tokens. Incidentally, a member of the Banū Shayba could not become *nā'ib al-Haram*. Below the "opener" were two or three lieutenants who supervised the numerous lesser personages and the actual workers. All, according to Rutter, took special pride in this work. Rutter's estimate is that the total work force declined to 400 during the Wahhābī invasion but that in better times it rose to as many as 800. This latter figure would have included 100 *imāms* and preachers, 100 teachers, 50 muezzins, plus hundreds of sweepers, lamp cleaners, door keepers and Zamzam water drawers (*zamzamī*, pl. *zamāzima*). The *Maṭāf*, the circular inner area around the Ka'ba, was in the care of 50 black eunuchs who also doubled as mosque police. They were either Africans or of African origin and are called *āghās* or, colloquially, *ṭawāshī* (pl. *ṭawāshiya*, sc. eunuchs). Their chief ranked directly below the Shaybī. They wore distinctive clothes and were diligent in instantly removing any litter. The rationale for having eunuchs was that, if women became involved in any incident in the mosque or had to be ejected, the *āghās* could deal with them without impropriety. They apparently had large incomes (especially from *awqāf* in Basra) and maintained expensive establishments including "wives" and slave girls as well as slave boys. They all lived in al-Hajla at the northern end of al-Misfala quarter. The young boys destined for this service, who normally had been castrated in Africa, lived together in a large house, there to receive instruction both in their faith and in their duties. Literally slaves of the mosque and not of any individual, the *āghās* were nevertheless greatly venerated both by pilgrims and Meccans. "The middle-class Meccans also invariably rise when addressed by an Agha, and treat him in every way as a superior" (Rutter, 251). Others give a lower estimate for the numbers of mosque employees.

Hamza writing in 1355/1936–7 numbers as follows: muezzins 14, eunuchs 41, supervisors 80, water drawers 10, sweepers 20 and doormen 30. His list does not include teachers or preachers. Al-Kurdī, writing in the 1960s, notes that there are 26 eunuchs including their *shaykh* and their *naqīb*. He also notes that the *āghās* have their own internal organisation (*nizām*) and that amongst themselves they use special nicknames.

### 7. The Pilgrimage arrangements

A detailed consideration of the part played by the Pilgrimage in recent Meccan life is not our concern here, but it should be noted that the *pax Saudiana* brought a new level of security to the Ḥijāz, so that pilgrims were no longer subjected to dangers and extortions as they passed through the tribal areas, and the exploitative tendencies of merchants, suppliers of transport and guides to the Holy Places within the city were no longer allowed to run unchecked. It was royal policy to make the Pilgrimage as comfortable a spiritual experience as possible.

The *Hajj* service industry in Mecca has long been a key element in the year-to-year functioning of the Pilgrimage. There are two specialised guilds which are specifically Meccan, the *muṭawwifīn* (lit. "those who facilitate for others the circumambulation, *ṭawāf*, of the Ka'ba) and the *zamāzima* ("those who distribute water from the sacred well of Zamzam"), and a third one based in Jedda, the *wukalā'* or "agents," who are responsible for looking after the pilgrims arriving at the port. The *muṭawwif*s are headed by a *shaykh al-muṭawwifīn*, and specialise in escorting and assisting pilgrims from a particular country or geographical area, e.g. from Turkey or India or Malaysia. Often they speak the required home language and know the characteristics of pilgrims from an area. Fu'ād Hamza, in his *al-Bilād al-'arabiyya al-su'ūdiyya* (1936–7) estimated that there was in his time a total of 1,400 members of the Meccan guilds of guides. Gradually, the government Ministry for the Pilgrimage and for Religious Endowments was able to fix set fees for the guides' services. In 1965 it was laid down that a pilgrim arriving at Jedda paid a global fee to the *wakīl* meeting him or her, which was deposited in the central bank of Su'ūdī Arabia, and the government subsequently paid out the fees to the *muṭawwif* and *zamzamī* in Mecca. Rents for accommodation in

Mecca and at 'Arafāt and Minā were now controlled and regulated.

#### 8. *Education and cultural life*

Formal education, traditional or modern, was little developed in Mecca in late Ottoman and Hāshimite times. The first major attempt to improve the situation had been made by the distinguished public-spirited Jeddah merchant, Muḥammad 'Alī Zaynal Riḍā, who founded the Madrasat al-Falāḥ in Mecca in 1911–12 as he had founded a school of the same name in Jeddah in 1908–9. He is reported to have spent £400,000 of his own money on these two schools before the world depression of 1929 forced him to curtail his support, at which point 'Abd al-'Azīz assigned a share of the Jeddah customs' duties to support the institutions. These two schools, the best in the land, had enormous influence through their graduates, even though they followed the old principles of excessive reliance on memorisation with little emphasis on independent thought. There were also in pre-Hashimite days some Indian religious institutes, and of course, Islamic sciences were taught in *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām*. During the Hāshimite period, what Wahba calls schools-in-name appeared, including an academic school (al-Madrasa al-Rāqīya) as well as agricultural and military schools. By the time of the Su'ūdī occupation, the city counted one public elementary (*ibtidā'ī*) and 5 public preparatory (*taḥdīrī*) schools. Private schools in addition to al-Falāḥ included 20 Qur'ān schools (*kuttāb*) and perhaps 5 other private schools. Rutter noted that a good deal of study went on among the pilgrims and opined that the Meccans were better educated than the contemporary Egyptians. Ḥamāda, writing a decade later, agrees about the first point, for he says that during his pilgrimage hundreds of pilgrims gathered nightly to hear the lesson given by the *imām*, Shaykh Muḥammad Abū Samḥ 'Abd al-Zāhir. He taught *tafsīr* or Qur'ān exegesis according to Ibn Kathīr, but Ḥamāda complains that his lecture wandered, often to the question of intercession with God – a sensitive point for the Wahhābīs – and wishes that he would concentrate on subjects of more interest to his listeners. He also comments that the majority of the population were illiterate and opines that the highest diploma awarded by the Falāḥ school, the *ālīmīyya*, was equivalent to the *ibtidā'īyya* of al-Azhar in Cairo.

In any case, King 'Abd al-'Azīz moved rapidly in the field of education as in other areas. In 1926 he established al-Ma'had al-Ilmī Su'ūdī (Science Institute) for instruction in *sharī'a* and Arabic language and linguistics, but also for social, natural and physical sciences as well as physical education. In 1356–7/1938, the Ma'had was divided into four departments, *sharī'a*, calligraphy, teacher training, and secondary instruction. The faculty was largely Egyptian, and by 1935 was also giving instruction in the English language. In addition, by that time the government had established other schools, the Khayriyya, 'Azīziyya, Su'ūdīyya and Fayṣaliyya, in addition to starting student missions abroad. These developments were praised by Ḥamāda. Another development in the growth of education in Mecca was the establishment in 1932 of the Dār al-Ḥadīth (the *ḥadīth* academy) by Imām Muḥammad Abū Samḥ 'Abd al-Zāhir. *Ḥadīth* was the only subject taught, and that at a relatively low level. Thus, based on a population of perhaps 80,000, there were some 5,000 students enrolled in schools. Many of the teachers were “foreigners,” Egyptians, Southeast Asians, Muslims from British India and Central Asians, but then many in the population as a whole were people of non-Arabian origin. Students in many of these schools received stipends based on the financial capability of the several schools.

Educational facilities continued to expand, especially after oil income began to flow on a significant scale after World War II. Secondary school education developed as follows. The first school to become a regular secondary school was the 'Azīziyya, which had been upgraded to that status in 1937. By 1944, the number had grown to four with total enrollments of 368. Nine years later, there were 12 secondary schools with 1,617 students, and by 1962 there were 18 with 2,770 pupils. The first institution of higher learning was established in 1949–50, namely, the Kulīyyat al-Sharī'a (*sharī'a* college), which subsequently became the Faculty of Sharī'a of King 'Abd al-'Azīz University, most faculties of which are in Jeddah. According to Thomas's survey (published 1968) the Faculty of Sharī'a was comprised of departments of *sharī'a*; Arabic language and literature; and history and Islamic civilisation. A College of Education followed in 1370–1/1951. Its departments in the mid-60s were: education and psychology; geography; English; mathematics; and physics. It only granted the bachelor's degree in the 1960s, but planned to

develop masters' and doctoral programs. In 1981 the university faculties in Mecca were constituted into a separate university called Jāmi'at Umm al-Qurā, which included four faculties; *sharī'a* and Islamic studies; science; Arabic language; and education, to which last there was also attached a centre for the English language. In 1960 another higher institution was created, the police academy, which required a secondary school certificate for admission. By 1966–7 there was also in existence Ma'had al-Nūr (the Institute of Light), a school for the blind and deaf, which counted 87 students. It may also be noted that an intermediate vocational school teaching car mechanics, shop, electronics, printing and book binding had opened.

There is little information available on female education. According to Ḥamāda, girls in the 1930s only attended *kuttābs* taught by *faqīhs* and after the first few years had to continue study at home. He also comments on the generally low level of women's knowledge and deprecates the use of female diviners or fortune-tellers (sing. *arrāfa*) for medical purposes. But Ḥamāda also notes that even in his day, young men were seeking more educated wives, and he calls on the government to support female education and in particular to replace the *faqīhs* with "enlightened" teachers. The chart above indicates that, although female education has expanded a great deal, it has continued to lag behind male.

Educational administration of Meccan institutions followed general trends in the country. The Department of Education was established in 1344/1926 and regulations for it were issued by the government of the Ḥijāz in July 1927. In March 1938 a vice-regal decree was issued which thoroughly reorganised the department now called *Mudiriyyat al-Ma'arif al-ʿAmma*. All education except military fell under its aegis. These new regulations brought private education under full government control. They specified that the principal had to be a Su'ūdī citizen and that preference in hiring teachers should also go to citizens. Foreign nationals had to be approved by the Department of Education. In curricular terms, those private schools which received government support were required to teach *sharī'a* according to any one of the four recognised *madhhabs*. In the religious institutions, *kalām* was forbidden and *fiqh* was limited to the Ḥanbalī *madhhab*. Little budgetary information on the schools of Mecca is available.

The most important library in Mecca is the *Ḥaram Library (Maktabat al-Ḥaram)* as it became known in 1938. The basis of the collection was 3,653 volumes donated by Sultan 'Abd al-Mejīd. These were placed under a dome behind the Zamzam building, but were badly damaged during the flood of 1861–2. The sultan then ordered the construction of a *madrasa*/library next to the Egyptian *takiyya* (by the southern corner of the *Ḥaram*), but died before its completion. In 1881–2 the dome above Bāb al-Durayba was used to house the remains of the damaged library. New accretions began; Sharīf 'Abd Muṭṭalib b. Ghālib (d. 1886) donated *waqf* books, to which were added those of Shaykh Ṣāliḥ 'Iṭirjī, and still other volumes brought from different mosques and *ribāṭs*. In 1917–8 another addition was made by *waqf* from Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq al-Hindī. A more important accretion occurred in 1927–8 under the new Su'ūdī régime when the 1,362-volume library of Muḥammad Rushdī Pasha al-Shirwānī (d. 1875–6), a former Ottoman *wālī* of the Ḥijāz, was added to the growing collection. By 1965 the collection was officially estimated as 200,000 volumes used in the course of the year by 100,000 readers. The main public library, founded in 1931–2, contained 500,000 volumes and was used by 400,000 people per year. Other libraries include: 1. The Dihlawī library results from a combination of the library of Shaykh 'Abd al-Sattār al-Dihlawī (1869–70 to 1936–7), composed of 1,714 volumes, with that of Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Dihlawī which in fact had been collected by Shaykh 'Abd al-Jabbār (? al-Dihlawī). It is said to have many choice items. 2. The Mājidiyya library was assembled by Shaykh Muḥammad Mājid al-Kurdī, sometime director of the Department of Education, and consists of 7,000 volumes of rare printed works and manuscripts. After al-Kurdī's death, 'Abbās al-Qaṭṭān purchased the library from al-Kurdī's children and set it up in a building that he had built. Although al-Qaṭṭān died in 1370/1950, the library was moved to the building and was attached to the *waqf* libraries of the Ministry of Ḥajj and Awḳāf. 3. Another library reputed to contain manuscripts and rare printed works is that of Shaykh Ḥasan 'Abd al-Shukūr, a "Javan" *shaykh*.

Presses and publishing in Mecca have been rather restricted. The first press was brought to the city ca. 1885–6 by 'Othmān Nūrī Pasha, who had arrived as Ottoman *wālī* in November 1881. Probably it was

briefly directed by the historian Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān (d. 1886–7). During the Hāshimite period, it was used to print the official gazette, *al-Qibla*. It was of course taken over by the Su‘ūdī régime, new equipment was purchased, and other small local presses were bought by the government and added to it. The new enlarged operation was called Maṭba‘at Umm al-Qurā after the new Su‘ūdī official gazette *Umm al-Qurā*, which was published thereon. Subsequently, a separate administration was set up for it and its name was changed to Maṭba‘at al-Ḥukūma (the government press). A Syrian expert at the same time was brought in to teach Su‘ūdīs zinc etching and stamping (*‘amal al-ṭawābi’*). A special plant was set up for this purpose in 1346/1927. The next press to arrive was brought in by Muḥammad Mājīd al-Kurdī in 1909. Called al-Maṭba‘a al-Mājidiyya, it was installed in his house and printed many books. His sons continued it after his death. The third press was that introduced by the famous Jeddah scholar, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naṣīf, which he called al-Maṭba‘a al-Salafiyya, but which he soon sold. Other presses include: al-Maṭba‘a ‘Arabiyya (or al-Sharika ‘Arabiyya li-Ṭabā‘ wa ‘l-Nashr) used to print *Ṣawt al-Ḥijāz* newspaper (subsequently called *al-Bilād al-Su‘ūdiyya*, subsequently *al-Bilād*); the press of Aḥmad al-Fayḍ Ābādī established in 1938 on German equipment; Maṭābi‘ al-Nadwa, established in 1953–4; the beautifully-equipped press of Ṣāliḥ Muḥammad Jamāl (for printing books); Maṭba‘at Quraysh, established by Aḥmad al-Sibā‘ī, the author of the well-known history of Mecca; and Maṭba‘at Maṣḥaf Makka al-Mukarrama established in 1948 with American equipment. Most of these were hand presses up until the 1960s, but many have doubtless been highly automated since then.

Newspapers and magazines published in Mecca in modern times include in chronological order the following: 1. The first periodical in Mecca (and in the Ḥijāz) was an official gazette called *al-Ḥijāz* which began publication in both Arabic and Turkish in 1908 (not, apparently, in 1884 as reported by Philippe Tarrāzī). It appeared in four small pages and ceased publication a year later with the Young Turk Revolution. It reappeared under a new name, *Shams al-Ḥaqīqa* (“The Sun of Truth”) that same year again in Arabic and Turkish as the organ of the Committee on Union and Progress in Istanbul. Its editor was Muḥammad Tawfiq Makkī and his assistant was

Ibrāhīm Adham. Under the Hāshimites, *al-Qibla*, their official gazette, appeared starting in 1916 on a weekly basis. When ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Āl Su‘ūd captured Mecca, the official gazette re-emerged once again on a weekly basis as *Umm al-Qurā*. The speed with which it began once again illustrates the energy of the new régime, for it started on 12 December 1924, exactly one week after the sultan of Najd had entered the newly-conquered city. According to Ḥamāda, circulation was 3,000 during the *Ḥajj*. The paper has remained the unrivalled documentary source for Su‘ūdī affairs, but also has included much non-official material, especially literary. 2. *Ṣawt al-Ḥijāz*, (“The Voice of the Ḥijāz”), appeared in 1932 as a weekly paper and lasted with that title for seven years. Like *Umm al-Qurā*, it had four, small-format pages. Its publisher was the well-known Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Naṣīf and its initial editor was ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Āshī. 3. *al-Manhal* (“The Spring or Pool”), a magazine which was first published in Medina in 1936, but transferred to Mecca a year later. It ceased publication for a while during World War II along with other periodicals (see below), and then resumed in Mecca. It is essentially a literary magazine and was published and edited by the well-known ‘Abd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī. In the 1960s, *al-Manhal*’s operations were moved to Jeddah. 4. *al-Ḥajj* magazine started publication in 1366/1947 under the initial editorship of Ḥāshim al-Zawāwī. It is religiously oriented and includes literary and historical materials. It is published under the auspices of the Ministry of Ḥajj and Awqāf. 5. *al-Iṣlāḥ* (“Reform”) ran for two years as a monthly magazine starting in 1928. It was published by the Department of Education and edited by Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Faqī. It is not to be confused with its late Ottoman predecessor of the same title. 6. *al-Nida’ al-Islāmi* was a bilingual monthly magazine (Arabic and Indonesian) which began publication in 1938. It is to be noted that on 21 July 1941, the government issued an official communiqué which ordered the cessation of all newspapers and magazines except *Umm al-Qurā* because of the war-time shortage of newsprint. When the wartime emergency was over, *al-Manhal* and *al-Ḥajj* reappeared and have continued publication. 7. *Ṣawt al-Ḥijāz* also reappeared but with a different name, *al-Bilād al-Su‘ūdiyya* (“The Su‘ūdī Land”) – first as a weekly again, then as a half-weekly. Starting in 1953, it became the first daily in all of Su‘ūdī Arabia. Its name was subsequently

shortened simply to *al-Bilād* and, according to al-Ziriklī, much followed here, it was by far the best paper in the country from almost all points of view. Its editor was ‘Abd Allāh ‘Urayf for a long period after the Second World War, and it is worth noting that, as with several other periodicals, Mecca lost *al-Bilād* to Jeddah in the 1960s. 8. A newer Meccan daily is *al-Nadwa*. It was founded in 1958–9 and in 1967 boasted a circulation of 9,000. 9. Finally, note should be taken of *Majallat al-Tijāra wa’l-Šinā’a* (“The Journal of Commerce and Industry”), a monthly founded in 1965 with a circulation of 2,000. Both Nallino and Ḥamāda, writing about the same time, note that censorship existed. The former indicates that the *Hay’at al-Amr bi’l-Ma’rūf* had responsibility for censorship and states that among books which had been disallowed were polemics against Ibn Taymiyya, the forerunner of Wahhābism, books by Aḥmad b. Zaynī Daḥlān, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal’s *Fī manzīl al-waḥy*, the latter for its criticism of Wahhābī extremism. Ḥamāda says only that “a committee” oversees writers and journalists and passes on imported books. He wonders if his book will be approved.

Before turning to Meccan writers, we may notice one or two incidental aspects of cultural life in the city. Bookstores were formerly clustered around the *Ḥaram* near its gates. When the enlargement of the mosque took place, they were forced to move and relocate in scattered directions. Of 12 listed by al-Kurdī, four belonged to the Āl Bāz and three to the Āl Faddā families, but al-Kurdī reports that only two were sought by scholars and students. The first was Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, which was, he opines, founded “a number of centuries ago” by an Ottoman sultan. Originally, it was located facing Zamzam “in a room above a small dome,” but when the Ottoman mosque renovation (? by Sultan ‘Abd al-Mejīd) took place, it was relocated inside the mosque at Bāb al-Durayba. When the Su‘ūdī expansion took place, the store was once again moved to a special place near Bāb al-Salām. The second, Maktabat Makka al-Mukarrama, he describes as newly-established. Information on the time spent in penning careful calligraphy is not commonly given. Muḥammad Tāhir al-Kurdī, whose history has often been cited in this article, started the calligraphy for a Qur’ān in 1943–4. He published it, as *Mashaf Makka al-Mukarrama* in 1949–50. Some mention should also be made of the *waqf*-established *ribāṭs* of Mecca,

best defined perhaps as hospices. Some were for students; others for the poor and the wayfarer. They were, according to al-Kurdī, “numerous” and not a few were for women. Established for the most part by *waqfs*, they usually provided students with single rooms. They were generally located adjacent to or in the immediate vicinity of the *Ḥaram*. When the Su‘ūdī régimes pulled everything down around the mosque to make way for the enlargement, the *ribāṭs* of course went. Some were paid compensation and hence rebuilt elsewhere; others were not, and hence have disappeared forever.

Mecca has not failed to produce its share of modern writers, some of whom were primarily poets, others prose authors. Many had other work, often in publishing, journalism and printing.

### 9. Health care

Because of the *Hajj* and its attendant health problems and because of the world-wide reach of returning pilgrims, health facilities in Mecca are of more than passing importance. In the late Ottoman and Hāshimite periods, there were two “hospitals” one in Ajyād and the other in al-Mad‘ā. They had about five doctors between them, and al-Kurdī reports that the equipment was satisfactory. These doctors were all foreign – Indians, Indonesians, Algerians, etc. There was one proper pharmacy near al-Marwa and other shops which sold drugs on a casual basis. In a general way, observers noted that the combination of primitive sanitary facilities, low standards of personal hygiene and an oppressively hot climate were unhealthy, although Rutter said that vermin were almost non-existent as a result of the heat and summer dryness. Mosquitoes were apparently common enough but non-malaria bearing. Shortly after ‘Abd al-‘Azīz reached Mecca, he deputed his personal physician, Dr. Maḥmūd Ḥamdī Ḥamūda, to re-establish the medical services, and among his first acts was the appointment of doctors to the Department of Health and the reopening of the Ajyād hospital. The hospital reportedly had 275 beds and its facilities included an operating room, X-ray department, microscope room, pharmacy, obstetrics department and an out-patient clinic. It may be pointed out that it had become normal over the years for countries with large Muslim populations, and hence many pilgrims, to dispatch medical teams to Mecca at *Hajj* time. In

1927 the regulations for the health department were established, and by the mid-1930s the spectrum of medical facilities in addition to the Ajyād hospital included the following: 1. a mental hospital. 2. a contagious disease hospital. 3. a brand new hospital in al-Shuhadā' section with completely up-to-date equipment. 4. the Egyptian hospital in Dār al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya – the official Egyptian presence in Mecca. 5. an emergency aid society founded 1936, which held a conference on hygiene and first aid and which owned its own ambulances and motor cycles. In its first year it treated 922 victims of misfortunes, almost all of them in its own facilities. The king, heir designate, and viceroy all contributed to this society, and it was authorised to levy a special 1/4 piastre stamp on top of the regular postage for the support of its activities. This society probably came into existence because of needs arising from the 1934 Su'ūdī war against the Yaman. It grew into the Red Crescent society of the whole country. 6. a school for midwives. Philby estimated that during the pilgrimage of 1349/1931, there were 40 deaths out of total pilgrims numbering 100,000 and in 1352/1934, 15 deaths out of 80,000 pilgrims.

As noted earlier, various governments send medical missions to Mecca during the *Hajj* season. Ḥamāda reported that in the 1930s, the Egyptian mission consisted of two units, one in Ḥārat Bāb near Jarwal, the other in the permanent Egyptian mission building (al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya), which used to face *al-Masjid al-Ḥarām* before it was torn down to make way for the mosque enlargement. The latter unit was in addition to the permanent Egyptian medical service in the same building. In 1937, the countries sending medical missions were Egypt, India, the Dutch East Indies, Algeria, Afghanistan and the USSR. They contributed a total of ten doctors plus pharmacists, assistants and supplies to the available medical services. During the same period, Hamza noted that at *Hajj* time there were a total of 13 government hospitals and clinics spread between Mecca and 'Arafāt. Physicians, nurses and orderlies were hired on a temporary basis to man them. Reading from Fārisi's map, one finds that the latest indications are as follows: there were six hospitals, seven clinics (*mustawṣaf*) and three medical centres (*markaz ṭibbī*) in Mecca proper and ten dispensaries in Minā, one hospital in Muzdalifa, and one medical centre in 'Arafāt. These latter doubtlessly function only during the *Hajj*.

#### 10. *Communications*

By 1985 Mecca, like other Su'ūdī cities, was possessed of the most modern telephone, telex, radio and TV communications. Its roads were of the most modern design, and it was linked to the rest of the country by first-class highways, many of them divided and of limited access. Since Jeddah, which has one of the world's largest and most modern airports, is only some 60 km/35 miles away and since a major airport at Mecca would be difficult, both because of the terrain and because of the problem of non-Muslims being in proximity to the *Ḥaram* area, there is no important airport there. It may, however, be noted that a Jeddah-Mecca service had been authorised in 1936 to Misr Air (now Egypt Air). It was cancelled following an accident in 1938. In a similar vein, a railroad project from Jeddah to Mecca was authorised by a royal decree in 1933 with a concession granted to 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī. It was revoked 18 months later because of his failure to carry it out.

The modernisation of communications has been dramatically rapid. Rutter describes how in 1925 camel caravans for Medina assembled in an open space called Shaykh Maḥmūd on the western edge of Jarwal; a camel in Jarwal in 1985 would be about as common as a horse in Paris. The use of cars spread very rapidly after the Su'ūdī conquest and the development of the Jeddah-Mecca road was a natural early priority because of the pilgrim traffic. It was first asphalted in the period just before the out-break of World War II.

Telecommunications were early emphasised by King 'Abd al-'Azīz because they represented a means of control as well as a convenience. In King al-Ḥusayn's time, there had been about 20 telephones in the city – all reserved for high officials and probably only functional within the city. By 1936, subscribers in Mecca had grown to 450 (slightly over half of all those in Su'ūdī Arabia), and lines had been extended to Jeddah and al-Ṭā'if. Ḥamza also reports that, in addition to the regular telephones, there were "automatic" (?) telephones which were used by officials. Of this type, 50 were in Mecca. After World War II, the first telephone training mission (10 persons) was sent abroad in 1367/1947–8. By 1965–6, Mecca had 5,000 telephones but service was still through operators. Dial phones were introduced soon after this, and within a dozen years there was



fully automatic direct-dial service anywhere in the world. There had been limited radio communication within the Hijāz under the Hāshimites. In 1929, using Philby as an intermediary, the king contracted with the Marconi company for wireless stations in various towns, and by the spring of 1932 the network was fully functional. Soon after World War II, by contract with the German Siemens company, this network was greatly expanded and improved. Radio communication has been used at various key points in directing the Pilgrimage since about 1950. Public radio broadcasts were initiated on *yawm al-wuqūf* ("standing day") during the pilgrimage of 1368/1949 with *Hunā Makka* ("This is Mecca") as the opening words. Initial power was only 3 kw, but by 1957 it was boosted to 50 kw, making Radio Mecca one of the most powerful in the Near East at that time. Later, power was increased still more to 450 kw. In keeping with Wahhābī tradition, music was initially kept off the air, but it was gradually introduced. TV in Mecca began service in 1966–7 and has since become a pervasive part of life there as everywhere else in the world.

#### 11. *Water supply*

Before oil-induced modernisation, the water supply of Mecca came from two basic sources. The first was local wells. The water of these, of which Zamzam is one, was generally brackish, and they were located in houses. The second was fresh or sweet water most of which came from 'Ayn Zubayda by man-made underground channels of the *qanāt* type. Locally, the system is called *kharaz*. A very sporadic third source was rainfall which, although it brought the threat of destructive floods, was eagerly collected in every way possible. Water distribution was by hand. A man carried two 20 litre petrol tins (*tanaka*) attached to the ends of a stout board or pole on his shoulders to the individual houses of those who could afford such service. Philby noted that in the 1930s, 8 gallons cost one penny. His monthly bill seldom exceeded five shillings. The mass of the people went individually to get their own water at one of the small reservoirs or cisterns (*bāzān*). Of these in Rutter's time, there were seven in the city and one each in Minā, Muzdalifa, and 'Arafa. The water for all of these came from 'Ayn Zubayda.

The immediate source of the 'Ayn Zubayda water is the mountains (Jabal Sa'd and Jabal Kabkāb) which

lie a short distance east of Jabal 'Arafa or about 20 km/12 miles east-southeast of Mecca. The main source is a spring in the mountains, 'Ayn Hunayn, which according to Rutter is a two-hour walk from the Wādī Na'mān plain. Several other small springs are led to the beginning of the subterranean aqueduct which starts at the foot of the mountain. The aqueduct is attributed to Zubayda, the wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, but in all probability it far predates her, and she should be credited with improvement of the system rather than creation of it. Like other *qanawāt*, the 'Ayn Zubayda system is characterised by access wells (*fataḥāt*) at intervals of about one km which are marked by circular erections around them. King 'Abd al-'Azīz did not lack interest in the water supply system, and made personal financial contributions from time to time. Philby reports an expedition of autumn 1930 when the king and his party drove out to inspect work in progress at one of the access wells which was being cleaned. A thorough cleaning of the whole system had been ordered because flow had been declining as a result of inadequate maintenance in the prior, disturbed years. A pit some 30 m deep had been dug "at the bottom of which the *top* [Philby's italics] of one of the original manholes could be seen." Philby theorised that the valley silt had built up at a rate of about 3 m a century. In any case, the new pit was surfaced with masonry and the channel between it and the next pit thoroughly cleaned. When the whole process was completed, the flow of water in Mecca increased greatly, although Philby notes that the growth of private gardens in the suburbs was putting pressure on supplies. The 'Ayn Zubayda system (as well as other lesser ones) was so important to the city that a separate 'Ayn Zubayda administrative authority had been created. Its budget came from the government and fell under the purview of the *Majlis al-Shūrā*. In addition, pilgrims often made pious contributions to the upkeep of the system. Ḥamāda notes that supervision of it had to be increased during pilgrimage season because of the danger of defilement. He also, writing for an Egyptian audience, assures his readers that Zubayda water is little inferior to Nile water! In the early 1950s, a modern pipeline was run from al-Jadīda, 35 km/20 miles northwest of Mecca at the head of the Wādī Fāṭima, to the city. It doubled the water supply. One may assume that by the 1980s, water was piped into most Meccan houses, offices and apartments and that

indoor plumbing and metered water; desalinated from sea water; were the norm.

Floods in Mecca have been a danger since earliest times. Al-Kurḍī counts a total of 89 historic ones, including several in the Su'ūdī period. The most severe one was in 1942 when it rained for several hours. Water reached the sill of the Ka'ba's door, and prayers and *ṭawāf* were cancelled. The streets of the city filled with mud, and there was severe damage to stocks in stores. Tombs in al-Ma'lā were washed out and houses were destroyed. Philby also reports a flood in 1950 which reached a depth of seven feet in the mosque. Soon thereafter, the improved modern technologies and easier financial situation led to the construction of dams, one on the Wādī Ibrāhīm, which is the main source of floods, the other across the Wādī al-Zāhir, which threatens the northern and western sections. These dams were helpful, and the great underground conduit built in connection with the mosque enlargement may have permanently ameliorated the problem of floods.

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**MEDINA**, in Arabic al-Madīna, a town of Western Arabia, in the Hījāz province of what is now Saudi Arabia. It was the goal of the prophet Muhammad's *hijra* or migration from Mecca in September 622, and it was there that he spent the last decade of his life and was buried at his death. It is, accordingly, the second most holy city of Islam.

Medina is situated in lat. 24° 28' N., long. 39° 36' E., at a distance of about 160 km/100 miles from the Red Sea coast and about 350 km/190 miles north of Mecca. It has developed from an oasis on relatively level ground between the hill of Uḥud on the north and that of 'Ayr on the south. East and west are lava flows (in Arabic *ḥarra* or *lāba*). There are several *wādīs* or watercourses which cross the oasis from south to north. Though these normally contain water only after rain, they maintain a fairly high water table, so that there are many wells and springs. After heavy rains the central area of al-Munākha used to form a lake, and a number of serious floods are recorded which threatened the stability of some of the buildings. On one occasion the caliph 'Uthmān erected a dam as a protection against flood-waters. Serious floods are also recorded in 660/40, 734/116 and 772/156. The water is in places salt and unpalatable, and in the past various governors of the town built aqueducts to bring good water from wells further south. The soil consists of salty sand, lime and loamy clay, and is everywhere very fertile, especially in the more southerly part. Date palms were numerous before the time of Muḥammad, and cereals were also grown. At a later date, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, bananas, peaches, apricots, figs and grapes were introduced. The winters are cool with a slight rainfall, and the summers hot but rarely sultry. In former times, the air was reckoned pleasant but conducive to fevers. The Umayyads called the town *al-Khabūṭha*, "the dirty", in contrast to the honorific name of *Ṭayba*, "the sweet-smelling", given to it by Muḥammad.

## I. HISTORY TO 1926

### 1. The pre-Islamic settlements

In pre-Islamic times the common name was Yathrib, though this is said to have been applied originally to only part of the oasis. This name occurs once in the Qur'ān (XXXIII, 13). Iathrippa is found in Ptolemy and Stephanus Byzantinus, and *Ythrb* in Minaean inscriptions. *Al-Madīna* is properly "the town" or "the place of jurisdiction", corresponding to Aramaic *medīnta*. The word *madīna* as a common noun occurs ten times in the Qur'ān and the plural *madā'in* three times, all in stories of former prophets. In four relatively late verses (IX, 101/102, 120/121; XXXIII, 60; LXIII, 8) *al-madīna* appears, referring to the oasis now inhabited mainly by Muslims, but it is possible that it has not yet become a proper name. The same holds of its occurrence in the last clause of the Constitution of Medina, since in the preamble and other two clauses of this document the name Yathrib appears by itself. It is often suggested that the name is a shortened form of *madīnat al-nabī*, "the city of the Prophet", but this is unlikely in view of its use in the Qur'ān, especially in LXIII, 8, where it is spoken by Hypocrites. Of the poets of the oasis, the pre-Islamic Qays b. al-Khaṭīm speaks only of Yathrib, whereas Muḥammad's contemporaries Ḥassān b. Thābit and Ka'b b. Mālik use both names.

Medina was at first not a compact town, but a collection of scattered settlements, surrounded by groves of date-palms and cultivated fields. For defence, therefore, a large number of forts or strongholds (*āṭām*, sing. *uṭum*; also *ājām*, sing. *ujum*) had been constructed, perhaps about 200 in all. In these the local inhabitants took refuge in times of danger. The idea of the *uṭum* probably came from the Yemen.

The later Muslim historians (cf. al-Samhūdī) had no reliable information about the earliest history of Medina, and the views expressed appear to be conjectural; e.g. that the first cultivators were 'Amālīq or Amalekites. It seems probable that before the arrival of any Jews there were some Arabs at Medina, doubtless the ancestors of those found subordinate to the Jews at the time of the settlement of al-Aws and al-Khazraj. It was probable because of this close relation to the Jews that certain small Arab clans (Khaṭma, Wā'il, Wāqif, Umayya b. Zayd, sections

of 'Amr b. 'Awf) did not at first accept Muḥammad as prophet.

There is also obscurity about the earlier history of the Jews of Medina. It seems probable that some were refugees from Palestine, perhaps men who left after the defeat of Bar Kokhba; but others may have been Arabs who had adopted Judaism as a religion. Certainly, the Jews of Medina intermarried with Arabs and had many customs similar to those of their Arab neighbours. It is clear from the Qur'ān, however (e.g. II, 47/44 ff.), that they claimed to be of Hebrew descent, despite the fact that the names of the clans and most of the names of individuals are Arabic. Early Arabic poems ascribed to Jews are indistinguishable in literary form and in content from those of desert Arabs (Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber*, 52 ff.). While there may have been some simple agriculture before the coming of the Jews, they almost certainly developed the cultivation of dates and cereals here as in other oases such as Khaybar.

There were three main Jewish groups in Medina at the Hijra, the clans or tribes of Qurayza, al-Naḍīr and Qaynuqā'. Of these, the first two had some of the most fertile land in the oasis, while the third had no land but were armourers and goldsmiths, besides conducting a market. In addition, al-Samhūdī lists about a dozen other purely Jewish groups, of whom the most important was the Banū Hadl, which was closely associated with Qurayza. He further mentions among the Jewish groups a few which are sometimes given Arab genealogies, such as Unayf and Marthad (parts of Balī), Mu'āwiya b. Ḥārith (of Sulaym), and Jadhma' and Nāghīša (of Yemen).

The Jewish domination of Medina came to an end some time after the settlement of two large Arab groups, al-Aws and al-Khazraj, sometimes called together the Banū Qayla, but mostly referred to as the Anṣār or "helpers" of Muḥammad. They are among the Arabs said to have left South Arabia after the breaking of the dam of Ma'rib. At first these Arabs were under the protection of some Jewish tribes, and a sign of their inferiority was that Fiṭyawn, the leader of the Jewish-Arab group of Tha'laba, exercised a *ius primae noctis* over their women. This was resented by Mālik b. al-'Ajlān (of the clan of 'Awf of al-Khazraj), and he revolted successfully and became independent. Subsequently, with help from either a Ghassānid or a

South Arabian ruler (according to somewhat legendary accounts), he enabled the other clans of al-Aws and al-Khazraj to become independent of the Jews. It is sometimes said that the Jews now became subject to these Arabs. This is not borne out, however, by the historical accounts of the period up to 5/627. The main Jewish groups, though doubtless now weaker than the Arabs, retained a measure of independence and continued to occupy some of the best lands. They were not politically united by their religion, but different groups were in alliance (*hilf*) with different Arab clans, and were sometimes involved on opposite sides in the fighting between Arab clans. Some of the groups of judaised Arabs seem to have gradually become merged with Arab clans (as the Banū Za'ūra' with 'Abd al-Ashhal).

The historical accounts make it clear that the effective political units in the pre-Islamic period were not the tribes of al-Aws and al-Khazraj, but smaller units, which may be called clans. Those mentioned in the Constitution of Medina (see below) were al-Nabīṭ, 'Amr b. 'Awf and Aws Manāt (later Aws Allāh) among al-Aws, and al-Najjār, Ḥārith, 'Awf, Sā'ida and Jusham among al-Khazraj; but even smaller groupings were also important. From at least fifty years before the Hijra there had been a series of blood-feuds between Arab groups, behind which, at least latterly, there may have been an economic factor, namely, desire for better lands. These feuds led to fighting described as "wars". The earliest recorded was between Mālik b. al-'Ajlān of 'Amr b. 'Awf and Uḥayḥa b. al-Julāḥ of Sālim (Qawāqila). Four small "wars" occurred between this and the "war of Ḥāṭib", which was the bloodiest and culminated after several fights in the battle of Bu'āth in about A.D. 617. Most of the clans of al-Aws took part under the leadership of Ḥuḍayr b. Simāk, and most of the clans of al-Khazraj under 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān of Bayāḍa. The Jewish clans of Qurayza and al-Naḍīr on this occasion supported Ḥuḍayr because 'Amr b. al-Nu'mān had killed hostages they had given him. One or two Arab clans and some prominent leaders, notably 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy, did not take part in the battle. The fighting was severe and both leaders were killed, but neither side had a decisive advantage and no formal peace was made. This unresolved conflict was doubtless one factor leading the Arabs of Medina to invite Muḥammad to go there.

Al-Aws and al-Khazraj were noted for their devotion to the deity Manāt, whose shrine was at al-Mushallal between Medina and Mecca (Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*<sup>2</sup>, 26; T. Fahd, *Panthéon*, 123). The Medinan poet Qays b. al-Khaṭīm has references to *Allāh*, but these may reflect not so much Jewish or Christian influence as the widespread belief in a supreme god or “high god” often called *Allāh* (cf. J. Teixidor, *The pagan God*, Princeton 1977, 17, 162, etc.). There seems, however, to have been some movement towards monotheism before the contact with Muḥammad; e.g. As‘ad b. Zurāra and Abu ‘l-Haytham, and Abū Qays Ṣirma b. Abī Anas. Another man, known as Abū ‘Āmir al-Rāhib, though a monotheist and ascetic previously, became an opponent of Muḥammad.

## 2. From the Hijra to the caliphate of ‘Alī

There was probably some knowledge in Medina of Muḥammad’s mission from an early date. Suwayd b. al-Ṣāmit, who died before the battle of Bu‘āth, is said to have accepted the Qur’ān. The first definite converts were six men of al-Khazraj who came to Muḥammad probably in 620. At the pilgrimage of 621 they brought a party of twelve men (including two from al-Aws), and the party formally accepted Islam and made certain promises. This was the Pledge of the Women, or first Pledge of ‘Aqaba. In 622 seventy-three men and two women from Medina, who had become Muslims, made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and promised to protect Muḥammad and his followers as they would their own nearest kinsmen. This was the second Pledge of ‘Aqaba or the Pledge of War (*bay‘at ḥarb*). On the basis of this agreement, some seventy of Muḥammad’s Meccan followers with their dependants emigrated, or made the *hijra*, to Medina in small groups. Muḥammad and Abū Bakr came last, and reached Qubā’ in the south of the oasis on 12 Rabī‘ al-Awwal (= 24 September 622). The Emigrants (*muhājirūn*) from Mecca were given hospitality by the Muslims of Medina. Muḥammad himself did not accept any of the many offers of hospitality, but ostensibly allowed his camel to make the choice for him. It halted on a piece of land belonging to two orphans, and Muḥammad bought the land and used it for his mosque and for his own house. It was probably because of the same desire not to have a special relationship with any of the rival clans in

Medina that none of Muḥammad’s marriages was with a woman of either al-Aws or al-Khazraj.

At ‘Aqaba in 622, Muḥammad had asked for the appointment of twelve “representatives” (*nuqabā’*). The number twelve was probably suggested by the tribes of Israel and the disciples of Jesus; but the fact that when the first representative of the clan of al-Najjār died Muḥammad took his place (one of his great-grandmothers had been a woman of al-Najjār) suggests that the *nuqabā’* were part of a political structure for Medina which fell into disuse. The effective structure of the community is doubtless that indicated in the document often known as “the Constitution of Medina” (Ibn Hishām, 341–4; discussed by Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iv, 65–83; Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, 221–8; R.B. Serjeant, *The “Constitution of Medina”*, in *IQ*, viii [1964], 3–16; idem, *The Sunnah Jāmi‘ah, pacts with the Yathrib Jews, and the tahrīm of Yathrib*, in *BSOAS*, xli [1978], 1–42). The document is composite, as is shown by repetitions. In its present form it would seem to belong to a date after the Qurayza affair in 5/627, but some of its articles may go back to the Pledge of War at ‘Aqaba. By this document all the people living in Medina are constituted a single *umma* or community in accordance with traditional Arab ideas of confederacy. There are nine primary members of the confederacy, eight local “clans” (three of al-Aws and five of al-Khazraj) and the group of Emigrants from Mecca. Although the underlying political conceptions were pre-Islamic Arab, the confederacy was one of Muslims, since at least the leading men in each of the eight clans had accepted Muḥammad as prophet. Many of the articles speak of “the believers”, and there are several references to God. About ten distinct groups of Jews are mentioned in separate articles, and are confirmed in the practice of their own religion, as well as having certain rights and obligations. Even unbelievers or idolaters in the Arab clans appear to have been accepted as members of the community, though with restricted rights. There are some two dozen general articles dealing with various matters conducive to the smooth running of the community. Muḥammad is given no special powers, but is recognised as prophet and is to have disputes referred to him. At least until 5/627 he could not issue commands but had to consult the clan leaders and get them to agree to what he proposed. After the conquest of Mecca in 8/630, however, his authority

was unchallenged as a result of Muslim successes. When Arab tribes accepted Islam and became allies of Muḥammad they were presumably included in the confederacy, and the Muslim community ceased to consist solely of the inhabitants of Medina. Al-Aws and al-Khazraj, as Muḥammad's earliest allies, were called the Anṣār or "helpers".

The period from the Hijra to Muḥammad's death was characterised by a series of over 70 expeditions or *razzias* (*maghāzī*), in which the number of participants varied from a handful to 30,000. In the first few small expeditions, only Emigrants from Mecca took part, but in the expedition of 2/624 which culminated in the battle of Badr the Muslims of Medina constituted about three-quarters of Muḥammad's force. After the victory at Badr most of the Muslims of Medina were committed to Muḥammad's general policies, though a few, the Hypocrites (*munāfiqūn*), opposed them. This opposition within Medina was dangerous for Muḥammad when the Meccans invaded the oasis in 3/625 and the Muslims of Medina suffered many casualties, and again in 5/627 when the Meccans with many allies attempted to besiege Medina. There was also opposition from some of the Jews, and this led to the expulsion of the clans of Qaynuqā' and al-Naḍir (in 2/624 and 3/625) and the execution of the men of Qurayza and selling into slavery of its women and children (in 5/627). Jewish verbal criticisms of the Qur'ān had been felt to threaten the acceptance of Muḥammad as prophet, while Qurayza had apparently been intriguing with the Meccans during the siege. After 5/627 the remaining Jews of Medina gave no further trouble. In succeeding years, many Arab nomads on accepting Islam came to settle in Medina and were attached to the group of Emigrants; and this further strengthened Muḥammad against the Anṣār. On the whole, he managed to keep the peace between the rival groups in Medina, though at times he was able to use the hostility of al-Aws and al-Khazraj to further his own ends. After the conquest of Mecca and the acceptance of Islam by many of the leading Meccans, both sections of the Anṣār felt threatened by these last, and this division in the Anṣār gradually ceased to be of political importance. The opposition to Muḥammad from 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy and his supporters, known as the *munāfiqūn*, seems to have faded out at the time of the siege of Medina, for 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy participated in the expedition to

al-Ḥudaybiya. About 9/630, however, another group of *munāfiqūn* appeared. During the expedition to Tabūk an attempt on Muḥammad's life was planned, but was foiled. About the same time a mosque had been completed in the southern part of the oasis, the Maṣjid al-Ḍirār or "Mosque of Dissension", but instead of honouring it by his presence Muḥammad sent men to demolish it, having realised that it was designed to be a focus of intrigue against himself.

After the great expedition to Tabūk, Muḥammad did not leave Medina except to make the Pilgrimage of Farewell to Mecca in Dhu 'l-Hijja 10/March 632. About two months later he fell ill, and asked permission of his wives to remain in 'Ā'isha's apartment (instead of spending one night with each in turn). He died on 13 Rabī' I 11/8 June 632 and was buried in this apartment. He had made no arrangements for succession to his political authority, except that he had appointed Abū Bakr to lead the public prayers. The Anṣār met in the hall (*saqīfa*) of the clan of Sā'ida and appointed the leading Khazrajī, Sa'd b. 'Ubadā, as their ruler. 'Umar and Abū Bakr, however, heard of what was happening, hurried to the hall, and persuaded the Anṣār that only a man of Quraysh could be accepted by everyone as head of the community. They then appointed Abū Bakr who took the title of "caliph (*khalīfa*) of the Messenger of God".

Abū Bakr continued to reside in Medina and to follow a policy of expansion by sending expeditions northwards. Most of his brief reign (11–13/632–4), however, was occupied in subduing revolts among various Arab tribes (the wars of the Ridda). His successors 'Umar (13–23/634–44) and 'Uthmān (23–35/644–56) also resided in Medina, apart from brief visits to recently conquered provinces. Medina was thus for a short while the capital of an empire, but had little of the dignity associated with such a role. The caliph lived in his private house, and had no guards. Thus when insurgents from the provinces attacked 'Uthmān in his house, his only support was from the sons of some of the leading men of Medina who had been sent as a token force. When the insurgents attacked seriously, there was virtually no resistance and 'Uthmān was killed. Upon this, the Muslims in Medina accepted 'Alī as caliph, but they were now only a small proportion of the whole Muslim community, and their choice of caliph was not accepted in all the provinces. The Muslims of Syria favoured their governor Mu'āwiya, while Ṭalḥa

and al-Zubayr opposed 'Alī, first from Mecca and then from Basra. 'Alī, feeling constrained to counter the moves of these two, left Medina for Iraq in October 656 and never returned. In effect, Medina was replaced as capital by Kufa, and, after the acknowledgement of Mu'āwiya as caliph in 661, by Damascus.

### 3. *From 661 to 1926*

After it ceased to be the centre of the caliphate, Medina became something of a backwater politically. For a brief moment in 63/683 it came into the historical limelight. Many of the leading men of Medina disliked Yazīd's succession to his father Mu'āwiya in 60/680. Some may have been moved by the hope of regaining for Medina some of its former influence. Others seem to have sympathised with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr who was organising opposition to the Umayyads from Mecca. A large body of the Muslims of Medina, led by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥanzala, formally renounced allegiance to Yazīd, and forced a thousand members of the Umayyad family and its supporters to take refuge in the quarter of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam, the head of the family in Medina, though of a different branch from Mu'āwiya. Yazīd sent an army of from 4,000 to 12,000 Syrian troops under Muslim b. 'Uqba, but before they arrived the rebels had allowed the Umayyad party to leave Medina for Syria. Muslim's army encamped on the Ḥarra to the north-east of Medina and invited the rebels to submit. Instead they marched against him and were severely defeated, and Medina is alleged to have been pillaged for three days by the Syrians. There seems to be some anti-Umayyad exaggeration in the accounts of this battle of the Ḥarra and its aftermath. These events did not greatly alter the position of Medina, except perhaps to reduce its political importance still further.

In 130/747 a group of the Ibāḍiyya Khārijites who had established themselves in the Yemen, sent an army into the Ḥijāz and, after defeating the governor of Medina and a locally raised force, occupied Medina for three months until defeated by an army from Syria. After the establishment of 'Abbasid rule, Medina was the centre of two short-lived and unsuccessful Ḥasanid revolts, that of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, the "pure soul" (*al-naḥs al-zakiyya*) in 145/762 and that of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, the *ṣāhib Fakkkh*, in 169/786. Another incident that has been recorded

was the defeat in 230/845 by the Turkish general Bughā al-Kabīr of the nomadic tribes of Sulaym and Hilāl who had been making depredations in the region of Medina. About two years later they escaped from prison, but were put to death by the people of Medina. For the first three centuries of Islam, these were the main events involving Medina.

Even in the reign of Mu'āwiya, Medina was becoming remote from the caliph and his government, and was beginning to attract those who wanted to keep aloof from political turmoil and maintain an attitude of neutrality between the opposing groups. Prominent among the neutrals was 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. To Medina also came Ḥasan b. 'Alī after renouncing his claim to the caliphate in 41/661, and to Medina were brought al-Ḥusayn's wives and son after his death at Karbalā'. Another son of 'Alī, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya, also lived quietly in Medina. As already noted, too, an important section of the Umayyad family, not closely involved in the government of Mu'āwiya and Yazīd, resided in Medina. Many others of the Quraysh of Mecca also settled there. Such people were able to enjoy the wealth brought to them by the wars of conquests, and life in Medina became notorious for its luxury. The caliph Marwān II expressed surprise that one of the participants in the rising of 127/745 had not been held back by the wine and singing-girls of Medina.

At the same time, however, Medina became an important centre of Islamic intellectual life. From the beginnings of Islam, it would seem, men had met in mosques to discuss matters of religious interest. In Medina in the Umayyad period such discussions led to criticisms of current legal and administrative practice on the ground that these were not in accordance with Islamic principles. As these discussions and criticisms became more systematic, Islamic jurisprudence began to take shape. The early school of Medina seems to have been important (though J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 223, etc., thought that it was subordinate to the Iraqi schools). There are many references to "the seven lawyers of Medina", a group of men who died a little before or shortly after 106/718; the lists of the seven vary somewhat. One of the most prominent was 'Urwa b. al-Zubayr, who was also a collector of *ḥadīth* and of historical information about the life of the Prophet. Among his pupils were his son Hishām and (Muḥammad b. Shihāb)

al-Zuhri (d. 124/742), one of the greatest scholars of the time in several fields. The real flowering of the legal school of Medina, however, came through the work of Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795), who was the founder of one of the four Sunnī legal rites. The textual study of the Qurʾān was represented in Medina by Nāfiʿ al-Laythī (d. 169/785), the authority for one of the seven canonical sets of readings. Ibn al-Qaʿqāʿ al-Makhzūmī (d. 130/747) from Medina was also highly thought of for his textual studies. In the exegesis of the Qurʾān an important place was held by ʿAbd Raḥmān b. Zayd b. Aslam (d. 182/798), whose father had been noted as a lawyer. A pupil of Mālik's, Ibn Zabāla, wrote one of the first histories of Medina; it has not survived, but is occasionally quoted by al-Samhūdī.

No wall was built round Medina until it was felt to be threatened by the Fatimid conquest of Egypt. In 364/974, the Buyid ʿAḍud al-Dawla built a wall enclosing the central part of the town. This was restored in 540/1145 by a Zangid vizier, but a few years later in 557/1162 the Zangid Atābeg of Syria, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, built a second wall of greater extent with towers and gateways. After the Ottoman conquest, Sultan Süleymān Qānūnī (1520–66) built walls about 12 m/40 feet high of basalt and granite, with a trench in front. He also built a covered aqueduct to bring water from the south. These walls were raised to 25 m/82 feet by Sultan ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861–76).

In 601/1203 the people of Medina were involved in a quarrel between the governors of Mecca and Medina, but, though there was some fighting, an agreement was eventually reached. Half-a-century later, in 654/1256, Medina was threatened by a volcanic eruption. After a series of earthquakes, a stream of lava appeared, but fortunately flowed to the east of the town and then northwards. After this, little is recorded of Medina until the 19th century. In 1804 the Wahhābīs took the town, plundered the jewels, pearls and other treasures of the Prophet's Mosque and prevented pious "visits" to his tomb there. In 1813 it was recaptured for the Ottomans by Ṭūsūn, a son of Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt, and in 1815 the Wahhābī *amūr*, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd, recognised Ottoman sovereignty over the holy places in the Ḥijāz, and there was no change in this respect until the First World War. Shortly before that, in 1908, the Ottoman government built the Ḥijāz railway from Damascus to Medina. Though primarily intended

for pilgrims, this had some military importance, and was the object of attacks after November 1916 when the Grand Sharīf of Mecca, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, revolted against the Ottomans. A contingent of Ottoman troops, under Fakhrī Pasha, however, maintained themselves in Medina until after the peace in 1918, not surrendering until 10 January 1919 with his 9,800 men (see A.L. Tibawi, *The last knight of the last caliphs*, in *IQ* xv [1971], 159–63). In 1924 after the abolition of the caliphate by the Turkish republic, the Grand Sharīf (now King) Ḥusayn assumed the title of caliph, but met with much opposition from Arabs and other Muslims. In particular, Ibn Suʿūd invaded the Ḥijāz in August 1924; Ḥusayn abdicated in favour of his son ʿAlī, but the latter too had to leave the Ḥijāz, and in January 1926 Ibn Suʿūd became "King of the Ḥijāz" as well as of Najd. Medina was thus incorporated into the Suʿūdī kingdom.

## II. THE MODERN CITY

As early as 1923, growing hostility between the Hāshimite king, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, and the Suʿūdī sultan, ʿAbd ʿAzīz b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, led to fears that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's Ikhwān might capture Medina. In fact, the redoubtable Fayṣal al-Dawīsh, Ikhwānī leader and chief of al-Muṭayr tribe, had raided into the Ḥijāz, where he destroyed track of the already defunct Ḥijāz Railway and generally frightened the population. By June 1924, Medina had been largely cut off from outside supplies; nevertheless, at the time of the Suʿūdī/Ikhwān capture of al-Ṭāʾif (5 September 1924) and the subsequent fall of Mecca, an exodus began from the latter which brought a surge of refugees into Medina. During 1925, occasional loads of supplies reached the beleaguered city, but by September when the Ḥarb tribe defected to the Suʿūdīs, Medina was completely isolated. By the beginning of October, the garrison commander, ʿAbd Majīd al-"Mifa'ie", was down to a 20-day supply of necessities, and the population began to slip away. By November, the citizens who remained approached ʿAbd Majīd and one ʿIzzat Effendi, controller of the railroad, and asked them to negotiate the city's surrender. The terms were to open the gates if a general amnesty were to be declared and if the Ikhwān would guarantee the safety of the defenders and of the populace. From the Suʿūdī point of view, the city could have been captured soon after the capture of



al-Ṭāʾif and Mecca, but ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz apparently preferred to wait until Muslim opinion had digested the new régime's control of Mecca. Indeed, false, but not implausible reports that Suʿūdī artillery had damaged the famous green dome over the Prophet's tomb had already in October 1925 brought a Persian mission of investigation as well as protests from foreign consuls in Jeddah and from all over the world. Not long before the city's fall, Philby, en route to Rābigh, reports that he saw a detachment of the Suʿūdī army under the sultan's third son, Muḥammad, marching on Medina. According to Philby, in the last weeks of the siege Medinan fear of the Ikhwān led ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz to have food smuggled into the city in order to prevent Fayṣal al-Dawīsh from effecting the capture. In any case, the surrender took place on 5 December 1925 and was accepted by Amīr Nāṣir b. Suʿūd and Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh b. Faḍl. The Ikhwān soon entered the exterior fortress of al-Salaʿ but not the city. Amīr Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz entered on 6 December, prayed in the Prophet's mosque, and then ordered his troops to distribute 1,000 bags of rice and 2,000 of flour to the hungry citizenry. Fayṣal al-Dawīsh aspired to the post of governor of Medina (which is a town on the Najd plateau unlike Mecca, a city of the coastal plain) and its dependent villages. His failure to receive it may have been one cause of his participation in the subsequent Ikhwān revolt. But from ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz's point of view, since the Muṭayr *ḍira* already reached from the confines of al-Aḥsāʾ almost to Medina, a further extension of his power would have given him a possibly preponderant influence from the Red Sea to the Gulf. The first governor appointed was Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subhān, a relatively liberal-minded native of Ḥāʾil.

The Wāhhābī zealots were in the end served following the arrival of ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulayhid, the chief Wāhhābī *qāḍī*. He soon assembled the local *ʿulamāʾ* and asked them to give him, after due deliberation, an opinion on the legality of the elaborate tombs erected over the years in al-Baqīʿ cemetery. After some two weeks of discussion, a *fatwā*, motivated partly by fear, was issued by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Anṣārī, with reluctant approval from his colleagues, which sanctioned the Wāhhābī view that the tombs, cupolas, etc., should be destroyed. Shaykh Muḥammad was for the rest of his days referred to with opprobrium as "the Wāhhābī". Ibn Bulayhid now had legal justification to implement the Wāhhābī

view. He had, however, a problem: there were almost no Wāhhābīs in Medina, and the regular population was reluctant to implement the *fatwā*. In the end, he had to hire the Shiʿite pariah class al-Nakhāwila (see below) to perform the task. When Eldon Rutter visited the city just after these events, he found that al-Baqīʿ looked like a razed town. It was strewn with a rubble of earth, timber, iron bars, bricks, cement, etc., through which paths had been cleared. It was said that 10,000 of the Companions of the Prophet had been buried there, but all graves, from those of the Prophet's family, of ʿUthmān, Mālik b. Anas and other well-known Muslims, to the palm-frond graves of the poor, were systematically destroyed. Some of the Nakhāwila, who had never been allowed to bury their own dead in al-Baqīʿ cemetery, were still raking over the rubble when Rutter visited the site. Also, outlying religious buildings such as the mosque of the tomb of Ḥamza were destroyed. Ibrāhīm b. Sālim b. Subhān was soon replaced, but there was one saving grace amidst the carnage. Full public security throughout the peninsula, unknown for long years, provided the basis for a future of far greater hope.

In 1926 King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, to use his new title, visited the Prophet's city and conducted diplomatic negotiations with the British Agent and Consul, Mr. S.R. Jordan, but little came of them. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, who had been absent from Najd for two years, had to return to affairs there. The only other high-level meetings which modern Medina has known was in early 1945 when King Farūq b. Fuʾād of Egypt visited King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz and invited him to visit Cairo, which he did in January 1946.

The population of the captured city was much depleted, but there are no exact figures. Estimates with source for the 19th and 20th centuries are as follows:

1814	16–18,000	Burckhardt
1853	16–20,000	Burton
1877	20,000	Keane
1908	30,000	Wavell
1910	60,000	al-Batanūnī
eve of World War I	80,000	Philby
1925	6,000	Rutter
early 1930s	15,000	Philby
early 1940s	20,000	<i>Western Arabia and the Red Sea</i>
1950s	40,000	Lipsky
1962	71,998	census

(cont.)

1968	90,000	Sogreah Co.
1970	112,000	Doxiades
1972	137,000	Robert Matthews Co.
1974	198,186	census
1976	150,000	<i>Area handbook</i>
2000	250–400,000	Makki

The 2005 estimate for the province of Medina wa 1,300,000, but it should be emphasised that the estimates are only estimates. The compulsory recording of births dates only from 1965. In 1972 it was estimated that average population density was 2332/km<sup>2</sup> with a centre-city density of 30–40,000/km<sup>2</sup>. The Robert Matthews Co. survey of 1972 showed that 36% of heads of families were born in Medina; 28%, elsewhere in Su‘ūdī Arabia; and 36%, outside the kingdom. As to age distribution, the 1974 estimate was that 50% of the population was below age 15, and in addition that the economically active age group was only 23% of the total. A curious phenomenon in Medina is that the age group over 65 is larger than the 60–64 group which in turn is larger than the 55–59 age group. This is explained by what might be called “religious retirees” – those who wish to retire and spend their last days in the Prophet’s city. Oil-stimulated immigration consisted on the one hand of professionals (teachers, doctors, engineers) who came largely from Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, and labourers who were primarily but not exclusively from Yemen. Yemenis constituted some 75% of all foreigners. It should be noted that the economic activity rate of migrants was higher than that of Su‘ūdīs, whereas family size was smaller.

The population of the somewhat dazed or even partially ruined city that the Su‘ūdīs took over in 1925 spoke a Median dialect distinct from that of other Hījāz localities. It has affinities both to Syrian and Egyptian Arabic, and Turkish words and phrases were still heard in the last quarter of the 20th century. There were considerable areas of the city that were abandoned and semi-ruined, especially those outside the northern and western walls where wealthy Turks and others had built homes, especially after the coming of the railroad. Traditionally, the population lived in clearly compartmented quarters (*hawsh*, pl. *aḥwāsh*) and, in addition to native Medinans,

included North Africans (attracted by the tomb of Mālik b. Anas), Indians, black Africans (Takārīna), Mauritians (Shanāqīṭa) and Central Asians. A newer “immigrant” group are tribesmen: those of Ḥarb are concentrated in the eastern *ḥarra*; those of Juḥayna in the western. In addition, there was Ḥarat al-Āghāwāt, which was the home of the eunuch and other servants of the mosque (*al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī*). These included *imāms*, *mu‘adhdhins*, caretakers, etc.

Religiously, the population is mostly Sunnī, of whom the large majority is Ḥanafī with a few Shāfi‘ī. There are also several groups of Shi‘ites. One of the most interesting of these is the Nakhwīla (sing. Nakhwālī). This is a Twelver Shi‘ite pariah class who formerly had their own *hawsh*, which was, however, broken up by the Su‘ūdī régime first, apparently, in the 1920s and, definitively, following serious communal disturbances in the mid-1970s when a large highway was run through it. The origin of the Nakhwīla, who are currently roughly estimated to number between five and ten thousand, is obscure. They themselves claim to be descendants of the Anṣār; others believe they are descendants of African slaves, that they came from eastern Arabia or from Persia, etc. Some date their ostracisation from the time of the caliph Yazīd I. The name derives from their specialisation in cultivating palm trees. They also perform other menial services. Rutter reports that they were not allowed to live within the city walls, although they came in during the day to sell vegetables near Bāb al-Salām. In addition, the Nakhwīla were not allowed to pray in the Prophet’s mosque, nor do they bury their dead in al-Baq‘, but rather in their own cemetery east of Qubā’. Popular Sunnī feeling, according to Rutter, was that they would pollute these localities. They practice *mut‘a* or temporary marriage, and it was said they rent their houses to Persian pilgrims during the *Ḥajj* season. It may also be noted that the late Ottomans effectively prevented them from participating in elections, and King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, following a general protest against their participation in voting for the *majlis al-shūrā* in 1937, followed the Ottoman precedent. There are also a few Shi‘ites of the Banū ‘Alī section of Ḥarb and the Banū Ḥusayn of al-Sādāt. It may also be noted that there is a small upper class group of Shi‘ites in Medina. These, originally from Iraq, are to a considerable degree integrated with the Sunnī upper class and basically come from two families, ‘Umrān and Mashhadī.

Among the well-known Sunnī families are the Khurayjīs, of Najdī origin but long connected with trade in Medina, who in the mid-1930s had the finest residence in the city; the Saqqāfs, whose scion 'Umar was for some years Su'ūdī Foreign Minister, and newer rich families such as the As'ads and the Kurdīs who made fortunes in land speculation in the 1970s.

The febrile modernisation of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, has largely destroyed all of the old *ahwāsh* and has promoted a considerable homogenisation of the people, but slums remain in certain parts of the old city, and these continue to have ethnic settlement patterns. On balance, Philby's judgment continues to be sound, that the people of Medina, favoured as they are by location, water supplies, and relatively abundant agriculture, "lead more spacious lives" with something of the patrician and the patriarchal about them, in contrast to their neighbours in Mecca.

The physical appearance of Medina has changed dramatically in the six decades since the Wahhābīs first took it over. Rutter was told that the houses in the oldest sections of the city around the mosque, but especially between the *Haram* and al-Baqī', were built so incredibly close together in order to prevent the *samūm* from penetrating them. These houses, which were built of granite or basalt blocks and some of which had pillared halls opening on bathing pools, were typically three or four stories tall. Almost every house had a well with a hole directly above it on each floor. The hole itself had a small room (*bayt al-bi'r*) built around it which served as a bathing and siesta room for the people on that floor. The bucket was on a rope which operated from a pulley in the ceiling, and thus people on each floor could get water as needed. The water, which was not in short supply, was normally about five metres below the surface of the ground. The whole city was enclosed by a substantial wall with various gates, and there was also an outer wall extending from southeast of the old city westward and then north to tie into the main citadel at Bāb al-Shāmī on the northwest of the inner city. Finally, the Hāshimite King Ḥusayn built another wall from the northeast section of the old city north and then westward, but the Hāshimite kingdom ceased to exist before the new wall reached the existing outer wall on the west. With the coming of the *pax Su'ūdiana*, the whole system became obsolete, and gradually the walls dis-

appeared before bulldozers. Philby reported in 1957 that they were gone, but some fragments still exist.

Modernisation has brought completely different architectural approaches and materials, and much of the old has been swept away. Courtyards have been replaced by balconies, and cement and bricks are now standard. Sometimes old and new are combined, with traditional materials used on the ground floor and concrete blocks above. The latter, being lighter, allow larger rooms than would stone. The new construction is less insulating than the old, but air conditioning offsets this loss. Much of the growth of the city has been uncontrolled. Immigrants have settled on the eastern and western *harras* and *bidonvilles* have emerged. Some of the more prosperous immigrants have replaced their shanties with substantial structures, but growth in these areas has been chaotic. Running water did not exist as late as about 1980; electricity reached the *harrāt* only about 1978.

By the 1960s, a city plan emerged (see Fig. 67). It features wide streets, street lighting, plantings, pavements for pedestrians and parks. Various new streets were cut, others were widened. The castle at Bāb al-Shāmī was demolished and replaced by apartment houses, and certain streets formerly connected by stairs were placed on the same level. The *ahwāsh* disappeared; buildings were built across the water course that cut through the southern part of the city on a northwest-southeast axis. In general, the central business district near the Prophet's mosque has not shifted, but there are satellite suburbs which have grown rapidly. These include al-'Awālī to the southeast, Qubā' to the south (which with its orchards and cafés is a suburb of the affluent), and Sayyid al-Shuhadā' to the northeast.

The old layout of the city continued to impose itself on some developments. The Hījāz railway station and the Ottoman barracks were both located in the southwest just inside the outer wall. The straight road, Shāri' al-'Anbariyya, which led to the centre of town at Bāb al-Miṣrī, had also by 1925 attracted the public or Egyptian kitchen, the governor's residence, and other private mansions. In the late 1960s, the barracks were demolished and replaced by a large government building. Other multistorey buildings soon followed. The location of the residence of the *amīr* exerted a pull on the location of upper-class housing. As long as the governor's house was in the south, the well-to-do lived there, but when in the 1960s

the *amīr*'s palace moved to the north of the city, Sulṭāna Street, which led northwest towards the old (Sultana) airport, and the community of al-'Uyūn (7 km/4 miles away) began to attract affluent villas. The new airport located about 14 km/9 miles northeast of the city has also been an attraction northwards, and in general the area between Shāri' al-Maṭār (airport road) and Sulṭāna Street has filled in. West of Sulṭāna Street, Jabal Sala', a difficult and substantial rocky outcrop, impeded development, but by the 1980s villas were appearing north of it as well. To exemplify the overheated inflation in land prices, one can cite a garbage area north of the outer (Ḥusayn's) wall where no-one would build. Cleaned up in the 1960s, land was selling there for \$2,500/m<sup>2</sup> by the mid-1970s.

Other points of interest are that industry has generally moved outside the city where land was cheaper and there was room to expand. Public open spaces in Medina are below international standards (totaling, in about 1980, 2,321 m<sup>2</sup>), but this inadequacy is partially compensated for by recreational use of the green areas, which are themselves diminishing, north and south of the city.

Traffic has always been a problem in Medina. Rutter reports that streets in the old sections in 1926 were so narrow that on occasion a person had to walk sideways to pass. During the restoration of the mosque under Sultan 'Abd Majīd (1848–60), a breach (al-'Ayniyya) was made in the inner wall, and a straight street driven through to near the southwest gate of the mosque (Bāb al-Salām) so that columns and stone blocks could be brought in from Wādī al-'Aqīq. As long as camels discharged their loads in the area (al-Manākha) west of the inner wall reserved for that purpose and goods were then taken in by donkey or porter, the narrow streets could also be used by pedestrians, but with the coming of motor vehicles the situation became acute, especially as there was a severe shortage of parking space. One major parking lot does, however, exist in a portion of the old railroad yards.

Streets were added and widened in two stages: (1) 1950–5, when by private contract the *ahwāsh* and *aziqqa* were greatly altered, by building new roads, especially Shāri' al-Maṭār and Shāri' Abī Zār which runs north and south to the east of the old city, by widening others, and by asphaltting others; (2) 1961–5, when the municipality itself carried the

process a stage further, installing *inter alia* a one-way traffic system in some sections and traffic lights. There continued in the early 1980s to be some unasphalted streets. The increase in vehicles can be gauged by the fact that in the period 1948–72, 6,511 vehicles were licensed, whereas in 1973–4 alone 6,158 were licensed. In addition, at *Hajj* time many outside vehicles appear. One may also note Shāri' al-Khawājāt, which links, north of the city, the airport with Abyār 'Alī some 8 km/5 miles southwest of the city, where there are TV and power stations. Designed as a road which non-Muslim technicians would be allowed to use (hence its name), it has become the main truck route because it bypasses the heavy city traffic. The city boasts two bus stations and taxi companies (cabs can be ordered by phone). Traffic, however, apparently remains a serious problem. Makki reports that accidents and ensuing violence between drivers are common, that parking fines are not levied, and that roads are hazardous for pedestrians.

The economy of Medina may be conveniently considered under three headings: agriculture, commerce and industry, and the pilgrimage. Agriculture and agricultural self-sufficiency have constituted one of the glories of Islam's second city. Palms ripened early in June, and the main harvest was about a month later. The grapes, of which the best were a long white variety called Sharīfī, were also well known. Modernisation, however, has come disastrously close to ending the city's agricultural sector for three reasons. One is that urban sprawl in the 1950s overtook those farms which immediately surrounded the city. A second reason is the economic opportunity which the oil-driven economy of the country presented in other economic sectors; and the third cause is the fall in the water table because of unprecedented demands for water. By the 1950s, the formerly planted banks of Wādī al-'Aqīq had become barren and the desolation of the natural acacia forest, al-Ghāba, the traditional outdoor recreational area of the Medinans, and a source of wood, located some 7.5 km/4 miles north of the city, was well under way. This process was accelerated by the successive construction of small dams ('Aqūl, 1956; al-'Aqīq, 1958; and Buṭhān, 1966) which prevented destructive flash floods in Medina, but also prevented water from reaching al-Ghāba. Makki believes (1982) that the process might still be reversed, but notes no sign of the required effort. The agricultural areas south of the city have held

up more successfully, though some decline is noted there as well. The decade 1962–72 showed a total reduction in agricultural land of 16.8% from 8.14 to 6.77 km<sup>2</sup>. Over 40% of the total is in al-ʿAwālī and Qubāʾ south of the city. According to the Ministry of Agriculture, crop distribution in 1962 was as follows: 64% palm trees, 21% fruit trees, 14% alfalfa, and 1% garden vegetables, including tomatoes, eggplant, carrots, potatoes, squash, peppers, cucumbers, watermelons, cabbage, and cauliflower. It may be noted that the date trade was especially important as an export (to Syria, Egypt and the Indian subcontinent) crop. The dates in fact had a religious aura as a kind of blessing for the eater. There are many varieties, of which Rutter says the best three are al-ʿAnbarī, al-Shalabī and al-Halwa.

Highlights of the local economy are as follows. Industrial activities are principally date packing and vehicle repair. These are located on the periphery of the city on a totally unplanned basis. In 1971 manufacturing firms numbered 107, most of which employed 10 or less workers. Of the total, 35 were in car repair, 17 in building tile manufacture, 15 in bricks, 4 dairies, and 2 large date-packing factories. Estimates are, for 1971 and 1974 respectively, that there were 1,452 and 3,517 industrial workers and 3,105 and 6,207 commercial workers. Hotels and hospices, including a Sheraton, numbered 8 in 1971 and employed some 1,225 workers in 1974. In 1971 there were 2,208 retail and 28 wholesale stores and the *sūq* system received its first challenge in that same year with the establishment of two supermarkets, one in the city and one on Qubāʾ Street. The social importance of the *sūq* has also declined with changing life-styles, because accompanying traditional social activities such as public baths and coffee shops have almost disappeared. According to Makki, men's barbers, often Indian or African, are still conspicuous as they work outside on the side-walk attending to the needs of, especially, Yemenis and other unurbanised immigrants. At the same time the new life-style has given rise to ladies' coiffeuses who use modern equipment but operate from their private homes. Of the three known to Makki (two in Qubāʾ and one in Bāb al-Majīdī), two were run by foreign teachers and one by a Medinan lady.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the impact of the *Hajj* on the economy of Medina. Rutter estimated in 1926 that the number of those who served the *Haram* was about 1,000. This number included, in

addition to the *shaykh al-haram*, his deputy, and the treasurer, *imāms*, preachers, lecturers, *muʿadhdhins*, overseers, doorkeepers, sweepers, lamp cleaners, water carriers, etc. Most were supported at least in part by *waqfs*, many originating in Egypt. He reports that King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz initially reduced the number to 200. The corps of eunuchs numbered about 50. They were popularly believed to be wealthy, and they had *inter alia* black boys in training to enter the mosque service. In more recent times, Long has estimated that the guild of guides alone received some \$800,000 in fees (gratuities are also important) in 1972 when pilgrims numbered about 480,000. His estimate of gross *Hajj* income, including public sector expenditures, in that year was \$213 million. Of this, one could guess that Medina might be allocated one-third. Other estimates are higher. Robert Matthew Co. estimated for the same year that *external* pilgrims spent just under \$100 million, of which two-thirds was for gifts. Makki's fieldwork in the same year indicates that average pilgrim expenditures were 583 Suʿūdī *riyāls* (SR; \$1.00 = 4.15 in 1972).

He estimates total revenue from *external* pilgrims at SR 381.4 million (= \$91.9 million). Total pilgrims on Makki's projection produced a revenue of SR 558.5 million (= \$134.5 million).

The *Haram al-Nabawī* of course is the central focus of Medina, although other buildings and localities have high religious significance (see Figs. 68–9). The exact area of the sacred territory (*Haram*) from which non-Muslims are excluded is unclear. There is indeed a certain ambiguousness about the *Haram* quality of Medina. Abū Ḥanīfa said it was not a *Haram*. Rutter reports that "common opinion" held that the area is bounded by the lava fields on the east and west, by Jabal ʿAyr on the south and Jabal Thawr ("behind Ohod") on the north, an area about 16 × 3 km/7 × 2 miles. Philby wrote in the early 1930s that the whole district from Qubāʾ to Jabal Uḥūd was *Harām*. Nallino reports that, according to the Saudi Arabian Mining Syndicate convention, it was defined as a radius of 30 km/18 miles around the walls of the city – a significantly smaller area. Non-Muslims now regularly travel the *Shārīʿ al-Khawājāt* and stay in such hotels as the Sheraton.

When the Wahhābis first arrived, they discouraged the visit (*ziyāra*) to Medina as constituting idolatrous tomb worship, but King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, for whom the revenues had some interest, justified it on the ground

that he permitted pilgrims to pray in the mosque but not to visit the Prophet's tomb. For Rutter, the mosque with its green dome and golden apex ornament rising high above the walls to one-half the height of white minarets was "a picture of the most striking beauty and magnificence." Philby opined that it was the "chief architectural feature not only of Medina but of all Arabia." Rutter noted that many of the religious students had fled, but others were still studying at the feet of teachers such as Aḥmad Ṭaṇṭāwī and Ibn Turkī. Philby, who visited the city in 1931, found that all the tombs (other than those in the *Haram*) were in ruinous condition. He also reports that the Shī'ites of India had offered King 'Abd al-'Azīz £50,000 to spare the tomb of Fāṭima, but that it, like others in al-Baqī', was then almost gone. In 1934 when Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Sulaymān visited the city, many of the historic tombs were tidied up, and basalt borders and simple headstones set in place.

As to the Prophet's mosque itself, it has undergone substantial changes under Su'ūdī rule. The first known attention to it took place during 1934–8 when, largely through the generous efforts of Ṭal'at Ḥarb of Egypt, badly needed repairs were carried out. These included installation of a new marble floor, and a new wooden screen to separate the women's section from the much larger men's part. Major enlargements followed. On 9 June 1948 King 'Abd al-'Azīz wrote an open letter to the Muslims of the world indicating his intention to enlarge the mosque. A committee of notables to assess the value of those properties that were condemned and an office with some 50 officials was established in Sha'bān 1370/May–June 1951. For actual building, a team of 14 architects, 200 artisans and 1,500 labourers was assembled. The foundation stone was laid on 20 November 1953 before 2,000 dignitaries, and the inauguration of the new structure took place on 22 October 1955 with King Su'ūd, who had succeeded to the throne, officiating. The total cost was \$11 million. The total new area added to the mosque was 6,024 m<sup>2</sup>. Essentially, what the builders did was to double the size of the mosque by integrating a whole new building on to the northern end of the original one. The new section has its own courtyard plus minarets at the new northern corners. (The old Ottoman style minarets at the former northern corners as well as the minaret just north of Bāb al-Raḥma were torn down.) The

building itself is in neo-Moorish style; the minarets, neo-Mamluk. In addition, as the accompanying Figs. 2, 3 indicate, the Su'ūdī builders straightened out the asymmetrical shape of the exterior of the earlier structure and rebuilt the east, west, and north structures surrounding the original courtyard. West of the reconstructed mosque a large permanently canopied area was built in 1974–8 to provide shade for the vehicles and bodies of the hundreds of thousands who visit annually, although many old residences in the *aḥwāsh* were thereby destroyed. Finally, in May 1983 King Fahd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz ordered a further expansion of the mosque – basically on the east and west – from the present 16,000 m<sup>2</sup> to a staggering total of 82,000 m<sup>2</sup> with 90 m/300 feet minarets, the whole to be air conditioned. Little will remain of the old city.

There are of course other religious buildings and sites in Medina. The most important is al-Baqī', the cemetery lying to the east of the mosque. This tract, which has been used by all Medinans except the Nakhāwila since the Prophet's time, was expanded in 1953. It cannot in practice be moved because it holds the graves of many famous people. Makki estimates that bodies decompose in al-Baqī' within six months, after which a grave can be re-used. Sometimes at the height of the *Hajj*, two bodies are put in one grave. Other well-known sites include the mosque of al-Qiblatayn, the so-called al-Masājid Khamsa and the mosque of Qubā'. In the city proper are also the al-Ghanāma, Abū Bakr and 'Alī mosques near al-Manākha street. A common characteristic of mosques in Medina is that they have a courtyard surrounded by roofed columns. In addition to the cemetery and mosques, there are a number of so-called *zāwiyas* or chapels in private homes. These often have a door opening directly on the street, but by 1980 many had been abandoned. In Ottoman, Sharīfī and early Su'ūdī days, the Ramaḍān cannon was fired from the Ottoman fort on Jabal Sala', but with the modern growth of the city it could not be heard; other cannons were set up in various locations.

The logistics and management of pilgrims in Medina differs from that in Mecca, but still constitute an annual event of massive proportions. The differences are that only about three-fourths of the *ḥājjīs* make the visit (*ziyāra*) to Medina and that they may come either before or after the *Hajj* proper. As in Mecca, however, guilds have arisen to service the

visitors (*zā'ir*, pl. *zuwwār*): the *muzawwirūn* (sing. *muzawwir* "he who conducts a visit") and the *adillā'* (sing. *dalīl* "guide"). The former are those who conduct the visitor through the religious customs, such as reciting the proper formulas; the latter are responsible for the physical needs of the *zuwwār*, such as food, lodging and local transport. This dual system contrasts with that of Mecca, where the *muṭawwifūn* (sing. *muṭawwif*, he who conducts the *ṭawāf*) are responsible for both spiritual and physical needs. Governmental control over guides evolved because by the late 1930s, internal transport had improved to the point where the visit to Medina could be made from Mecca or Jeddah in a matter of hours and the number of visitors steeply increased. Usually the *adillā'* or guides are also *muzawwirūn*, but not every *muzawwir* is a *dalīl*. Traditionally, almost every native Medinan served at one time or another as a *muzawwir*.

Like pilgrims proper to Mecca, visitors to Medina have come by every form of transport, certainly not excluding walking and, before World War I, including the railway. However, since the Su'ūdī takeover, the railroad from Damascus has remained derelict and walking has practically ceased. As early as 1929 the number of visitors who came by camel caravan had declined to about half, while most of the other half came by motorcar. The first visitors to arrive by air came in January 1936 as the result of a contract made by the Su'ūdī government with the Egyptian Misr Airlines (now Egypt Air). In 1937 the aircraft made two flights per day from Jeddah to the old Sulṭāna airport with five passengers per flight. By 1950, according to Long, the camel had practically disappeared as a means of transporting pilgrims. Roads to the holy cities received very high priority immediately after World War II, and the Jeddah-Medina sector was paved by 1958. Exact figures for mode of travel to Medina in more recent years are not available, but one may assume that by 1980, motor vehicles and aircraft brought all but the smallest handful of *zuwwār* to Medina.

By royal decree of 1965, the fee for a *dalīl* was fixed at SR 10 (= \$2.22; from 1959 to 1971 the exchange rate was \$1 = SR 4.5). Accommodation is a private sector matter, but there are government-suggested prices. According to the 1972 regulations, SR 20 (\$4.82) was the suggested daily rent for a "house." The Ḥajj Accommodation Control Committee of the Ministry of Ḥajj and Waqfs is charged with regulating abuse.

Medina had been famous for libraries and learning from early Islamic times, but Rutter found a mixed situation in regard to both. The library of 'Arif Ḥikmet Bey, a former Ottoman *shaykh al-Islām* who had also served as *mullā* of Medina in 1239/1823 and following, was one of the richest in al-Ḥijāz, with estimated holdings of 17,000 volumes. Although Fu'ād Ḥamza opines that "in the Ottoman period" a considerable part of the collection had been removed, others do not corroborate his contention. Located just off the southeast corner of the Ḥaram, the library was open to the public but non-circulating. Rutter describes it as a building composed of two domed rooms set in a walled garden. Access was through a large ornamental iron gate. Within, Rutter remarks on the cleanliness and high level of upkeep. The principal attendant and his assistant were both highly competent Turks, and several people were reading. Philby indicates that the library contained unique manuscripts. In regard to the very recent siege and Su'ūdī accession to power, the assistant told Rutter that "we do not eat of the hand of the king, neither from the hand of El Husayn, nor from the hand of Ibn Sa'ūd. Our provision comes from the waqf bequeathed by the Shaykh ['Arif Ḥikmet]. Therefore, it is of no account to us who is king or who is sultan; we render praise to God, Who is Lord of All." Although it had presumably withstood the siege intact, the Sulṭān Maḥmūd library (4,569 volumes), adjoining Bāb al-Salām, could not be examined by Rutter because the key could not be found. Other libraries (Bashīr Āghā [2,063 volumes], the al-Shifā' school, 'Umar Effendi and Sultan 'Abd Ḥamīd [1,659 volumes]) were simply gone. Various explanations were offered: the books had been stolen when the inhabitants fled; they had been sold by their caretakers; the Wahhābīs had burnt them. The Ḥaram itself contained approximately 100 large Qur'āns.

At the time of the Su'ūdī conquest, Nallino counted public schools as one elementary (*ibtidā'iyya*) and two preparatory (*tahdīriyya*). By 1937 this had increased modestly to one elementary, three preparatory and one school for adult illiterates. But there were also some eight private schools, including Dār al-Ḥadīth, which had 49 students, as well as Madrasat al-'Ulūm al-Shar'iyya with 394 students. In all, the private schools enrolled 873 students. By 1938 these institutions had been increased by the addition of an Italian orphanage. A different type of educational

institution also appeared in 1354–5/1936 – namely, the four-page weekly *al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, which was owned by ‘Alī and ‘Uthmān Ḥāfiẓ and managed by the latter.

In more recent years, the Islamic University of Medina has been the institution of highest learning in Medina. This institution was founded in the early 1960s, with encouragement from members of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn driven into exile by President Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir of Egypt, as an international seminary modelled at least in part on al-Azhar and designed to propagate Islam. It contains both a secondary (*thanawīyya*) curriculum and a university-level programme. The university-level programme lasts four years. Students take 25 classes per week in the first two years and 24 in the last two. The university, led for many years by the well-known ultra-conservative ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. Bāz (and more recently by ‘Abd Allāh Ṣāliḥ ‘Ubayd) is academically under a Higher Consultative Council, which in 1974 was almost equally composed of well-known foreign and Su‘ūdī educators, *‘ulamā’*, or religious administrators. At that time these included, e.g., Ḥasanayn Muḥammad Makhlūf, former *muftī diyār al-Miṣriyya*; Muḥammad Amīn Ḥusaynī of Palestine; and ‘Abu ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Mawdūdī, former president of al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya of Pakistan. In 1975 the journal published by the university (*Majallat al-Jāmi‘a al-Islāmiyya*) indicated that, at the university level, there were three faculties: Kulliyat al-Sharī‘a, Kulliyat al-Da‘wa and Kulliyat Uṣūl al-Fiḥ, and that these faculties grant the “higher *ijāza*” which bestows on its holder the same rights as equivalent degrees granted by the secular universities of the kingdom.

Despite the great increase in educational facilities illiteracy continues to be a major problem. According to Makki’s analysis of the 1974 census, about 74% of the Su‘ūdī labour force in Medina was illiterate, and 51% of the foreign labour force was illiterate. A major explanation of continuing high illiteracy rates is the influx of illiterate people from desert and rural areas into the city.

Medical facilities have also burgeoned in Medina since 1925 – not least because of the pilgrimage, its medical problems and the public relations aspects thereof. One early milestone in this development was the establishment in 1937 of an Italian-Muslim hospital under the auspices of the king of Italy. The hospital was under local control and was financed

by a *waqf* from Tripoli, Libya. By the mid-1960s, a 50-bed hospital of tropical medicine as well as enlargement of the main general hospital were both under construction, and by 1975 a control station for schistosomiasis (bilharzia) had been opened. Patients treated in Medinan hospitals reached 903,635 in 1969, but declined in the subsequent year. Death rates have also generally declined, and the death rate of *zuwwār* dropped from 1.6% in 1942 to 0.31% in 1974. It might also be noted that the city gave its name to the parasitic guinea worm, as in *Dracunculus medinensis*, *Vena medinensis* or *Filaria medinensis*.

Modern communications in Medina cover the following: roads, facilities for air travel, telecommunications and rail service. Revival of the Ḥijāz railroad from Damascus to Medina has been discussed by the Syrian, Jordanian and Su‘ūdī governments throughout the post-World War II period. Periodical announcement of positive decisions have been made, but nothing has ever been done. The evolution of the telephone service has been steady since 1896, when a line connecting the city with al-‘Ulā, Tabūk, Amman and Damascus was installed. Philby reports that a wireless service to Jedda began under the Ottomans. The Su‘ūdīs installed, in 1932, new Marconi (British) equipment. A new radio telephone was installed in 1956, and automatic service arrived in 1972, as well as a co-axial cable to Yanbu‘, Jeddah and al-Ṭā‘if. In that year there were 3,737 telephones in use, with long waiting lists. A local television station arrived in 1969. The first airport was located near Sulṭāna, northwest of Medina, and was derelict from World War I until 1936, when Bank Miṣr opened, briefly, its *Ḥajj* service, but the modern airport, in use by the mid-1960s, is located 15 km/9 miles north-east of the city on the road to al-Ḥanakiyya. By the early 1980s, Medina was linked with neighbouring population centres in all directions by a completely modern highway network. Finally, it may be noted that although the Su‘ūdī government joined the International Postal Union in 1927, in 1939 Medina post office was one of only four in the country that could handle all operations specified by the international conventions.

It is difficult to get a clear picture of the administration of Medina. The Ḥāshimite surrender was taken by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, and *amīrs* of the city appointed.

The main function of the *amīr* is the maintenance of public security. The city was one of five in the



Ḥijāz that had had a municipality in Ottoman and Hāshimite times. Medina was one of only three cities in al-Ḥijāz that had police at the time of the Su'ūdī takeover; overwhelmingly, members of the police force were, all over the Su'ūdī realm, from 'Asīr and Najd. Other administrative aspects may be mentioned. In 1928–9, notaries were instituted in Medina as well as in Mecca and Jeddah. (Elsewhere, *qāḍīs* performed this function.) Justice was, in the period till World War II at least, administered by a summary court under a single *qāḍī* and had jurisdiction over petty civil cases and criminal cases not involving execution or loss of limb. The higher court has a *qāḍī* as president and two “substitutes.” In cases involving capital punishment or loss of limb, the decision had to be pronounced by the full court. Medina also had a customs office which was a branch of the Jeddah office. Originally, *waqf* administration in Medina was independent and reported to the local *amīr*; however, by a royal decree of 1936 the *waqf* administration in Mecca was upgraded to a directorate-general with the Medinan director to report thereto. Finally, because of the importance of water and its interrelation with various properties in and outside the city, a special authority, Hay'at 'Ayn al-Zarqā', composed of five members, was established. The name of the authority was changed in 1978 to the Water and Drainage Department. By the 1980s, water was for most Medinans piped into houses, offices and apartments from desalinisation plants on the Red Sea coast, but when the Su'ūdīs took the city over the situation was very different. Medina's not un plentiful natural water supply came from three main interrelated sources, but basically from the south: (1) south of the city in and around Qubā'; (2) ground water throughout the area of Medina; and (3) north of the city in and around al-'Uyūn. In addition, several *wādīs* intersect more or less in Medina and often generated destructive flash floods. These *wādīs* have gradually been dammed, starting with a dam built in the 1940s to the north-east of the city and including the 1966 dam across the upper course of Wādī Buḥān which used to flood the city frequently. However, the dams reduce the water available in the northern agricultural areas and thus lead to a decrease in cultivation. Actual rainfall in Medina fluctuates greatly. From 1957 to 1978 it ranged annually from zero to almost 104 mm and averaged 38.04 mm. Historically, the most important source

of domestic water has been 'Ayn al-Zarqā', which was actually a series of wells connected by covered conduits in the Qubā' area, where they joined into a single double-decker aqueduct. The upper channel carried drinking water to ten public watering places or *manāhil*. North of the city this aqueduct emerged above ground, and the water was used for irrigation. The *manāhil* were about 10 m/33 feet below ground and were reached by steps. There were also ordinary *sabils* up until the early 1960s. The first pipes and public taps were installed in 1909, and in 1957 there were 49 of these taps (*kabbās*, pl. *kabbāsāt*) from which water was often led to individual houses by hose. By 1965 there were 1,500 *kabbāsāt*, but by 1974 their number had declined to 600 because of the spread of indoor plumbing; those that remained were in outlying areas of the city beyond which water tankers delivered to the poorer population. In addition, in the earlier period brackish water was readily available at depths of 4–10 m/13–33 feet, and most houses had wells to tap this water. Recent use has now lowered the water table significantly, and the supply is inadequate. All have been abandoned, as well as the unusual *bayt al-bi'r* architectural feature (described above) which provided summer cooling for generations.

The situation with agricultural water is parallel. The natural springs in the al-'Uyūn area which irrigated 500,000 palm trees in 1915 were by 1980 all dried up. Owners have compensated for the decline in the water table by pumping. Philby reported that around 1954 pumping was well established and expanding, and Makki indicates that 672 diesel pumps were in use in 1962. A further development has been the erection in 1968–71 of a large concrete tank on top of Jabal Salā', whither water is pumped from the Qubā' pump station. Other tanks on high ground also ensure adequate water pressure.

There are two additional pressures on the natural water supply. The first is the recent increase in paved and asphalted areas which, with their run-off characteristics, reduce infiltration; and the second is sewage problems. There was no disposal system prior to the 1970s. Rather, each building had its own cesspool (*bayyāra*) which was cleaned (? by the Nakhāwila) periodically. This practice made for special difficulties in the *ḥarrāt* because it is difficult to dig to depth and impossible without dynamite. Most of the waste was dumped in an area east of the city called “al-Manasie” (Makki's spelling). Water

pollution is a growing problem; at least one well has had to be closed. On the other hand, a full sewage treatment plant was initiated in 1970 and located behind Jabal Uḥud. By 1976 a considerable portion of the city had been tied into the system.

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**MEKNÈS**, the French form, by which the place is generally known, of the name of a city of northwestern Morocco, in Arabic Miknās or Miknās al-Zaytūn “Meknès of the Olive Trees.” It is one of the historic capitals of the Moroccan kingdom and a traditional residence of the ruler. It is situated in lat. 33° 53' N., long. 5° 32' W., at an altitude of 520 m/1,700 feet, and is some 50 km/36 miles to the southwest of Fez.

## I. TOPOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY

It occupies the centre of the transitional zone which lies between the Middle Atlas, 30 miles/50 km to the

south, and the Sebū. It commands the exit towards the Gharb of the depression which separates the massif of the Zarhūn from the plateau of al-Ḥājib. At Meknès intersect the roads from Rabat to Fez, from Tāfilālt through the land of the Benī Mgīld and Azrū, from Marrakesh through Tādlā. The temperature rarely exceeds 30° C. or falls below 5°. The rainfall is remarkably equal from one year to the other. The excellent water supply of the plain of Meknès and the quality of its light soil, resting on a subsoil of permeable limestone, make it one of the best agricultural districts of Morocco. The population in 1902 was estimated at 20,000, of whom 9,000 were Bwākker and 5,000 Jews, but it grew considerably during the Protectorate (175,900 inhabitants in 1960).

Meknès is built on the flank of a mountain spur. Beyond the ravine dug out by the Wādī Bū Fekrān, the modern town has been built. The houses of the *mdīna*, often substantial, are always very simple. They date for the most part from the reigns of the sultans Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Raḥmān and Mawlāy al-Ḥasan. The *sūqs*, which lie between the Madrasa Bū ‘Ināniyya and the Jāmi‘ al-Najjārīn (*sūqs* of the jewellers, carpenters and curiosity shops), have no remarkable features except the covered *qaysariyya*, the booths of which were ornamented with shutters of painted wood. The *mellāḥ* or Jewish quarter of Meknès was to the south of the *mdīna*. A new *mellāḥ*, three times the extent of the old one, was occupied after 1925. The *mdīna* of Meknès was one of those which have retained their local character most unaffected. Only one artery, the Rouāmzīn (< *rwābzīyyīn* “bellows-makers”) street, was accessible to European trade and traffic. The centre of the town’s activity is the Hedīm square. To the south-east lie the vast ruins of the *qaṣba* of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl. They now reveal nothing but chaos and disorder, but surround the Jinān Ben Ḥalīma, a charming garden, and the Dār al-Bayḍā’. The Dār al-Makhzen is sometimes used as a royal residence. Begun at the end of the 17th century, this palace was built in several periods. The Bāb Dār al-Makhzen dates from 1889. In the old Agdāl of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl, among waste lands, an ostrich farm, the origin of which goes back to Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh, was laid out, beside an experimental garden. Farther on there was a horse-breeding establishment. The visitor goes along miles of massive walls and finds enormous ruins: the Herī ‘l-Manṣūr (used as a stable and storehouse for forage), the

stables, the granary and the ornamental waterbasin left to go to ruins.

There was very little industry in Meknès: only carpentry and particularly weaving, already noted by al-Idrīsī. The most notable artistic industries are the many coloured embroideries of large irregular point lace and painted wood. The public services endeavour to keep these trades going, in which purely Berber influence is marked. In the early 20th century, European competition severely affected, at Meknès as elsewhere, some classes of artisans, like the tailors, smiths and potters. The building trades, on the other hand, are flourishing. *Sūqs* are held outside the town and are attended by the country people: the *Sūq* of Bāb Jdīd, before the gate on which the heads of rebels used to be placed for the edification of the tribes, the *Sūq* al-Khamīs and that of the Lanterns. The market of Meknès did not extend beyond the environs of the town; it exported nothing except in years of abundant harvest. The region was already famed in the 19th century for its fruits, its vines, its gardens and its vegetables. The mills, four or five of which are still working, date from the same period. During the French occupation, colonisation developed considerably. The colonists, most of whom came from Algeria, cultivated mainly wheat, of which they obtained increasing yields. The cultivation of the vine increased each year.

The government of Meknès, which was a *makh-zaniyya* town, was in the hands of a *bāshā*. He was also *bāshā* of the Bwākher, who till 1912 provided the garrison of the town (800 men according to Le Chatelier). In the administrative organisation of the Protectorate, Meknès was made the capital of a very considerable area.

The population of Meknès consisted of many distinct elements: Shorfā', Bwākher, Berbers and Jews. The Idrīsīd Shorfā', who have played their part in the history of the town and retain privileges (of the numerous descendants of Mawlāy Idrīs, only the families residing in Fez and Meknès are allowed to share in the income of the *zāwiya* of Fez), and the Ḥasanī Shorfā', who have many privileges of their own, form a kind of aristocracy, generally penurious. The Bwākher, descendants of the 'abīd Bukhārī, a black guard of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, up till 1912 formed an unreliable element, which was always a nucleus of trouble. After that date they took up the trades

of mat-makers and farriers. They lived close to the town of old *qaṣbas* and gardens which belong to the Makhzen, and in the old *qaṣba* of Mawlāy Ismā'īl in the Bāb Mrāḥ quarter. Their houses, roofed with thatch, looked like African encampments. But it is the Berber (*Brāber*) element which predominated at Meknès and gave it its desire for independence, a feature of which has for centuries been a jealousy of Fez. It is the Berbers of the mountains who gave it its tone; when they come down to the town, their women give colour to the streets of the *mdīna* with their short skirts, their leather gaiters and their wide-brimmed hats. The Berber elements of the plain are much more mixed, having undergone many vicissitudes since the day when Mawlāy Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh inaugurated the policy, considerably practised by his successors, of transferring tribes. A considerable part of the population of Meknès consists of transient elements who come, usually between harvests, to work as artisans. These immigrants almost all come from the south, from Tāfilālt in particular (potters, tanners and porters), from Sūs (grocers), from Tuwāt (oil-makers), from Figīg and Dar'a (masons). The Rīfīs and Jbāla supply most of the agricultural labourers. A small number of Fāsīs, who have in recent years merged into the population of the town, are cloth-merchants, dealers in old clothes and shoe-makers. Jews formed a quarter of the native population, but virtually all of these migrated to France or Israel after 1956.

## II. RELIGIOUS LIFE

From the presence of the Idrīsīd and Ḥasanīd *Shorfā'*, the proximity of the sanctuary of Mawlāy Idrīs and the religious event of the celebrations of his *mūsem* (classical *mawsim*) every year, Meknès is one of the most important centres of Sharīfism. At the same time, for the Berber population it is a centre of marabout rites of the most elementary kind. All the brotherhoods that have *zāwiyas* in Morocco are represented in Meknès. The most important are those of the Qādiriyya, Tījāniyya, and especially Ḥmādsha and the largest, the 'Isāwa, to which half the population were in the first half of the 20th century attached. Meknès, whose patron saint is Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Isā and which contains his tomb under the *qubba* erected by Mawlāy Muḥammad

b. ‘Abd Allāh, is the centre of the order. This saint came here at the end of the 9th/15th century. His teaching at first met with a vigorous resistance, which he overcame so completely that, when the governor of the town sought to take steps against him, the people protected him. Before his death he acquired an estate, constituted in *ḥubūs*, and men of religion are buried there. The celebration of his *mūsem* on the first day of the *mīlūd* (*mawlid*) festival is the great event of the year. The preparations for it begin forty days before. On the day before or on the preceding day of the festival, delegations flock in from all parts of Morocco, following the traditional routes. The most generous hospitality is given to the pilgrims by the descendants of Shaykh al-Kāmil, who have the *niqāba*. The excesses committed on the occasion of this pilgrimage have been frequently described. Many other special cults are observed in Meknès, including that of a contemporary holy man, Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Wazzānī. As it was his custom to wear simple dress and to sit by the highway, he was in 1917 granted clothes and a *qubba* at the request of Mawlāy Yūsuf. The *qubba* is at the entrance to a dispensary, and the admirers of the saint came there daily to keep him company.

### III. HISTORY

We know nothing certain about the history of the region in the Roman period nor in the centuries which followed. The most advanced Roman stations were on the slopes of the Zarhūn guarding the plain, out of which the warriors of the Central Atlas might debouch, and perhaps throwing out a screen as far as the plateau of al-Ḥājib.

We do not know at what date the people here had their first contact with Islam, nor even if it was not till the Hilālī invasion that Islam became securely established here. The Berber tribes of the Sā’is and Sebū made the most of the fertility of their country. A tradition records that a fire destroyed the gardens there in 305/917. It was at this period that the country was covered, from Tāzā to Meknès, by the migration of a Zenāta tribe, the Miknāsa, a section of whom, who received the name of Miknāsa Zaytūn to distinguish them from the Miknāsa Tāzā, who lived father to the east, established themselves securely in the plain. The Idrīsids met with a vigorous resistance

from the Miknāsa. They always found in them opponents whom they could not overcome in spite of several campaigns, and who were the instigators of Umayyad intervention.

At this date, a few villages stood on the site of Meknès. One cannot say at what date, perhaps in the 4th/10th century, they were grouped together to form the Tāqrart (Tagrart) mentioned by al-Idrīsī. The population seems to have been more numerous in the Almoravid period than later, and prosperous. Enclosed by a wall, Meknès looked like a pleasure resort, with its gardens, cultivated fields, its mosques, its baths and water channels. The Miknāsa vigorously opposed the Almohad onslaught. When passing through this region in 514/1120–1, Ibn Tūmart preached here but he was not well received. Twenty years later, ‘Abd al-Mu’min laid siege to Meknès, but it was not he who took it. He left it to enter Fez, leaving the conduct of the siege in the hands of Yaḥyā b. Yaghmur. The *Rawḍ al-qirtās* of Ibn Abī Zar‘ says the siege lasted seven years. The town fell in 545/1150. It was plundered, the defences dismantled, a part of its wealth confiscated and all its garrison put to death, except the governor, who is said to have escaped. On the site, or beside the ruins, Meknès rapidly rose again under the shelter of the fortifications built by the Almohads. At the end of the century, it had regained some importance and the mosque of al-Najjārīn was finished. This is the oldest monument in Meknès: in 1170/1756–7 Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh had it restored and built the present minaret. The Almohads brought water hither from Tajenna, five miles away. In 578/1182 the *khuṭba* was said in five different places in Meknès and there were six gates in the wall which surrounded the town.

In the course of the following century, the intrigues of the Marīnids disturbed the country, where the fighting that accompanied the fall of the Almohads was particularly lively. In 629/1231–2, al-Ma’mūn had to intervene against the Banū Fāzāz and Meklāta, who were ravaging Meknès. In 634/1236–7, as a result of the Marīnid success in the battle in which al-Sa’īd’s son was slain, Abū Bakr entered the town. This occupation was only temporary, but the Almohad restoration was not secure. In 643/1245–6, the governor left there by Sa’īd was slain in a rising in the town in favour of the Ḥafṣid Abū Zakariyyā’. Sa’īd again returned victorious, causing Yaḥyā b.

‘Abd al-Ḥaqq to fly to Tāzā. The Marīnid had only two years to wait; after the death of the Almohad governor, he returned to Meknès to occupy it definitely. The first period of greatness for Meknès dates from the Marīnids. They set out to make it beautiful like Rabat and Fez. Abū Yūsuf moved from Fās al-Jadīd to Meknès, which owed to him a *qaṣba* and a mosque (675/1276). Abū ‘l-Ḥasan improved its water supply, built bridges on the road to Fez and began the *Madrasa Jadīda* which Abū ‘Inān was to finish. It bears the latter’s name and is still the most notable building in Meknès, in spite of the indiscreet restorations carried out in 1917–22. Other *madrasas*, the ‘Aṭṭārīn and Filāla, were built by the Marīnids.

During this period, the political organisation of the country was developing in quite a different direction. The Idrīsīd Shorfā’, having assisted the Marīnids to gain power, prepared to take advantage of the organisation which the latter had given them. Thus the foundations were laid for the movement which was to end in the partition of Morocco in the last years of the 9th/15th century into practically independent divisions. The Shorfā’ were numerous in Meknès. When the weakening of the Marīnids and the decline of their prestige made it possible, the Shorfā’ supplied leaders. History has preserved the name of Mawlāy Zayyān. The Waṭṭāsids only intervened, it appears, when at the beginning of the 10th/16th century Maṣ‘ūd b. al-Nāṣir, having rebelled against Muḥammad al-Burṭuqālī, found an asylum at Meknès. The Sultan besieged the town and took it, then installed his brother al-Nāṣir al-Qiddīd there, who however did not prove faithful to him. The few years of independence enjoyed by Meknès were not particularly glorious. They mark, however, an epoch in the history of the town destined at other periods to be only the prey of anarchy or the plaything of a tyrant.

The rise of the brotherhoods of the 9th/15th century found a favourable soil among the Miknāsa. The *zāwiya* of the Jazūliyya was established there, as in other places in Morocco. A few years later, Muḥammad b. ‘Īsā was teaching there. Meknès was thus well prepared to welcome the Sa‘dids. When Maḥammad al-Shaykh approached in 955/1548 he entered the town without much trouble. The Marīnid al-Nāṣir al-Qaṣrī is said to have agreed to hand over the town in return for the liberty of his father Aḥmad Bū Zekrī, and the marabouts to have demanded the conclusion of such an agreement.

Maḥammad al-Shaykh however took a sufficiently sure method to establish his authority; when the *khaṭīb* Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ḥarzūz began to preach against him, he had him scourged to death. When he returned two years later, he was welcomed with gifts. The estimates of travellers of this time put the population of the town at 6–8,000 hearths. It was the only town in the region. The Sa‘dids took little interest in Meknès, which never attracted their attention. The country was well in hand and the Berber tribes peaceful to such a degree that the road from Marrakesh by Tādla was regularly used. It was the practice to make Meknès the residence of one of the sons of the sultan. There was, however, no important command attached to it. Leo Africanus credits it with a revenue equal to half that of the viceroyalty of Fez, which is astonishing. Under Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī lived there and then after the second partition, Zaydān and, lastly Mawlāy al-Shaykh, but as a prisoner in the last years of his father’s life.

The civil war which broke out on the death of al-Manṣūr placed Meknès at the mercy of the Berber risings and marabout intrigues. In the midst of this disorder an authority gradually made itself felt, that of the *zāwiyas*, and especially the Zāwiya of Dila’. In 1023/1640–1, Muḥammad al-Ḥājj was even able to seize the sovereign power and get himself recognised by Fez and Meknès after his victory over Mawlāy Maḥammad al-Shaykh b. Zaydān. He won over the Berber tribes, and Mawlāy al-Rashīd in 1076/1666 found the Banī Mīr against him, allied with the Dila’ Abū ‘Abd Allāh, and he had to fight them again in 1076/1668. Mawlāy al-Rashīd seems to have been interested in Meknès, the *qaṣba* of which he restored. In burying him in the mausoleum of Majdhūb, Mawlāy Ismā‘īl said he was fulfilling the last wishes of the deceased. But the most important event was that al-Rashīd sent Mawlāy Ismā‘īl to Meknès. The latter lived before his accession in the Almohad *qaṣba*, as a landed proprietor managing his estates. In his choice of a capital, we see the attraction of a rich district like this. He wished it to be in his own image and realised his desire. For fifty years, Meknès was simply the framework for his splendour, the scene of his extravagances.

He at once decided to build himself a palace, and a grandiose scheme was projected. He began by clearing a space. The houses adjoining the Almohad wall east of the town were destroyed and their owners forced to carry the débris off to a site which has

retained the name of Hedīm, then to rebuild on a site which the *sharīf* enclosed by a wall to the north-west of the *mdīna*. The site which he chose for himself was also separate from the town. His palace was built, and another one even more splendid for his women. This first edifice, Dār Kbīra, was finished in 1090/1679. It was a series, without intelligible plan, of *riyāḍs* embellished with fountains, paved with marble, surrounded by galleries which were supported by columns of marble; the apartments opened on to three galleries. The sovereign's palace was in two suites, that of his ladies in four and larger than his. His four wives and his favourites were equally splendidly housed. The other concubines, of whom he had 500 of all nations, were housed in rooms along the passage. At the end was a common hall, on a higher level, which gave a view over the gardens through iron grilles. The reception pavilions were planned on the same scale; one of them had forty rooms. The palace contained in all 45 pavilions and twenty *qubbās*. The whole was surrounded by a crenelated wall, pierced by twenty gates. It was triple in the north-east with a road round it and it could be defended equally well against the interior of the *qaṣba*. The bastions supported batteries of guns and mortars. The women being subject to rigorous confinement and Mawlāy Ismā'īl being very meticulous in the performance of the duties of religion, a mosque was set aside for them. Another had been begun in 1083/1672, communicating with the town by the Bāb 'Īsā. Lastly, the palace with its dependencies contained four mosques; two are still in use, the Jāmi' al-Akhḍar and in the quarter of the mews, very broken down, the Jāmi' al-Ruwā. To the south was a garden, the area of which is equal to that of the present *mdīna*, an orchard in which olive trees predominated. Farther on were the stables to which the sultan admitted only picked horses, to the number of 1,200: two parallel rows of arcades about 100 feet apart. In the centre ran running water. Each animal had its stall and a shelter for its equipment. Opposite was a storehouse, the *herī*, which supported a supplementary palace with twenty pavilions. Between the palace and the stables was the granary, forty feet high and big enough, it was said, to contain the whole harvest of Morocco. At the side was a pond for irrigation purposes and also subterranean reserves of water in case of a siege.

The buildings did not stop here. To the south-west of the town lay a city of pleasure, Madīnat

al-Riyāḍ, where the officials had palaces, where Mawlāy Ismā'īl himself had his mosque, his *madrasa*, his *ḥammām*, his *funduqs* and the offices of the *umanā'* of the Treasury, with the shops of the Sharīfian tailors. In 1145/1732–3 Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh on returning from an unsuccessful expedition into the Sūs, had the Madīnat al-Riyāḍ destroyed by Christian slaves. There is nothing left of it to-day except the Bāb al-Khamīs, dated 1078/1667, one of the finest and best proportioned gates in the city. Lastly, a site was reserved for the troops. To the west of Meknès a large *duwwār* was settled with *Abīd* and their families. To the east of the Dār al-Makhzen, five *qaṣbas* for the 130,000 men of the *gīsh* (i.e. the *jaysh* "army") were gradually incorporated in the great *qaṣba*.

After fifty years of unorganised but superhuman effort, the buildings were not yet completed. It was in 1144/1731–2 that Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh finished the surrounding wall and the Bāb al-Manṣūr, the most finished example of the Ismā'īlian gateway, ponderous, of proportions by no means perfect but imposing, of which the Bāb al-Bardā'in and the Bāb al-Nuwwār are the two other finest examples at Meknès at the present day. Mawlāy Ismā'īl directed all the operations himself. During the first twenty-four years of his reign, he never spent twelve months on end at Meknès. But he returned there after each expedition; in proportion as his ambition and his power increased, his despotism and the needs of his government, his army and his family grew, his scheme became more and more grandiose; the work done was found unsatisfactory, modifications were made, buildings taken down and the work began all over again. The result certainly was sumptuous and imposing but also odd and varied.

All the country helped in the work. Mawlāy Ismā'īl collected materials wherever he could. Volubilis, Chella and Marrākush were plundered. If he destroyed al-Badī', it was perhaps out of jealousy of Sa'did work, or perhaps simply to get material. Like Aḥmad al-Manṣūr, he procured marble from Pisa. One day when a corsair ship had become stranded near Tangier, he ordered the Ghumāra to bring the cannon from it by unaided manual labour. When he died the columns of marble which were still on their way were left at the roadside. Labour was recruited by a similar means. The sultan imposed days of labour on the tribes, levied forced labour as he pleased, sent

his ministers to the workshops, but relied mainly on renegades and Christian slaves who were his permanent workmen. From 1091/1680 the work was pushed on frantically. All the Christians in Morocco were collected there and were at first housed in siloes near the building-yards, then they were moved to the Dār al-Makhzen, then to near the stables, under the arches of a bridge, where their lot was particularly miserable, finally to lodgings built from mud brick along the north wall of the Dār al-Makhzen. They were able to organise themselves a little there, to build themselves a church, to have chapels, a convent and infirmaries. A pharmacist monk made up a medicine, the "Christian decoction"; this was the means by which humane relations were established with the local people, even with the dwellers in the palace. Their latest historian has reduced the number of Christian prisoners in the service of Mawlāy Ismā'īl to its real figure: they did not as a rule reach a thousand, and the Sultan, in the course of over fifty years, himself killed only one hundred and nine (Koehler).

The Sultan revealed in his palaces his extravagance and his cupidity; he accumulated wealth as he did buildings, but not only to hide it. The consuls and ambassadors, who came to negotiate the ransom of captives, he received with a mixture of buffoonery and splendour. Frequent mention is made of the cruelty and the terror which this ruler inspired; he loved to torture his wives and cut off heads to show his skill. His amusements were of a similar character; he liked to shoot with his *qā'ids* at the deer in his menageries then to finish them off with spear thrusts. "Let us avert our eyes from all these horrors which make nature shudder," says Chénier.

Mawlāy Ismā'īl was buried like his brother in the mausoleum of Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān Majdhūb. His sons, the rebel Mawlāy Muḥammad, killed at Tārūdānt in 1118/1706, and Mawlāy Zaydān in 1191/1707, had already joined Mawlāy Rashīd. In 1859 the ashes of Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān were also deposited there. On the death of Mawlāy Ismā'īl, the Bwākher and the soldiers of the *gīsh* stirred up a palace war which lasted twenty years. Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh lost and regained his throne six times. The civil war extended to the tribes of the plain and the garrisons of Fez, especially in the Ūdāya; pretenders stirred up the flames, readily giving the signal to plunder and, in the rivalries of races and tribes, easily finding a party to support them. Gradually

the Bwākher sank into misfortune. It was in vain that Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh and his sons expended the treasure of Mawlāy Ismā'īl for them. The worst of it for Meknès was that every one ended or began by plundering it.

Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh almost re-established order and restored to the town its past glory. He did a great deal for it; his palace of Dār al-Bayḍā', the severe architecture of which, not without charm, can still be seen in a part of the olive grove of al-Ḥamriyya; in the *qaṣba*, he built the portal of the Jāmi' al-Anwār and in the *mdīna*, the minaret of the Jāmi' al-Bajjārīn, the *qubba* of Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Isā, and several mosques (al-Azhar, al-Bardā'in, Bāb Mrāḥ, Berrīma and Sīdī Bū 'Uthmān). It was he who made the 12,000 books of the library of Mawlāy Ismā'īl *ḥubūs* for the benefit of all the mosques of Morocco. As regards the tribes, his policy was to break them up. He transplanted many of them and tried several repressive measures. The end of his reign was marked by the success of the Berbers, whose attacks had been resumed about 1189/1775. Soon nothing was left of the work of Mawlāy Ismā'īl. The Christian community lost its Franciscan mission in the reign of Mawlāy Yazīd and did not survive the persecution of this *sharīf*. The earthquake of 1168/1755 had destroyed their church, convent and hospice. The renegades, who had gathered together at Qaṣba Agūrāy, were gradually absorbed.

The Berber crisis was again acute from 1811. Communication with Fez was continually being cut, and it was something to boast about for the sultan to go out of Meknès. Mawlāy Slīmān (Sulaymān), who had undertaken to restore the *qaṣba* and rebuild the bridges on the road to Fez and who would have liked to get rid of the Bwākher, decided to settle in Fez. Mawlāy 'Abd al-Raḥmān, whom Delacroix saw there and who built a *qubba* in Jnān Ben Ḥalīma, left the Berbers in semi-independence and at last disbanded the *'abīd* without even granting those who remained in Meknès the character of Makhzen troops. His son carefully avoided all quarrels.

Mawlāy al-Ḥasan revived the tradition of the great sultans and made his authority felt. He was able to enter Meknès after his accession only by crushing the power of the tribes. In 1879 he conducted a campaign against the Benī Mīṭr. In 1887 he forced his way through the country of the Benī Mgīld in his campaign towards the Nūn. On his death, the

Berbers regained their independence. After the fall of Mawlay 'Abd al-'Azīz, Meknès recognised all the competitors in succession. It was Meknès that proclaimed 'Abd al-Hafiz, who had come via the Berbers of Tādla in 1908; in 1909 it summoned the *sharīf* al-Kattānī; and in 1911 rallied to Mawlay Zayn. It was in this year that General Moinier entered Meknès.

#### IV. THE PROTECTORATE AND INDEPENDENCE

After 1920 a new quarter was planned by the French Protectorate authorities, one separated from the old town by the Oued Bou Fekrane. Meknès now flourished from the agricultural richness of the surrounding area and from its role as a market for the fine embroideries and carpets woven by the Berbers of the Middle Atlas. Meknès was one of the Moroccan cities affected by Moroccan nationalist feeling in 1936–7, specifically in 1937 by riots provoked when French settlers in the Meknès area were suspected of diverting part of the city's water supply to irrigate their agricultural lands at the expense of the Muslims. According to the 2004 census, Meknès had a population of 536,322.

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**MERV**, the conventional form of the Arabic Marw or Marw al-Shāhijān, an ancient city of the north-eastern part of the Iranian world, in medieval Islamic times, in the province of Khurasan. The site of Merv

now lies over the border from the Islamic Republic of Iran and within the Turkmen Republic, near the modern town of what was in Soviet times Mary. The form of the name Marw al-Shāhijān clearly relates to the city's position in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times as the seat of representatives of royal authority, the *marzbāns* of the East, and its role as a bastion of this part of the Iranian world as a bastion against barbarian pressure from the inner Asian steppes. It also distinguishes the great oasis city of Merv from the smaller early Islamic town of Marw al-Rūdh “Merv on the river,” five or six stages further up the Murghab river, whose site apparently now lies just within the borders of the Badghis province of Afghanistan. In older Iranian usage, there seem to have been two forms of the city's name, \*Marv and \*Margh, the latter form yielding the name for the Merv region's name in classical times of Margiana (see J. Markwart-G. Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 45–6). The Arabic *nisba* from the city's name is *al-Marwazī*.

Soviet archaeologists began serious work on the very extensive site of ancient and early Islamic Merv after the Second World War, and in the 1990s and first years of the third millennium, much further work has been undertaken at the site of ancient Merv by a team of British and Turkmen archaeologists. These activities have revealed much of Merv's past, from ancient to Saljuq times; see now the reports of Georgina Herrmann *et alii* in *Iran JIPS*, xxxi (1993) onwards and her *Monuments of Merv. Traditional buildings of the Karakum*, London 1999. The excavations have confirmed what the sparse literary evidence suggested, that there was a highly-developed agricultural oasis community in the Merv region from Achaemenid times onwards. Classical Greek historians and geographers describing Alexander the Great's campaign through Central Asia to India give further information here. The foundation of the city of Merv itself has been traditionally attributed to Alexander himself, but may date from the slightly later Seleucid ruler Antiochus I Soter (280–261 B.C.). To this same period belongs the building of the wall meant to protect the agricultural zone from steppe marauders. The Merv oasis owed much of its importance and florescence to the fact that, during the Parthian period, the great caravan route through northern Persia to the frontiers of China passed through Merv to Balkh and the upper Oxus valley and across



the mountains to Kashgar, and then in Sasanid times took a more northerly route through Sogdia to the Semirechye and the northern part of Eastern Turkestan.

The Arabic and Persian geographers of the 3rd–4th/9th–10th centuries provide us with much relevant detail on the city, and especially, on the vital topic of the irrigation system of the Merv oasis. These sources record a highly-organised system of supervision and upkeep of the irrigation canals, under a *mutawallī* or *muqassim al-māʾ*, corresponding to the general Persian term for a local irrigation official, *mīr-āb*. Ibn Ḥawqal and al-Maqdisī report that this chief of irrigation had an extensive staff to keep the channels in repair, including a group of divers (*ghawwāshīn*). There was a dam across the Murghāb above the city, and the supply of water from this store was regulated and measured by a metering device, called by al-Maqdisī a *miqyās* on analogy with the famous Nilometer on al-Rawḍa Island in Cairo, comprising essentially a wooden plank with intervals marked at each *shaʿra*. An office called the *dāwān al-kastabzūd* (< Pers. *kāst u afzūd* “decrease and increase”) kept a record of all those entitled to shares in the water. See on all this, C.E. Bosworth, *Abū ʿAbdallāh al-Khwārazmī on the technical terms of the secretary’s art*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 151 ff.

It is to the 2nd–7th/8th–13th centuries that the great economic prosperity of the oasis of Merv belongs, with a highly developed system of exchanges. Numerous technical and agricultural methods of cultures were developed, except the cultivation of wheat, which was imported from the valleys of Kashka Daryā and Zarafshān. The people cultivated the silkworm. Shortly before the coming of the Mongols, there was at Kharaq to the south-west of Merv a “house” called al-Dīwakush, where sericulture was studied. Al-Iṣṭakhri says that Merv exported the most raw silk; its silk factories were celebrated. The oasis was also famous for its fine cotton which, according to this same authority, was exported, raw or manufactured, to different lands; see on the textiles of Merv, R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 87–90. The district of Merv also contained a number of large estates which assured their owners considerable revenue. According to al-Ṭabarī, in the 2nd/8th century whole villages belonged to one man. In the absence of legal documents, little is known of the

life of the peasants. It is evident, however, that they were bound by feudal bonds to their lords (*dihqāns*), and paid them at the time of the Arab conquest in kind and in the 2nd–4th/8th–10th centuries in kind and money. No evidence of the amount of these payments has come down to us. The town, built in the centre of a highly cultivated area, was destined to have a brilliant future. If we also remember that it had become one of the great emporiums on the caravan routes between Western and Central Asia and Mongolia and China, we can easily realise how the city grew so rapidly with its manufactures, markets and agriculture. At the present day, within the area of the old region of Merv, we can see three sites of ancient towns: 1. Gavur Qalʾa, corresponding to the town of Merv of the Sasanid and early Muslim period; 2. Sulṭān Qalʾa quite close to the preceding on the west side. This is the Merv of the 2nd–7th/8th–13th centuries, which was destroyed by the Mongols in 1221; and lastly 3. ʿAbd Allāh Khān Qalʾa south of Sulṭān Qalʾa-Marw, rebuilt by Shāh Rukh in 812/1409. This is all that remains of the famous city, including its nearer environs.

The citadel of Merv, contemporary with the town built on the Gavur Qalʾa area, goes back to a date earlier than that of the town itself. The latter (Gavur Qalʾa) must be recognised as the earliest site (called *shahristān*); it grew up around the castle of a great lord (*dihqān*), i.e. around the citadel itself. The *shahristān* can hardly be earlier than the beginnings of the town of Merv, but it will only be by excavation that the problem of the date of the earliest habitations in the citadel will be settled.

The Arabs on their arrival found the western quarter so much increased that it was by then the most important part of the town. It is to this part that the Arab geographers give the name of *rabad*. The market was at first on the edge of the *shahristān* near the “Gate of the Town”, not far from the western wall, and one part of it extended beyond this wall as the Razīq canal. The great mosque was built by the Arabs in the middle of the *shahristān* (al-Maqdisī). Little by little, with the moving of the life of the town towards the *rabad*, the administrative and religious centre of the town was moved thither also. On the bank of the Razīq Canal was built the second mosque which at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century was allotted by al-Maʾmūn to the Shāfiʿis. In the middle of the 2nd/8th century, in the time of the revolutionary

leader Abū Muslim, the centre was moved still farther westward to the banks of the Mājān Canal. At this date, the town was gradually occupying the site of the *rabād*. The town of Merv in the 2nd–7th/8th–13th centuries was therefore no longer Gavur Qal'a, but the town of which ruins still exist to the west of the latter, now known as Sulṭān Qal'a. But the *shahristān* did not lose its importance at once. The site of the old town on Sulṭān Qal'a is in the form of a triangle, elongated from north to south with an area equal to that of Gavur Qal'a. It is surrounded by a fine wall built of unbaked brick, with several towers and other buildings belonging to the fortress. The latter was rebuilt by order of the Saljuq Sultan Malik Shāh in 462–72/1070–80. It is one of the most splendid buildings of the period.

In the time of the Arab geographers, the two towns with their suburbs were surrounded by a wall, remains of which still exist. As regards the wall built in the time of Antiochus I, its remains were still visible in the 4th/10th century and are mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī under the name of al-Rāy.

The social structure of the town of Merv in the period when it took the place of Sulṭān Qal'a changed a great deal, like the social and economic life of Western and Central Asia generally. The growth of cities, the development of urban life, the exchange of city products for those of the country and those of the nomads of the steppes, the expansion of caravan traffic, now no longer limited to the trade in luxuries, all these encouraged the growth of new classes of society. It was no longer the *dihqans* who were the great lords of the town of Merv in the 2nd–7th/8th–13th centuries, although in Gavur Qal'a, however, their *kūshks* existed down to the end of the 6th/12th century; it was the rich merchants and an aristocracy of officials who were masters. Although both were connected with the local aristocracy, it was no longer agriculture but trade and property in the town which were their sources of wealth. Similarly, a change was taking place in the position of the artisans who had long ceased to be the serfs of the *dihqans*. Down to the 3rd/9th century, a number of men still paid feudal dues to the *dihqans*. From then onwards, they seem to have been free. The appearance of the town also changed as regards both topography and buildings. While in the *shahristān* (Gavur Qal'a) the bazar was at the end of the town and in part outside of it, when the *rabād* attracted urban life to it, the markets and

workshops became the centre of the town. Merv (Sulṭān Qal'a) became in the 5th/11th century a commercial city of the regular oriental type. It was traversed by two main streets, one running north and south, and the other east and west; where they intersected was the *čārsū*, the centre of the market, roofed by a dome; the shops had flat roofs. It was there also that were to be found the little shops of the artisans, and although the literary sources only mention the money-changers', the goldsmiths' and the tanners' quarters, there also must have been the quarters of the weavers, copper-smiths, potters, etc. It was not only the administrative and religious centre, for it also contained the palaces, the mosques, *madrasas* and other buildings. For example, to the north of the *chārsū* was the great mosque, already built in the time of Abū Muslim, which survived till the Mongol invasion, if we may believe Yāqūt. It must, however, have been frequently rebuilt. Yāqūt also says that beside the great mosque was a domed mausoleum, built on the tomb of Sultan Sanjar; its mosque was separated from it by a window with a grill. The great dome of the mausoleum of turquoise blue could be seen at a distance of a day's journey. Within the walls which surrounded the mosque was another mosque built at the end of the 6th/12th century which belonged to the Shāfi'īs. In the period of Yāqūt, it seems that the domed building erected by Abū Muslim in baked brick, 55 cubits in height, with several porticoes – which is said by al-Iṣṭakhrī to have served as a *dār al-imāra* or "house of administration" – no longer existed. It used to stand close to the great mosque built by Abū Muslim. The town of Merv in this period – in addition to its great wall – had inner ramparts which separated the different quarters of the town. The city was famous for its libraries, and Yāqūt spent nearly two years there just before the Mongol cataclysm working in these libraries (on the topography of mediaeval Merv, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 397–403).

Regarding the history of Merv, the city was under the Sasanids the seat of the *Marzbān* of the north-eastern marches, Merv being the farthest outpost of the empire, beyond which lay the city-states of Sogdia, the kingdom of Khwārazm and steppe powers like the Western Turks. Merv may be the Homo (for Mo-ho) of the Chinese Buddhist traveller Hiuen-tsang, and on a Chinese map of the early 14th century it appears as Ma-li-wu. Nestorian Christianity

flourished there until the Mongol period, and its ecclesiastical leaders are often mentioned as present at synods; before 553 it was a bishopric, and thereafter a metropolitanate. It was the metropolitan ʿIlīyā who buried the body of the slain Yazdigird III at Pā-yi Bābān, and there was a monastery of Masarjasān lying to the north of Sulṭān Qalʿa.

The last Sasanid Yazdigird fled before the invading Arabs to Merv and was killed there in 31/651 by the *Marzbān* Māhūr Sūrī, so that the city acquired in Persian lore the opprobrious name of *khudāh-dushman* “inimical to kings”. It was conquered in this year for the Arabs by the governor of Khurasan ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir b. Kurayz, who made a treaty with Māhūr on the basis of a large tribute of between one and two million *dirhams* plus 200,000 *jaribs* of wheat and barley; the local *dihqāns* of the oasis were to be responsible for the tribute’s collection, and the soldiers of the Arab garrison were to be quartered on the houses of the people of Merv. There was thus from the start a basic difference in settlement pattern from that in the great *amṣār* of Iraq and Persia, where the Arabs built distinct encampments as centres of their power. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿĀmir left a garrison of 4,000 men in Merv, and then in 51/671 Ziyād b. Abīhi sent out 50,000 families from Basra and Kufa, who were then settled in the villages of the oasis by the governor al-Rabīʿ b. Ziyād al-Ḥārithī. A process of assimilation with the local Persian population now began, especially as some Arabs began to acquire taxable land in the countryside, and so became financially subject to the *dihqāns*. These atypical social conditions of the Merv oasis may have contributed to Merv’s role in the later Umayyad period as the focal point in the east for the ʿAbbasid *daʿwa*, for the propaganda of the Hāshimiyya *duʿāt* seems early to have made headway among the settled and assimilated Arab elements. Some ʿAbbasid agents were discovered there and executed in 118/736, and soon afterwards, a committee of twelve *nuqabāʾ*, headed by Sulaymān b. Kathīr al-Khuzāʾī, was formed. Abū Salama al-Khallāl was in Merv in 126/746, and two years later Abū Muslim arrived as representative of the ʿAbbāsīd *imām* Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbbās. Abū Muslim took advantage of the tribal strife of Qays and Yaman, and the assimilated population of Arabs, whose fiscal grievances had not been fully redressed by the tentative reforms of the

Umayyad governor Naṣr b. Sayyār in 121/739, aided by Yamanīs against Naṣr and his North Arab supporters, so that by early 130/748, Abū Muslim was in control of Merv (thus the interpretation of M.A. Shaban, *The ʿAbbāsīd revolution*, Cambridge 1970, 129 ff., 138 ff.; idem, *Islamic history A.D. 600–750 (A.H. 132), a new interpretation*, Cambridge 1971, 84–5, 173–5, 177, 182–5).

Under the early ʿAbbasids, Merv continued to be the capital of the east, despite a humid and unpleasant climate (it was notorious for the guinea worm, *filaria medinensis*), and was for instance the seat of al-Maʾmūn whilst he was governor of the eastern provinces and whilst he was caliph until the year 202/817, when he left for Baghdad. The Tahirid governors of Khurasan, however, followed here by their supplanters the Saffarids, preferred to make their capital at Nishapur, although Merv remained the chief commercial centre of Khurasan, and continued to flourish under the Samanids. Nevertheless, the disorders in Khurasan during the last decades of Samanid rule, when power was disputed by ambitious military commanders, seem adversely to have affected Merv’s prosperity. Al-Maqdisī, writing *ca.* 980, says that one-third of the *rabāḍ* or outer town was ruinous, and the citadel too had been destroyed; moreover, the city was racked by the sectarian strife and factionalism which seems to have been rampant in the towns of Khurasan at this time (311–12; on the Shāfiʿī *madhhab* in Marw – where the Ḥanafīs in fact had a preponderance – see H. Halm, *Die Ausbreitung der šāfiʿitischen Rechtsschule von den Anfängen bis zum 8./14. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1974, 83–90).

But under the Saljuqs, the fortunes of Merv revived. It transferred its allegiance from the Ghaznavids to the Türkmens in 428/1037, and became the capital of Chaghri Beg Dāwūd, ruler of the eastern half of the newly-established Saljuq empire, and from *ca.* 1110, that of Sanjar, viceroy of the east. The latter’s father Malik Shāh had built a wall of 12,300 paces round the city, which in Sanjar’s time underwent attack from various of the Saljuq’s enemies, such as the Khwārazm Shāh Atsız, who in 536/1141–2 raided Merv and carried off the state treasury. It was at Merv that Sanjar built his celebrated mausoleum, 27 m square in plan and called the *Dār al-Ākhira* “Abode of the hereafter”. Under Sanjar’s rule, the Türkmens of the steppes around Merv were under

the control of a Saljuq *shihna* or police official, but when in 548/1153 these Oghuz or Ghuzz rebelled against this control and defeated Sanjar, Merv fell under the nomads' control, and the latter held on to it, together with Balkh and Sarakhs, until the Khwārazm Shāhs imposed their rule in northern Khurasan. Merv suffered terribly in the time of the first Mongol invasions, when Khwarazmian rule was overthrown. It was savagely sacked by Toluy's followers (beginning of 618/1221). According to Ibn al-Athīr, 700,000 people were massacred, and according to Juwaynī, 300,000; even if one allows for the customary hyperbole, it nevertheless remains true that Merv's prosperity was dealt a blow from which it took two centuries to recover. Mustawfī found Merv still largely in ruins in the mid-8th/14th century, and with the sands of the Qara Qum encroaching on the arable lands of the oasis.

What then remains of the town of the 2nd–7th/8th–13th centuries – in addition to the wall already mentioned? The whole site of Sulṭān Qal'a is covered with mounds and hillocks, formed on the sites of ancient buildings. Everywhere one sees great piles of bricks, whole and broken, and fragments of pottery, plain and glazed. In the centre, like a memorial of the great past, rises the domed mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar mentioned by Yāqūt, one of the finest buildings of the 6th/12th century. The question arises whether it had any connection with the "house of administration" with a dome and several porticoes mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhrī. The Merv of this period contains numerous buildings within the area of Sulṭān Qal'a, as well as outside its walls, especially the western suburb, the subject since 1946 of archaeological investigations by M.E. Masson. In 808/1406 the Timurid ruler Shāh Rukh endeavoured to restore prosperity to this region, which had at one time been a flourishing oasis. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū gives us details of his scheme. The dam was rebuilt on its old site and the water restored to its old channel; but only a portion of the oasis could be irrigated. The town was rebuilt, but not on the old site because water could not be brought in sufficient quantity to Sulṭān Qal'a. The town of Merv of this period corresponds to the old town of 'Abd Allāh Khān Qal'a (popular legend wrongly attributing its building to the Shībānīd 'Abd Allāh b. Iskandar (991–1006/1583–98), the area of which was much less than that of Merv of the

Mongol period, covering about three hundred square poles. The town Merv of this period cannot be compared with that of the pre-Mongol period. In time, Merv and its oasis declined more and more. In the period of the Safavid kingdom, it was the object of continual attacks on the part of the Özbegs, which could not help affecting it.

An almost mortal blow was dealt it at the end of the 18th century. Ma'ṣūm Khan (later called Shāh Murād), son of the *ataliq* Dāniyāl Biy of the newly-founded Mangīt dynasty of *amīrs* in Bukhara, attacked the Qajar Türkmen local lord of Old Merv, Bayram 'Alī Khān, killing him in 1785. Shāh Murād also destroyed the Sulṭān Band, the dam across the Murghāb 30 miles/48 km above Merv, and thereby reduced the economic prosperity of the region (F.H. Skrine and E.D. Ross, *The heart of Asia, a history of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian khanates from the earliest times*, London 1899, 206). Consequently, the traveller Alexander Burnes found Merv in ruins and the surrounding district in complete neglect (*Travels into Bokhara*, London 1834, ii, 23 ff., 37–8, 258–60).

In 1884 the Merv oasis was occupied by the Imperial Russian army, and secured in the following year from an Afghan threat by General Komarov's victory. From 1887 onwards, attempts were made, with considerable success, to revive the agricultural prosperity of the devastated region by the building of two dams on the Murghāb, that of Hindū Kush and that of Sulṭān Band. The Transcaspian railway line from Krasnovodsk to Bukhara, Samarqand and Tashkent passed through 'Ashqabad and Merv, and from Merv a branch was built southwards to Kushka on the Afghan frontier.

In Imperial Russian times, Merv came within the *oblast* or region of Transcaspia, and then, under the Soviets, after 1924 within the Turkmen S.S.R., until the break-up of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the constituting of the present Turkmen Republic.

The modern town of Merv/Mary is on the site of a Turkmen fort some 30 km/18 miles west-north-west of the site of medieval Merv. The 1999 estimate for its population was 123,000. The economy of the region is based on irrigated agriculture and, especially, on that of cotton-growing, and extensive nearby natural gas resources are being exploited.

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**MOGADISHU**, in Italian Mogadiscio, Arabic Maqdishū, a town that probably goes back to pre-Islamic times and is situated on the East African shore of the Indian Ocean, in the Horn of Africa, in lat. 2° 02' N., long. 45° 21' E. It is now the capital of the Somali Republic, which comprises the former British colony of British Somaliland and the Italian one of Somalia. It is also the administrative centre of the Benadir Region and the country's main port.

Although it is not specifically mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (ca. A.D. 106), this Alexandrine report attests the presence of Arab and Egyptian traders on the coast. The principal exports were cinnamon, frankincense, tortoise-shell and “slaves of the better sort, which are brought to Egypt in increasing numbers.” Recent excavations at Rās Hāfūn by H.N. Chittick, as yet unpublished, disclosed Egyptian pottery of Roman Imperial date, probably 2nd to 3rd century A.D. Apart from some ruins of uncertain date that are possibly South Arabian, Mogadishu is stated by a 16th century *Crónica dos Reyes de Quíloa*, preserved in a summary form by João de Barros, to have been founded by “the first people of the coast who came to the land of Sofala in quest of gold.” This date is uncertain, but it was at some time between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D., when the Sofala gold trade became the monopoly of Kilwa (Port. Quíloa). It is not to be thought that there was any single immigration of Arabs; rather, they came in trickles, and from different regions of the Arabian peninsula; the most remarkable one came from al-Aḥsā on the Gulf, probably during the struggles of the caliphate with the Carmathians. Probably at the same time, Persian groups emigrated

to Mogadishu, for inscriptions found in the town refer to Persians from Shiraz and Nishapur dwelling there during the Middle Ages. The foreign merchants, however, found themselves obliged to unite politically against the nomadic, Somali, tribes that surrounded Mogadishu, and against invaders from the sea. In the 10th century A.D. a federation was formed of 39 clans: 12 from the Muqrī tribe; 12 from the Jid'atī tribe; 6 from the 'Aqabi, 6 from the Ismā'īlī and 3 from the 'Affī. Under conditions of internal peace, trade developed; and the Muqrī clans, after acquiring a religious supremacy and adopting the *nisba* of al-Qaḥṭānī, formed a kind of dynasty of 'ulamā' and obtained from the other tribes the privilege that the *qāḍī* of the federation should be elected only from among themselves. It is not known at what period Islam became established, but the earliest known dated inscription in Arabic in Somalia is an epitaph at Barāwa of 498/1105.

In the second half of the 7th/12th century, Abū Bakr b. Fakhr al-Dīn established in Mogadishu an hereditary sultanate with the aid of the Muqrī clans, to whom the new ruler recognised again the privilege of giving the *qāḍī* to the town. In 722/1322–3 the ruler was Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad: in that year he struck dated billon coins in his name, but without title. During the reign of Abū Bakr b. 'Umar, Mogadishu was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who describes the town in his *Rihla*. The relationship of this sultan with his predecessors is not known, but he was probably from the family of Abū Bakr b. Fakhr al-Dīn; and under this dynasty Mogadishu reached, in the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, the highest degree of prosperity. Its name is quoted in the *Maṣḥafa Milād*, a work by the Ethiopian ruler Zare'a Yā'qob, who refers to a battle fought against him at Gomut, or Gomit, in Dawaro by the Muslims on 25 December 1445. To these centuries are to be ascribed, in addition to the billon coins issued by Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, the undated copper issues of ten rulers whose names are commemorated on their coins, but whose sequence even is not known. They are linked by a similarity of script, weight, type and appearance, and certain of the issues share with contemporary Kilwa issues a reverse legend contrived to rhyme with the obverse. To this period belongs also the foundation of the three principal mosques in Mogadishu, all dated by inscriptions, the Friday Mosque in 636/1238, that of Arba' Rukūn in 667/1268, and that of Fakhr

al-Dīn in Sha'bān 667/April–May 1269. Their handsome proportions witness to the prosperity of the times there.

In the 10th/16th century, the Fakhr al-Dīn dynasty was succeeded by that of Muẓaffar. It is possible that one copper issue refers to a ruler of this dynasty. In the region of the Wēbi Shabēllī, the true commercial hinterland of Mogadishu, the Ajurān (Somali), who had constituted there another sultanate which was friendly with and allied to Mogadishu, were defeated by the nomadic Hawiya (Somali), who thus conquered the territory. In this way, Mogadishu was separated by the nomads from the interior, and began to decline from its prosperity, a process which was hastened by Portuguese colonial enterprise in the Indian Ocean and later by the Italians and the British. When Vasco da Gama returned from his first voyage to India in 1499, he attacked Mogadishu, but without success; and similarly in 1507 Da Cunha failed to occupy it. In 1532 Estavão da Gama, son of Vasco, came there to buy a ship. In 1585 Mogadishu surrendered to the Ottoman *amīr* 'Alī Bey, who came down the coast in that year with two galleys as far as Mombasa; all along the coast, the suzerainty of the Ottoman Sultan was recognised. In 1587, however, the Portuguese re-asserted their authority with a strong fleet, but no attempt was made to attack Mogadishu. The vials of their wrath fell on Faza, where large numbers of people were slaughtered and 10,000 palm trees destroyed. 'Alī Bey returned with five ships in 1589, but, although the coast again declared for the Ottomans, he was himself defeated and captured in Mombasa harbour, from which he was deported to Lisbon. Although this was the end of Ottoman attacks on the eastern African coast, at Mogadishu new copper coins were issued by no less than eleven rulers. All these bear a *ṭughra* in imitation of Ottoman coinage, and are probably to be ascribed to the 10th/16th to 11th/17th centuries.

In 1700 a British squadron of men-of-war halted before Mogadishu for several days, but without landing. After the 'Umānī Arabs had taken Mombasa from the Portuguese in 1698, Mogadishu and other towns on the Somali coast were occupied at uncertain dates, but after a while their troops were ordered back to 'Umān. The sultanate of Mogadishu continued to decline, and the town was divided into two quarters, Ḥamar-Wēn and Shangānī, by civil wars. Little by little the Somali penetrated into the

ancient Arabian town, and the clans of Mogadishu changed their Arabic names for Somali appellatives: the 'Aqabī became the rēr Shēkh, the Jid'atī the Shanshiya, the 'Affī the Gudmanā, and even the Muqrī (Qaḥṭanī) changed their name to rēr Faqīh. In the 12th/18th century the Darandollā nomads, excited by exaggerated traditions of urban wealth, attacked and conquered the town. The Darandollā chief, who had the title of *imām*, set himself up in the Shangānī quarter, and once again the Qaḥṭanī privilege of electing the *qādī* was recognised. In 1823 Sayyid Sa'īd of 'Umān attempted to assert his authority over Mogadishu, and arrested two of the notables. It was not until 1843 that he was able to appoint a governor. He chose a Somali, but the new governor shortly retired inland to his own people. When Charles Guillain visited Mogadishu in 1848, he found only "an old Arab" who presided over the customs house. Guillain's fourth volume, an *Album*, contains some admirable engravings of Mogadishu at this period which have been reproduced in Cerulli's work. It was only at the end of the century, during the reign of Sa'īd's son Barghash (1870–88), that Zanzibari authority was finally established over Mogadishu, only to be ceded to Italy, along with Barāwa, Merca and Warsheikh, for an annual rent of 160,000 rupees, in 1892. It was finally purchased by Italy in 1905. Mogadishu and the eastern coastland of the Horn of Africa remained an Italian colony, with an influx of Italian colonists, until World War II when Italian colonial rule ended. In 1949 it became a United Nations Trust Territory administered by Italy, achieving independence in 1960. Mogadishu had already acquired a University Institute in 1954, and this was erected into a University in 1959. The present population of Mogadishu is estimated at one-and-a-quarter millions, a figure much swollen by refugees from the countryside during the civil warfare and anarchy in Somalia of the last decade or so.

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**MOMBASA**, in Arabic script Manbasa, Swahili Mvita, an island and town on the eastern coast of Africa, situated in lat. 4° 04' S., long. 39° 40' E., now in the Kenya Republic. The island is about 5 km/3 miles in length from north to south, and nearly the same from east to west. It is so placed in the deep inlet formed by the convergence of several creeks as to be almost wholly surrounded by mainland, only the southeastern angle being exposed to the Indian Ocean. This peculiarity of situation suggested to W.E. Taylor the derivation of the name Mvita “the curtained headland”, from Swa. *n(ta)* “point”. The more usual derivation from *vita* “war”, seems inadmissible on phonetic grounds. A 19th century traditional *History of Pate* connects it with *fita* “hidden”, either from its hidden position, or from the inhabitants, as it is said, having hidden themselves in the bush during a raid from Pate.

The origin of Mombasa is obscure. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (ca. A.D. 106) records Arab trading stations on the East African coast where the traders intermarried with local women. The race of the native people is unknown, for the Bantu ancestors of the present Swahili population do not appear to have reached the coast before the 5th century A.D. There is no recorded local tradition of the date of foundation of the town, but Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, 29) reports a Pate tradition which states that the Umayyad caliph ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65–86/685–705) sent out Syrians, who “built the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa”. There is no evidence, either documentary or archaeological, to support this view. The first documentary record is a somewhat confused report by al-Idrīsī, who speaks of it as a small place whose inhabitants work in iron mines and hunt tigers (sc. leopards, for there are no tigers in Africa). Nor are there any iron mines as such, but pig iron is recoverable from numerous nearby beaches. Here the King of the Zunūj had his residence. Some recent excavations on the Coast General Hospital site (1976) produced some ceramic

evidence that is dated to ca. 1180–1280, but nothing demonstrably earlier. Because the modern town overlies the ancient town site, little excavation has so far been possible. The town was visited by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa in 1331. Fruit, bananas, lemons and oranges were plentiful, but agriculture was not practised: grain was imported from the coast. The people were of the Shāfi‘ī rite, “devout, chaste and pious”, and their mosques were constructed of wood.

The Swahili of Mombasa, both traditionally and at the present day, are divided into the *Thenashara Taija*, the Twelve Tribes. Some also identify themselves as Shīrāzī, claiming Persian descent, and most probably have a thin line of descent from traders from the Gulf. Five of the *mataifa* are named from localities near Mombasa, the remaining seven from towns and islands to the north, as far as southern Somalia. There is little evidence of migration from Pemba, Zanzibar or the Tanzanian coast. There seem, however, to have been some connections with Kilwa, for a report made in 1506 by Diogo de Alcaçova to the King of Portugal states that the *sulṭān* of Kilwa collected customs dues at Mombasa from vessels that had sailed past Kilwa. Whatever their origin, the *Thenashara Taija* speak a distinct dialect of Swahili, *Kimvita*, which is the dominant form of the language from Malindi in the north to Gazi in the south. Two of the *taija*, the Jomvu and the Changamwe, speak slightly differentiated subdialects. It is with curious prescience, as it might seem, that in 1776 a Mwinyi (or Prince) Kombo of Mombasa wrote to the French Governor of Île de France of Swahili as “my national language”. In structure, the *Thenashara Taija* group divided themselves into *Thelatha Taija* (“Three Tribes”) and *Tisa Taija* (“Nine Tribes”). In the 19th century, the ‘Umānī *sulṭāns* recognised these political groupings by accepting a *tamim* (Swa. “spokesman”; pl. *matamim*), from each of the two. These offices still exist under the present republic, but are largely honorific. Their origins and antiquity are unknown.

There are several recognisable stages in the development of the town. The first is a tradition of a queen, Mwana Mkisi. Then followed a “Shīrāzī” dynasty founded by Shehe Mvita, who gave his name to the town. This dynasty died out in the late 16th century, when the Portuguese filled the vacancy by bringing from Malindi a *sulṭān* of a “Shīrāzī” dynasty. The last of these, Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, after rebelling against the Portuguese in 1631, fled in the following

year. The Portuguese then ruled directly until 1698, when the town was taken by the ʿUmānī Arabs, who ruled until 1890, when the British Protectorate (1890–1963) was proclaimed. This was ended when the Republic of Kenya was proclaimed on 12 December 1963.

Of the first stage we know nothing. Of the “Shīrāzī” dynasty, the *History of Mombasa*, a Swahili traditional history translated into Arabic in 1824, and which now exists only in English, French and German translations, records nothing but the name of the last ruler, Shahu Misham. It is equally taciturn about the Portuguese occupation. Vasco da Gama reached Mombasa on 7 April 1498, but did not land for fear of treachery. He then went on to Malindi, the traditional enemy of Mombasa, whose ruler hoped to find in him a useful ally against Mombasa. Mombasa town was taken and sacked by the Portuguese in 1505 by Francisco d’Almeida, in 1528 by Nuno da Cunha, and in 1588 by Tomé de Sousa Coutinho. The reason for the last of these sacks was that in 1585 the town had declared its allegiance to the Ottoman Sultan when the Turkish *amīr* ʿAlī Bey came down to the coast. He returned in 1588, at the same time as a land invasion of the Zimba, a warlike tribe that had made its way up from south of the River Zambezi, killing and pillaging as it went. From Mombasa the Zimba went on to Malindi, where the Portuguese were assisted by a war-party of the Segeju tribe. Together they annihilated the Zimba, who then disappear from history. But the two Turkish incursions, even if they were unsuccessful, determined the Portuguese to transfer the seat of their Captain from Malindi to Mombasa, and to erect the fortress there known by them as Fort Jesus, and by the Swahili as *ngome* (“fortified enclosure”). The architect was an Italian, Giovanni Batista Cairati, but the work-force was principally provided by the Swahili. It is constructed of cut coral, the most copiously available local building stone. The work began in 1592 and was largely complete by 1596, although additions and alterations were made long after. It was at this time that the “Shīrāzī” dynasty failed, and the *sulṭān* of Malindi was brought in to fill the vacancy in 1592. By a settlement made in 1594 the island was divided into two equal parts; it was grossly favourable to the Portuguese because the part to the *sulṭān* was in the interior of the island, without access to the sea. This was modified in 1596, the *sulṭān* being given land near the modern harbour of Kilindini

and one-third of the customs revenue. The *sulṭān* then applied for permission to send trading voyages to China, to send a vessel annually to the Red Sea for the pilgrimage to Mecca, and to be made ruler of Pemba. He seized the latter without further ado. He died in 1609, being succeeded by a son, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad. He quarrelled with the Portuguese over Pemba; they retorted by demanding the deposit of his entire stock of grain in Fort Jesus. He refused, and was forced to flee to Kilifi; after a brief return to Mombasa, he fled again and was treacherously murdered.

His brother Muḥammad was then installed as regent, and his son, Yūsuf, was sent to Goa to be educated as a Christian by the Augustinian Order, who had started a mission in Mombasa in 1597. Yūsuf was baptised as Dom Jerónimo Chingulia. In 1626 (as recently discovered manuscripts have made clear) he returned to Mombasa. He had had a period of service in the Portuguese fleet, had married a Portuguese wife, and had been solemnly with her in Goa. A considerable body of evidence sustains his complaints of the gratuitous insults, affronts and injustices of the Portuguese Captains. In 1631, with the aid of pagan tribesmen known as Mozungulos, he murdered the Captain Leitão de Gamboa, and fired on the Portuguese town, an area separate, as a map of 1635 shows, from that of the Swahili. Portuguese, both men and women, fled to the Augustinian monastery. At the same time, Dom Jerónimo returned to the Islamic faith as Sultan Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan, and he gave the Augustinian clergy, and to the Christians in the monastery, Africans, Goans, Indians and Portuguese, men, women and children, all told some 250, the choice between Islam or death. The Augustinian Postulature Archives in Rome preserve the *processus* or ecclesiastical judicial inquiry into their deaths, with a view to their canonisation as saints: it contains the evidence of twenty-three witnesses. At the same time there were minor uprisings elsewhere on the coast, but there was nothing to suggest a systematically-organised revolt. In 1632, when the Portuguese fleet arrived from Goa to recover the town, some 1,000 men were said to be under arms. The Portuguese besieged the town until May 1633 and then withdrew. Sultan Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan had ostensibly succeeded. But then, quite abruptly, he withdrew to the Red Sea, taking to a life of piracy and pillage. Likewise, the inhabitants fled, and later the Portuguese returned to an empty town. What



had started as an anti-colonial uprising with religious overtones ended like a damp squib.

In 1650 the 'Umānīs succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Masqaṭ/Muscat. A Mombasan delegation shortly sailed for Masqaṭ, asking for aid. During the next half-century the 'Umānīs frequently raided the eastern African coast, even reaching as far as Mozambique. Their aim was by no means altruistic; it was to break the Portuguese monopoly of the ivory trade in which Arabs and the coastal folk had collaborated since before the time of the *Periplus*. These raids culminated in the 'Umānī siege of Fort Jesus in March 1696. We possess two detailed accounts of the siege. The Portuguese were assisted by Swahili from Pate, jealous of Mombasa. When defeat was at last acknowledged in December 1698, there were only eleven survivors from what had been a force of some 3,000. The 'Umānīs then extended along the coast as far as Tungi, just south of the River Ruvuma. Governors were placed at Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and other principal towns. When internal dissension rent Mombasa in 1728–9, the Portuguese made a brief comeback. They were expelled by a popular insurrection. The history of the next 140 years is of sporadic and disorganised resistance to the 'Umānīs. In Mombasa the Mazrui (Swa., Ar. Mazra'ī) virtually became hereditary governors (Swa. *livali*) after 1734, with Fort Jesus as their residence. In 1749, when Aḥmad b. Sa'īd seized 'Umān from the Ya'āribā, the Mazrui proclaimed themselves independent. This was soon stopped, but it did not prevent another attempt *ca.* 1815. An uneasy tension persisted until 1823, when, at their request, British protection was asked from Captain W.F.W. Owen. This he granted provisionally, in the belief that it would assist in putting down the slave trade. A British Protectorate was proclaimed (1824–6), but shortly afterwards disowned by Whitehall. The British Government by no means wished to quarrel with Sayyid Sa'īd of 'Umān, whose state lay athwart communications with India. Sa'īd made his first visit to the coast in 1827, but it was ten years before he was able to gain control of Mombasa from the Mazrui. Soon afterwards he made Zanzibar his principal residence, and from there Mombasa and its coast was controlled until it was leased to the British East Africa Company in 1887. From then on it shared the history of what was to become Kenya after the First World War.

In the 19th century, Mombasa was the centre of a circle of a number of distinguished Swahili poets. Amongst these were Mājid b. Jābir al-Rijeby (*ca.* 1800–8), Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Shaykh al-Mambassī (*fl.* 1865–90), Su'ūd b. Ba'īd al-Ma'āmīrī (*ca.* 1810–78), and the well-known Muyaka b. Mwinyi Haji. The late Shaykh Amīn b. 'Alī al-Mazrui, for many years *qāḍī* of Mombasa, was also the author of an Arabic history of his family, as yet unpublished. For an understanding of modern times, the work by Hyder Kindy, one of the *matamim*, *Life and politics in Mombasa* (1972), is valuable and illuminating.

In the sphere of archaeology, there is still much to be learnt in Mombasa. J.S. Kirkman's excavations and clearing of Fort Jesus during 1958–69 are important not only for the study of the fort but because it resulted in a study of imported ceramics, Islamic and Far Eastern, from the 17th to 19th centuries. This work was begun by him at Gedi in 1948, and a complete and reliable picture of East African imports is now available from the 12th to the 19th centuries. But this does not affect the historical archaeology of Mombasa before the 12th century, now begun by H. Sassoon. Outside Fort Jesus, it remains to recover the archaeological story of an Islamic town which in mediaeval eastern Africa was second only to Kilwa.

Mombasa town is at the eastern end of the island, and is now linked with the mainlands by ferry, a bridge and a causeway. It is the administrative centre of Coast Province, but its great commercial importance comes from its being Kenya's only modern port and its being the terminus of the Kenya and Uganda railway. Some three-quarters of the population is African (including a floating population of labourers from inland tribes), with small minorities of Arabs, Indians and Europeans. The Swahili-speaking Africans and Arabs are Sunni Muslims of the Shāfi'ī law school. There are a number of mosques, very plain buildings without minarets; the muezzin stands on the flat roof to give the *adhān* or call to prayer. The estimated population of Mombasa in 2002 was 707,400.

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**MOSTAR**, a town and the administrative centre of a district in Hercegovina, formerly an Ottoman town but now in the Yugoslav Republic. It is situated in lat. 43° 20' N., long. 17° 49' E. on the Neretva river in mountainous country, and with an annual rainfall of only 14.14 cm/6 inches and an average July temperature of 26.9 C., is the driest place in the Yugoslav Republic. As a town, it is one of the few clearly Ottoman foundations in the Balkans.

During the last decades preceding the first occupation of the Dukedom of St. Java (in Turkish, Hersek İli) by the forces of the Ottoman *sanjaq begi* of Bosnia, Īsā Beg. b. Ishāq, in 871/1467 or, at the latest, early in the following year, Mostar had been a small settlement by a wooden bridge guarded by two fortification towers which spanned the river Neretva (Narenta). As a stronghold, Mostar is first mentioned in a letter dated April 1452 which, it is true, does not reveal its toponym (“do castelli al ponte de Neretua”). The earliest reference to the settlement itself and its name is an abridged (*ijmāl*) *taḥrīr defteri* of the *wilāyet-i Bosna* which is dated, according to Šabanović, to the period from 26 January 1468 to 12 May 1469. In the *defter* Mostar is listed as a market (*bāzār*) with the alternative names of “Mosdar” and “Köprülü Hışār”, and with a total of 16 (non-Muslim) households. Mostar’s territory (*wilāyet*) at that time numbered 30 villages. Unlike nearby Blagaj, which had been the administrative centre of the dukedom in the pre-Ottoman period and which, together with Drin and Foča, had become a major Herzegovinian *qāḍīlīq* by the early 1470s, Mostar was only the seat of a *nā’ib* under the authority of the *qāḍī* of Foča (from 877/1473). It became an independent *qāḍā’* only after 911/1505–6, but before 925/1519 (Šabanović). From 1522 until 1522 Mostar was the seat of the *sanjaq begi* of Hersek İli, who earlier had resided in Foča. By

this time, the formerly small market had developed into a major commercial and administrative centre in the *sanjaq* of Herzegovina.

Originally, Mostar was confined to a central area on the left bank of the Neretva (around the present-day Stari grad). The oldest *maḥalle*, the nucleus of Ottoman Mostar, appears to be that of Sinān Pasha, with its Friday mosque and probably also its *ḥammām* built in 878/1474 (both buildings have not been preserved; the oldest surviving mosque being the *meşjid* of Sultan Selīm I). The first *maḥkeme* was situated here too. By 925/1519, according to Šabanović, Mostar had 75 Christian and 19 Muslim households. The town’s urban growth accelerated dramatically from about the middle of the 10th/16th century: the *jāmi’* around which the *maḥalle* of Geyvān Ketkhudā developed was erected in 960/1552 (to which was added a *mekteb* in 1554, a *khān* before 1558 and a *medrese* after 1558); that of Karagöz Mehmed Beg dates from 965/1557–8 (the *maḥalle* was given a *medrese* and a *khān* before 1570, and a library in that year). Only now did Mostar begin to extend across the river to the right bank of the Neretva (*jāmi’* of Dizdār Naşūh, middle of the 16th century), which was accompanied by the construction of two stone bridges (“Kriva ćuprija” and “Stari most”). Despite its modern name, the famous Stari most appears to be the later of the two, erected in 974/1566–7 (dated by chronograms and an inscription) as a replacement for its wooden predecessor. By 993/1585, Mostar had 14 Muslim and two Christian *maḥallāt*, one of which (Zahum) possessed a Catholic church. The earliest extant *siyill* from Mostar contains a list of 22 Muslim and two Christian quarters (1041/1631–2). After more than a century of intense development, little was added after *ca.* 1060/1650. However, the fortified town walls were extended to include the *maḥallāt* on the right bank of the Neretva (after 1699).

In the 12th/18th and early 13th/19th centuries, the judicial and fiscal district of Mostar, excluding the *nāhiye* of Libuška, comprised *ca.* 60 villages. During this period, Mostar developed into an important *qapudanlīq* (by 1829 there were twelve towns in the *sanjaq* of Herzegovina headed by a *qapudan* (from Italian *capitano*)). From 1248/1833 Mostar was the centre of the *mutaşarrıflīq* of Hersek under its *wālī* ‘Alī Pasha Rizvanbegović (until 1851). A new complex of governmental and residential buildings (Pasha Sarāyī, erected from 1833) as well as a summer residence

(completed after 1844) are the architectural expression of 'Alī Pasha's high-flying political ambitions. Significantly, he also built a *mesjid* (1847), founded a (Naqshbandī) dervish convent and erected a *türbe* (Šejh-Jujino turbe) over the supposed grave of a *sheykh* who had died more than a century before. With the establishment of a municipal administration (*belediyye*), new street names (1867) and, for the first time, house numbers were introduced.

Mostar became the centre of a newly-created but ephemeral Ottoman *wilāyet* or province, comprising six *qadās*, in 1875–6 (A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 48), during which brief period an official newspaper, "Neretva," was published there, but after 1876 it became once more part of the province of Bosna/ Bosnia. Serbian nationalism was now growing in Hercegovina, with a mass Christian uprising against the Turks in 1875. The Great Powers of Europe now intervened, and according to the terms imposed by the Congress of Berlin of 1878, Bosnia and Hercegovina became Austrian protectorates, in effect ending four centuries of Ottoman rule there; Austro-Hungarian troops entered Mostar in August 1878. In 1884 the railway line from Metkovic in Dalmatia reached Mostar, and it also became connected by rail to Sarajevo.

In the early years of the 20th century, Mostar had both Roman Catholic and Serbian Orthodox bishops and a Muslim Muftī, and there were several mosques. After World War I, Mostar came within the newly-formed Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and it was in the early years of the Kingdom that Mostar's two traditional *medreses* closed (1924), followed by the *rüşdiyye* school in 1925. With the breakup of the post-1945 Yugoslav Republic and the outbreak of warfare in 1992, the Old Bridge, the Sary most, over the Neretva was badly damaged, but as a UNESCO World Heritage Site has now been restored. The population of Mostar was 126,067 according to the 1991 census, but may be less now after the fighting in the region.

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**MOSUL**, Arabic al-Mawṣil, a city of northern Mesopotamia or Iraq, situated on the west bank of the Tigris opposite the ruins of the ancient Assyrian city of Nineveh, in lat. 36° 20' N., long. 43° 08' E. In early Islamic times it was the capital of the Diyār Rabī'a region of the province of the Jazīra.

#### I. HISTORY TO 1900

Mosul (*mawṣil*, "place of junction") takes its name from the fact that a number of arms of the river there combine (Arabic, *waṣāla*) to form a single stream. The town lies close beside the Tigris on a spur of the western steppe-plateau which juts out into the alluvial plain of the river. Close beside its walls are quarries in which the plaster for the buildings and for the mortar is obtained. The site of the town, almost 3 km<sup>2</sup> in area and enclosed by the already-mentioned wall and the Tigris, slopes from the old fortress gradually to the south. To the south-east there stretch, as in the Middle Ages, the suburbs surrounded by fertile plants. A little above the spot where the wall joins the river on the south-east is the bridge of boats. All the old buildings and even the court of the Great Mosque lie, according to E. Herzfeld's investigations, below the level of the streets in which the accumulation of mounds of débris from houses is a result of a thousand years of continuous occupation.

Whether the town already existed in antiquity is unknown. E. Herzfeld (*Archäol. Reise*, ii, 207, 259) has suggested that Xenophon's Μέσιλα, reproduces its old name and that we should read Μέσιλα (= *Mawṣil*); but against this view we have the simple fact that this town lay on the east bank of the Tigris (F.H. Weissbach, in Pauly-Wissowa, xv, col. 1164).

The Muslims placed the foundations of the town in mythical antiquity and ascribed it to Rēwand b. Bēwarāsp Ajdahāk. According to another tradition, its earlier name was Khawlān. The Persian satrap of Mosul bore the title Būdh-Ardashīrānshāh, so that the official name of the town was Būdh-Ardashīr. Lastly, Bar Bahlūl says that an old Persian king gave it the name Bih-Hormiz-Qawādh (G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten pers. Märtyren*, 178).

As the metropolis of the diocese of Āthūr, al-Mawṣil took the place of Nineveh, whither Christianity had penetrated by the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. Rabban Īshōʿ-yahbh, called Bar Qūsra, about A.D. 570 founded on the west bank of the Tigris opposite Nineveh a monastery (still called Mār Īshaʿyā) around which Khusraw II built many buildings. This settlement is probably the fortress mentioned in the Syriac chronicle edited by Guidi as Ḥesnā ʿEbhṛāyā (according to Herzfeld, “citadel on the opposite bank”), which later was developed into a town by the Arabs.

Nineveh is attested as a separate Nestorian bishopric from 554 till the early 3rd/9th century, when it was merged with the see of Mosul, and for roughly the same period, Monophysite bishops are recorded for the monastery of Mar Mattā and Nineveh (later Mosul) (see J.-M. Fiey, *Assyrie chrétienne*, Beirut 1968, ii, 344 ff.). The area just to the north of Mosul was known at this time as Bēth Nūhādhrā, and that to the south-west as Adiabene, in early Islamic parlance, Arḍ Ḥazza (from the village, Syriac Ḥʿzā, which seems to have been the main centre, towards the end of the Sasanid period, for the administrative division of Nōdh-Ardashīrakan (see M.G. Morony, *Continuity and change in the administrative geography of late Sasanian and early Islamic al-ʿIrāq*, in *JBIPS*, xx [1982], 10 ff.).

After the taking of Nineveh by ʿUtba b. Farqad (20/641) in the reign of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Arabs crossed the Tigris, whereupon the garrison of the fortress on the west bank surrendered on promising to pay the poll-tax and obtained permission to go where they pleased. Under the same caliph, ʿUtba was dismissed from his post as commander of Mosul, and Harthama b. ʿArfāja al-Bāriqī succeeded him. The latter settled Arabs in houses of their own, then allotted them lands and made Mosul a camp city (*miṣr*) in which he also built a Friday Mosque. According to al-Wāqidi, ʿAbd al-Malik (65–86/685–705) appointed his son Saʿīd as governor of Mosul, while he put his brother Muḥammad over Armenia and Jazīra. According to al-Muʿāfā b. Ṭāwūs on the other hand, Muḥammad was also governor of Azerbaijan and Mosul, and his chief of police Ibn Talīd paved the town and built a wall round it. His son Marwān II is also described as a builder and extender of the town; he is said to have organised its administration and built roads, walls and a bridge of boats over the

Tigris. The foundation of a congregational mosque was also ascribed to him. Mosul became under him the capital of the province of Jazīra.

After al-Mutawakkil's death, the Khārijite Musāwir seized a part of the territory of Mosul and made al-Ḥadītha his headquarters. The then governor of Mosul, the Khuzāʿī ʿAqaba b. Muḥammad, was deposed by the Taghlibī Ayyūb b. Aḥmad, who put his own son Ḥasan in his place. Soon afterwards, in 254/868, the ʿAzdi Allāh b. Sulaymān became the governor of Mosul. The Kharijites took the town from him, and Musāwir entered into possession of it. Al-Muʿtamid appointed the Turkish general Asātigin governor of the town, but in Jumādā I 259/March 873 the latter sent his son Azkūtigin there as his deputy. The latter was soon driven out by the citizens of the town, who chose Yahyā b. Sulaymān as their ruler.

Haytham b. ʿAbd Allāh, whom Asātigin then sent to Mosul, had to return after achieving nothing. The Taghlibī Ishāq b. Ayyūb, whom Asātigin sent with 20,000 men against the city, among whom was Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, entered it after winning a battle, but was soon driven out again.

In 261/874–5 the Taghlibī Khidr b. Aḥmad and in 267/880–1 Ishāq b. Kundāj were appointed governors of Mosul by al-Muʿtamid. A year after Ishāq's death, his son Muḥammad sent Hārūn b. Sulaymān to Mosul (279/892); when he was driven out by the inhabitants, he asked the Banū Shaybān for assistance, and they besieged the town with him. The inhabitants, led by Hārūn b. ʿAbd Allāh and Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn, after an initial victory were surprised and defeated by the Shaybānīs; shortly afterward, Muḥammad b. Ishāq was deposed by the Kurd ʿAlī b. Dāwūd.

When al-Muʿtaḍid became caliph in 279/892, Ḥamdān (the grandfather of Sayf al-Dawla) managed to make himself very popular with him at first, but in 282/895 he rebelled in Mosul. When an army was sent by the caliph against him under Waṣīf and Naṣr, he escaped while his son Ḥusayn surrendered. The citadel was stormed and destroyed, and Ḥamdān soon afterwards was captured and thrown into prison. Naṣr was then ordered to collect tribute in the city and thus came into conflict with the followers of the Khārijite Hārūn; Hārūn was defeated and fled into the desert. In place of Tuktamīr, who was imprisoned, the caliph appointed Ḥasan b. ʿAlī as governor of

Mosul and sent against Hārūn, the main cause of the strife, the Ḥamdānīd Ḥusayn, who took him prisoner in 283/896. The family thus regained the caliph's favour.

When after the subjection of the Khārijites, raiding Kurds began to disturb the country round Mosul, al-Muktafi again gave a Ḥamdānīd, namely Ḥusayn's brother Abu 'l-Hayjā' 'Abd Allāh, the task of bringing them to book, as the latter could rely on the assistance of the Taghlibīs settled around the city to whom the Ḥamdānīds belonged. Abu 'l-Hayjā' came to Mosul in the beginning of Muḥarram 293/October 906 and in the following year subdued the Kurds, whose leader Muḥammad b. Bilāl submitted and came to live in the city. From this time, the Ḥamdānīds ruled there, first as governors for the caliph, then from 317/929 (Nāṣir al-Dawla Ḥasan) as sovereign rulers.

The 'Uqaylids who followed them (386–498/996–1096) belonged to the tribe of the Banū Ka'b. Their kingdom, founded by Ḥusām al-Dawla al-Muqallad, whose independence was recognised by the Buyids, extended as far as Tā'ūq (Daqūqā), al-Madā'in and Kufa. In 489/1095–6, Mosul passed to the Saljuqs. The town developed considerably under the Atabeg 'Imād Dīn Zangī, who put an end to Saljuq rule in 521/1127–8. The city which was for the most part in ruins, was given splendid buildings by him; the fortifications were restored and flourishing gardens surrounded the town. Under one of his successors, 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd I, it was twice unsuccessfully besieged by the Ayyubid Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (A.D. 1182 and 1185); after the conclusion of peace, 'Izz al-Dīn, however, found himself forced to recognise Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn as his suzerain. The town was at this time defended by a strong citadel and a double wall, the towers of which were washed on the east side by the Tigris. To the south lay a great suburb, laid out by the vizier Mujāhid al-Dīn Qaymāz (d. 595/1199). From 607/1210–11 his son Badr al-Dīn Lu'lu' ruled over Mosul first as vizier of the last Zangids and from 631/1234 as an independent ruler. In 642/1244–5 he submitted to Hülegü and accompanied him on his campaigns, so that Mosul was spared the usual sacking. When however his son Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismā'il joined Baybars against the Mongols, the town was plundered in 660/1261–2; the ruler himself fell in battle.

The Arab geographers compare its plan to a shawl (*ṭaylasān*), i.e. to an elongated rectangle. Ibn

Hawqal, who visited Mosul in 358/968–9, describes it as a beautiful town with fertile surroundings. The population in his time consisted mainly of Kurds. According to al-Maqdisī (ca. 375/985–6, the town was very beautifully built. Its plan was in the form of a semi-circle. The citadel was called *al-Murabba'a* and stood where the Nahr Zubayda canal joined the Tigris (now Ich-qal'a or Bāsh Ṭābiya?). Within its walls were a Wednesday market (*sūq al-arba'ā*), after which it was sometimes called. The congregational mosque built by Marwān stood on an eminence not far from the Tigris to which steps led up. The streets in the market were for the most part roofed over. The same geographer gives the eight main streets of the town. The castle of the caliph (*Qaṣr al-Khalifa*) stood on the east bank, half a mile from the town, and commanded Nineveh; in the time of al-Maqdisī it was already in ruins, through which the Nahr al-Khawṣar flowed.

Ibn Jubayr visited Mosul on 22–6 Ṣafar 580/4–8 June 1184. Shortly before, Nūr al-Dīn had built a new congregational mosque on the market place. At the highest point in the town was the citadel (now Bāsh Ṭābiya); it was known as *al-Ḥadbā'* "the hunch-backed", and perhaps as the synonymous *al-Dafa'a*, and according to al-Qazwīnī was surrounded by a deep ditch and high walls. The city walls, which had strong towers, ran down to the river and along its bank. A broad highway (*shāri'*) connected the upper and lower towns (the north-south road called *Darb Dayr al-A'lā*). In front of the walls suburbs stretched into the distance with many smaller mosques, inns and baths. The hospital (*māristān*) and the great covered market (*qaysariyya*) were celebrated. Most houses in Mosul were built of tufa or marble (from the Jabal Maqlūb east of the town) and had domed roofs. Later, Mosul was given a third congregational mosque which commanded the Tigris and was perhaps the building admired by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfi (ca. 740/1339–40).

The site of the ancient Nineveh (Arabic *Nīnaway*) was in al-Maqdisī's time called Tall Tawba and was said to be the place where the prophet Yūnus stayed when he wished to convert the people of Nineveh. There was a mosque there, around which the Ḥamdānīd Nāṣir al-Dawla built hostels for pilgrims. Half a mile away was the healing spring of 'Ayn Yūnus with a mosque beside it, perhaps also the Shajarat al-Yaqtīn, said to have been planted by

the Prophet himself. The tomb of Nabī Jirjīs/St. George, who according to Muslim legend had suffered martyrdom in Mosul, was in the east town, as was also that of Nabī Shīth (Seth).

The textiles of Mosul were especially famed, and from the city's name came Eng. *muslin* and Fr. *mouseline*, although it appears from Marco Polo's mention of *mosolino* cloth as made with gold and silver threads that these luxury cloths differed from the present-day thin and delicate cottons (see Sir Henry Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 57–9; R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 38–9).

The Mongol dynasty of the Jalāyirids succeeded the Il-Khanids in Baghdad, and Sultan Shaykh Uways in 766/1364–5 incorporated Mosul in his kingdom. The world-conqueror Tīmūr not only spared the city but gave rich endowments to the tombs of Nabī Yūnus and Nabī Jirjīs, to which he made a pilgrimage, and restored the bridge of boats between Mosul and these holy places.

The Türkmen dynasty of the Aq Qoyunlu, whose founder Bahā' Dīn Qarā' Uthmān had been appointed governor of Diyārbakr by Tīmūr, was followed by the Safavids, who took over Mosul after their conquest of Baghdad in 914/late 1508, but lost it again to Süleymān the Magnificent in 941/1535, who appointed Sayyid Aḥmad of Jazīrat Ibn 'Umar as its governor. From the year 1000/1592 onwards, we have lists of the Ottoman *pashas* of the *sanjaq* of Mosul (for long attached to the *eyālet* of Diyārbakr), whose tenure of power was usually short-lived; thus from 1048/1638 to 1111/1699–1700 there were 48 *pashas*. Nādir Shāh besieged it in 1156/1743, but the governor Ḥusayn Jalīlī refortified the city and heroically defended it. It was at this time and thereafter that the *pashaliq* of Mosul was fairly continuously in the hands of the local family, originally Christians, of 'Abd al-Jalīl; Ḥusayn b. Ismā'īl held this office on eight separate occasions, and the hold of the Jalīlīs was only broken in 1834, when Sultan Maḥmūd II extended his centralising power over the *derebeys* and other previously largely autonomous local potentates and removed Yaḥyā b. Nu'mān al-Jalīlī.

European travellers frequently passed through Mosul and mention it in their travel narratives; they often comment unfavourably on the unclean streets and on the sectarian strife there amongst both Muslims and the rival Christian churches. After

1879, the *sanjaq* of Mosul, after being attached to Vān, Hakkārī and then Baghdad, became a separate *wilāyet*. There was a long tradition of French missionary and educational work in the city, by e.g. Carmelites and Dominicans, largely among the indigenous Eastern Christian churches. In the later 19th century, travellers describe Mosul's mud brick walls, with their seven gates, as largely ruinous, and record the dominant form of domestic architecture as stone-built houses with *sardābs*; the population then was around 40,000, including 7,000 Christians and 1,500 Jews.

## II. SINCE 1900

By the beginning of the 20th century, the prosperity and political importance of Mosul were evidently waning, largely because the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 had occasioned an immediate reduction in the overland trade between the city and its traditional commercial partners, Aleppo and Damascus. Furthermore, the development of the port of Basra and of steam navigation on the Tigris gradually had the effect of subordinating the economy of Mosul to that of Baghdad, which became the entrepot for all the former city's imports and exports.

The effects of the *Tanzīmāt* reforms were even more lightly felt in the province of Mosul than in the rest of Iraq, and there is no sign that the various administrative changes had any particular effect in curbing the powers of the local notables and tribal leaders. As noted above, in 1879 the city itself became the headquarters of a *wilāyet* of the same name, comprising the *qaḍā's* of Mosul, Kirkūk, Arbīl and Sulaymāniyya, but for the rest of the period of Ottoman rule, the state's control over most of what is now Iraqi Kurdistan was purely nominal, and between 1895 and 1911, one man, Muṣṭafā Chalabī Šābūnjī, was virtual dictator of Mosul town, far more powerful than any of the numerous *wālīs* sent from Istanbul (see Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq*, 289–92). Using Ottoman sources, J. McCarthy (*The population of Ottoman Syria and Iraq, 1878–1914*, 3–44) has calculated that the population of Mosul *wilāyet* in 1330/1911–12 was about 828,000, which is considerably higher than earlier estimates (see e.g., Longrigg, *Iraq 1900 to 1950*, 7). It is even more difficult to establish an accurate figure for Mosul town alone; McCarthy

suggests 36,500 adult males, which accords with the estimated total of 70,000 inhabitants given in *al-ʿIrāq Yearbook* for 1922.

For most of the First World War, the fighting on the Iraqi front took place in the Basra and Baghdad *wilāyets*, with the result that Mosul town itself was relatively little affected, and was in fact only occupied by British troops some days after the Armistice of Mudros (30 October 1918; see Wilson, *Mesopotamia 1917–1920: a clash of loyalties*, 11). The area had been assigned to France in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916, but Clemenceau immediately acquiesced in Lloyd George's request in December 1918 that it should be attached to Iraq, and thus to the British sphere of influence, provided that France would be assured of equality in the exploitation of Mesopotamian oil (see J. Nevakivi, *Britain, France and the Arab Middle East 1914–1920*, London 1969, 91–2). Although the mandate for Iraq was assigned to Britain under the Treaty of San Remo (April 1920), the Turkish Republican government continued to contest the new Iraqi state's right to Mosul and the *wilāyet* was only finally awarded to Iraq in 1925 after an enquiry carried out by the League of Nations (for details, see Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs*). Oil was struck in commercial quantities near Kirkūk in 1927, and these northern oilfields, exploited until nationalisation in 1973 by the Iraq Petroleum Company, an Anglo-French-Dutch-American consortium, form one of the country's most valuable economic assets.

Under the mandate and monarchy (1920–32; 1932–58) the status of Mosul continued to decline, partly because the inauguration of the new state and the establishment of Baghdad as its capital inevitably deprived it of its importance as an independent provincial centre, and partly because Mosul *wilāyet* itself was further sub-divided into four provinces (Mosul, Sulaymāniyya, Kirkūk and Arbīl). The city maintained its somewhat conservative reputation throughout the period, and in comparison with Baghdad and Basra seems to have been relatively little affected by the independence struggles of the 1940s and 1950s. During this period, members of the city's prominent families, notably the Shammar *shaykhs* and members of the Kashmūla, Khudayr and Shallāl families, gradually came to acquire legal ownership of much of the land in the surrounding countryside. Such individuals naturally felt threatened by the avowedly revolutionary aims of the govern-

ment of ʿAbd Karīm Qāsim, which came to power on 14 July 1958, and in particular by its immediate introduction of an agrarian reform law.

In March 1959, some of the landowners and their followers joined together with local Arab nationalists and a number of Qāsim's former supporters in the armed forces in an attempt to overthrow his régime, with assistance promised (but not ultimately forthcoming) from Cairo and Damascus. Four days of fighting broke out in the city between the supporters and opponents of Qāsim, in which some 200 people were killed. The attempted coup was unsuccessful, but the incident was to be used many times in the future as a rallying cry for revenge on the part of Baʿthists and nationalists against Qāsim and his left-wing supporters.

Mosul was finally connected with the rest of the Iraqi railway system in 1939, and served by Iraqi Airways after 1946; the existing tertiary colleges in the city were amalgamated into a university in 1967, which has since been expanded considerably. In the course of a provincial reorganisation in 1969, Mosul province was divided into two new units, Nineveh (Nīnawā) and Duhūk. In the 1977 census, Mosul emerged as the third largest city in Iraq, with a population of 430,000, preceded by Baṣra (450,000) and Baghdad (2.86 million). In spite of attempts on the part of the central government to promote regional economic development, Mosul is inevitably at a disadvantage through being some distance from the country's main industrial concentrations, 75% of which are located around Baghdad and Baṣra. Its principal industries are agriculturally-based, including food-processing, and leather working, but textiles and cement are also produced, and an oil refinery was opened in 1976. The city retains much of its traditional ethnic and religious heterogeneity, and its mediaeval core still remains clearly distinct, despite the intrusion of various unattractive manifestations of modern town planning. The present population is some 1.17 million (2005 estimate).

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**MUSCAT**, in Arabic *Masqaṭ* or, colloquially, *Maskad* or *Masha/Muska*, a port of eastern Arabia on the Gulf of Oman shore, the coastal plain of the *Bātina*, behind which rises the mountainous range of the *Jabal Akhdar*. It is situated in lat. 23° 37' N., long. 58° 38' E. Since the end of the 18th century and the rise of the ruling *Āl Bū Sa'īd* family, it has been notionally the capital of what came to be called the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman, since 1970 the Sultanate of Oman.

## I. GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION AND DEMOGRAPHY

The site of the town is a constricted one, in a cove where the mountains come almost down to the sea, with the Portuguese Fort *Mīrānī* at the western end of the cove and a second Portuguese fortress, that of

*Jalālī*, on one of the two off-shore islets. The town itself is on a gravel plain, but until modern times, access to Muscat by land has always been difficult, and communication with it has more often been by sea. In effect, it is the cul-de-sac of the *Bātina* coastal plain, and the nearby port of *Maṭraḥ* is in many ways the more favoured centre. But the natural mountain defences plus a line of fortifications have given Muscat a strategic significance, despite the limited space for settlement and the unattractive climate, with its high temperature and humidity.

The 19th century travellers and visitors commented unfavourably on the town's squalor and its narrow streets. Lorimer, in his *Gazetteer*, estimated the town's permanent population at 8,000, of which 3,000 lived within the town and the rest in the suburbs, whereas he estimated that of *Maṭraḥ* at 14,000, reflecting the latter's superior commercial role. After a period of steep decline, the population of Muscat was reliably estimated in 1970 at 6,000, mainly detribalised 'Umānī Arabs or foreigners, including *Baḥraynīs*, *Balūch*, Persians and *Ḥaḍārim* (southern Arabian tribesmen) and a lowest stratum of the *bayāsira*, slaves and ex-slaves from Africa. In the 19th century there was also a small Jewish population. But the most significant element was that of the *Banians*, Hindu merchants and middlemen, who had certainly been there since Portuguese times; see C.H. Allen, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.* Their quarter was in the east of the town, where they have had their temples, traditionally since the 17th century.

## II. HISTORY

Muscat's real rise to prominence goes back to the *Hurmuzī* period of the late 15th century, just before the arrival of the Portuguese; up to the 12th century, the main emporium of the 'Umānī coast has been *Ṣuḥār* and the town of Muscat's main importance was as the last watering place on the Arabian coast for ships trading with India (see the mediaeval Arabic sources, notably Ibn al-Mujāwir, ed. Löfgren, ii, 284; ?the merchant Sulaymān, *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa 'l-Hind*, ed. and tr. J. Sauvaget, Paris 1948, §§ 13–14). Now, in the later 15th century, Muscat grew at the expense of *Qalhāt*, apparently under the patronage of the *Hurmuzī* ruling family, and Ibn Mājid stresses that his home port had become the main centre of the 'Umānī coast for trade with India, the export trade



in horses, bred in eastern Arabia as far away as al-Ḥasā, being especially important (see S. Digby, *War horse and elephant in the Delhi Sultanate*, Oxford 1971; Serjeant, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*, 27; J. Aubin, in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ii, 112).

On 2 September 1507 Afonso d'Albuquerque arrived at Muscat after subduing Qalhāt and destroying Qurayyāt, seizing and sacking the town and massacring its population, perhaps amounting to 7,000 at that time, three days later. The Portuguese soon realised Muscat's strategic value, and it came to play an important part in their control of the Gulf, above all after their loss of Hurmuz in 1622; previous to that, the Portuguese operated as nominal vassals of the ruler of Hurmuz, whilst nevertheless requiring an annual tribute from him, by 1523, of 60,000 *ashrafi*s. In the middle years of the 16th century, the Portuguese faced threats from the Ottoman occupation of Basra (1546) and of al-Qaṭīf (1550), but above all from the Ottoman fleet operating in the Indian Ocean from its base at Suez; in 1552 the Ottoman admiral Pīr Re'īs temporarily captured Muscat, but was subsequently defeated by D. Fernando de Menezes in a naval battle off the 'Umānī coast. Muscat now became integrated into the Portuguese trading empire, and although the Portuguese creamed off the main profit, seems to have benefited also, whereas Qalhāt declined *pari passu* with Muscat's rise. In the later 16th century new threats appeared from the Dutch and English, but the two main fortresses, still surviving today, San João or Jalālī and Fort Capital (now known as Mīrānī, ? < *almirante*), were built in 1587–8 as a reply to Turkish corsair raids. When the Portuguese were dislodged from Hurmuz, Muscat received most of Hurmuz's Portuguese garrison and was built up against the Safavids and the native 'Umānīs, now uniting under the Ya'rabid *Imām* Naṣr b. Murshid. Further defences were constructed, and the town had two churches according to Pietro della Valle, who visited it in 1625 (*Travels*, London 1665, 223–36), and soon afterwards, a Carmelite staging-house, at some later period erected into a "cathedral"; used under the Āl Bū Sa'īd as a stable, remains of it were visible till the 1890s.

The Ya'ariba or Ya'rabids first attacked Muscat in the 1630s, forcing the Portuguese to seek peace and possibly to pay tribute or protection money; by 1643 the Ya'rabids had taken Ṣuḥār and now had inde-

pendent access to the sea which enabled the *Imāms* to bypass the Portuguese export licensing system. In 1649 Sulṭān b. Sayf al-Ya'rabī finally stormed Muscat and took it from the Portuguese, and though the war continued at sea, with the Portuguese blockading and harassing the port, by 1697 they had to give up all hope of retaking it. The *Imāms* now built up Muscat's trade with India, South Arabia and East Africa for themselves, skillfully using the Dutch and English to further their own interests, though no foreign power, then or later, was allowed to establish a factory in 'Umān. 'Umānī aggression and buccaneering in the Gulf of Oman, in effect taking over the role of the old European powers, led to tension with Persia. With the decline of the Ya'ariba and increased disorder within 'Umān, involving the Hināwī-Ghāfirī civil war, there arose possibilities for Persian intervention. Persian military help was summoned by Sayf b. Sulṭān in 1737, and for a while in 1738 Muscat was occupied by a force under Muḥammad Taqī Khān, *Beglerbeg* of Fars.

Eventually, during these years of anarchy in 'Umān, Aḥmad b. Sa'īd was recognised as *Imām* ca. 1167/1743–4, and Muscat now began to develop again in importance during this period when Ottoman and Persia power in the Gulf was weak and when there were no foreign rivals for the trade there, until the Qawāsim and the 'Utub, who captured Baḥrayn island in 1783, emerged as maritime rivals. Muscat's main trade was at this time directed at South India, and close relations developed between Muscat and Tīpū Sulṭān (1782–99) of Mysore, who established a trade mission there (the Nawwāb's house was still in existence in the mid-19th century); fear that Muscat might follow Tīpū Sulṭān into the camp of the French was one of the reasons for the first agreement (*qawl-nāma*) with the British in 1798.

A further factor operative at this time in 'Umānī affairs was internal division within the country, although it was not until after 1913 that the split between Sultan and *Imām*, coastal 'Umān and the interior, became a significant factor; before that, 'Umānīs from the interior had been as strongly involved as any others in maritime expansion and trade, until German and Belgian expansion in Central Africa excluded them from Africa and British intervention along the 'Umānī coast excluded them from Muscat. Now, after the arbitration of the Canning Award in

1861, the two separate Bū Saʿīdī rulers of ʿUmān and Zanzibar became in effect British puppet rulers.

Under the Bū Saʿīdīs, Muscat flourished as the naval and commercial centre of ʿUmān until in the 19th century, Zanzibar became the main centre for the dynasty's political control of overseas commerce. The rule of Sulṭān b. Aḥmad (1792–1804) saw the apogee of Muscat's florescence as the basis for ʿUmānī control of Gulf trade, with 15 ships of 400–500 tons each based there; fine houses were constructed there, including a residence for the ruler, the Bayt Grayza, by the site of the old Portuguese *igreja* ("church") complex. After his death, however, pressure on ʿUmān from the Qawāsim, the Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state and the ʿUtub increased. Protection increasingly came from the British, and when the Qawāsim were quelled in 1819, the ruler Saʿīd b. Sulṭān, after attempts to assert the old ʿUmānī control in the Gulf ended in disaster at Baḥrayn in 1829, eventually turned ʿUmānī interest away from the Gulf-Indian trade axis in order to concentrate on the South Arabian-East African one. Also, during this first half of the 19th century, Banian (Hindu) and other Indian merchants were encouraged to settle in Muscat and then Zanzibar, and they built up a dominating position in the increasingly monetarised ʿUmānī-East African-Indian commercial system, especially as customs-tax farmers, in which role they were protected by the British. One effect of this was that the Indians came to own most of the property in Muscat and Maṭraḥ. In the decades 1880–1910 Muscat was for a while incorporated into a wider pattern of world trade, as a port of call and coaling station; port facilities were therefore extended, a new palace built and foreign consulates set up. But already before World War I, decline was setting in. Attacks on Muscat from the interior were resumed, till in 1920, (Sir) Ronald Wingate arranged terms which effectively divided ʿUmān into two, with the sultanate of Taymūr b. Fayṣal based on Muscat and the coastlands only. Muscat became a commercial backwater, whilst Maṭraḥ grew in trade and in population at its expense. Taymūr's son Saʿīd (1932–70) effectively moved his capital to Salāla in Zafār/Dhofar and after 1954 ceased to visit Muscat. With this increased isolation, Muscat had no foreign representatives beyond those of Great Britain and India, one bank and one mission hospital. When Saʿīd's son Qābūs succeeded

after the coup of 1970, the latter had never seen Muscat, let alone the rest of ʿUmān.

Present-day Muscat has extended outwards beyond al-Sīb, where in 1972 construction of an international airport began. The problem of road access has been solved by a corniche round the rocky Ra's Kalbuh, but the problems raised by communication along a narrow and constricted area of settlement has led to major developments at the southern end of the Bātina plain, such as the oil port of Minā al-Fahl, and at Maṭraḥ, with its modernised port of Minā Qābūs. Since recent Sultans have tended to reside at Salāla, Muscat's role as a capital remains somewhat notional and it is devoid of many functions. It should be noted, however, that Oman's University, the Sultan Qābūs University, is situated in Muscat. The population of Muscat city was estimated at 25,000 in 2005, and that of the city and metropolitan area at 650,000.

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# N

**NAJAF**, in Arabic al-Najaf or Mashhad ‘Alī “the Shrine of ‘Alī”, a town and place of Shi‘ite pilgrimage in central Iraq. It is situated in lat. 31° 59' N. and long. 44° 20' E. at an altitude of 37 m/120 feet, on a flat, barren eminence of the eastern fringes of the Syrian Desert, from which the name al-Najaf has been transferred.

According to the usual tradition, the Imām al-Mu‘minīn ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was buried near Kufa, not far from the dam which protected the city from flooding by the Euphrates at the place where the town of Najaf later arose, also called Najaf al-Kūfa. Under Umayyad rule, the site of the grave near Kufa had to be concealed. As a result, it was later sought in different places, by many in Kufa itself in a corner above the *qibla* of the mosque, by others again 2 *farsakhs* from Kufa. According to a third story, ‘Alī was buried in Medina near Fāṭima’s grave, according to a fourth, at Qaṣr al-Imāra. Perhaps, then, the sanctuary of Najaf is not the real burial-place but a tomb held in reverence in the pre-Islamic period, especially as the graves of Adam and Noah were also shown there (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; G. Jacob, in A. Nöldeke, *Das Heiligtum al-Husains zu Kerbelā*, 38, n. 1). It was not till the time of the Ḥamdānīd of Mosul Abu ‘l-Ḥayjā that a large *qubba* was built by him over ‘Alī’s grave, adorned with precious carpets and curtains and a citadel built there. The Shi‘ite Buyīd ‘Aḍud al-Dawla in 369/979–80 built a mausoleum, which was still in existence in the time of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, and was buried there, as were his sons Sharaf al-Dawla and Bahā’ al-Dawla. Najaf was already a small town with a circumference of 2,500 paces in

the year 366/976–7. Ḥasan b. Faḍl, who died about 414/1023–4, built the defensive walls of Mashhad ‘Alī. The Mashhad was burned in 443/1051–2 by the fanatical Sunni populace of Baghdad, but must have been soon rebuilt. The Saljuq sultan Malik Shāh and his vizier Nizām al-Mulk, who were in Baghdad in 479/1086–7, visited the sanctuaries of ‘Alī and Ḥusayn. The Il-Khanīd Ghazan (694–703/1295–1304), according to Mustawfī, built in Najaf a Dār al-Siyāda and a dervish monastery (*khānaqāh*). The Mongol governor of Baghdad in 661/1263 led a canal from the Euphrates to Najaf but it soon became silted up and was only cleared out again in 914/1508 by order of Shāh Ismā‘īl. This canal was originally called Nahr Shāh (now al-Kenā). This Shi‘ite Safavid himself made a pilgrimage to the *mashhadān* of Karbala and Najaf. Süleymān the Magnificent visited the holy places in 941/1534–5. A new canal made in 1793 also soon became silted up, as did the Zherī al-Shaykh and al-Ḥaydariyya canals, the latter of which was made by order of Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II. In 1912 iron pipes were laid to bring water from the Euphrates to Najaf.

A considerable part of Iraq, with Baghdad, Najaf and Karbala, was temporarily conquered by the Persians in 1032/1623, but restored to Ottoman control in the winter of 1048/1638–9. Over the next two centuries or so, Najaf was at times harried by Bedouins from the direction of the Syrian Desert and also by Wahhābī raids, culminating in those of 1806 and 1810; and a recurrent factor within Najaf during this period was also factional strife between the two groups of the Zugurt and Shumurd.

Nevertheless, the town, with its Shi'ite religious leadership of *mujtahids* and of the *kilid-dār* or guardian of the shrine, managed to retain a virtual autonomy under Ottoman rule, at times rebelling against what was regarded as the Porte's heavy hand, so that Ottoman troops had severely to repress revolts there in, e.g., 1842, 1852 and 1854; and attempts to introduce conscription there in 1915–16 caused a further outbreak.

During all these centuries, Najaf maintained its function as a centre for Shi'ite pilgrimage and burial, and in the 19th century its *mujtahids* benefitted from the Oudh Bequest, that of the Indian Shi'ite king of Oudh, distributed till the First World War by the British Resident. In the post-war years, it remained a centre of disaffection, a focus for anti-British op-position during the Arab revolt in Iraq of 1920 and subsequently of opposition to King Fayṣal; and the residence in Najaf from 1965 to 1978 of the Āyatallāh Rūḥ Allāh Khumaynī helped revive the role of the Iraqi shrine cities as centres of clerical opposition immune from Persian official control.

In present-day Iraq, Najaf falls within the *muḥāfaẓa* of Karbala, and in 1970 it had an estimated population of 180,000, of whom some quarter (at least before the expulsions of Persians from Iraq during the Iraq-Iran War of the 1980s) have always been Persians; the population has of course tended to become swollen seasonally by the pilgrimage traffic. The present population of Najaf is estimated at 550,000–600,000.

According to the Arab geographers, the pre-Islamic city of al-Ḥīra lay on the eminence of al-Najaf, Massignon thought that al-Ḥīra lay on the site of the present Najaf, while Musil placed the centre of the ruins of al-Ḥīra south-east of the *tell* of al-Knēdre which lies half-way between al-Kūfa and al-Khawarnaq. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa entered Mashhad 'Alī, which he visited in 726/1326, through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra gate which led straight to the Mashhad. He describes the town and sanctuary very fully. According to al-Ya'qūbī, the ridge on which Najaf stands once formed the shore of the sea which in ancient times came up to here. Near Najaf were the Christian monasteries of Dayr Mār Fāthiyūn and Dayr Hind al-Kubrā. The lake of Najaf marked on many older maps has long since completely dried up (Nolde).

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**NISHAPUR**, in classical Arabic usage often Nayshābūr, in Persian Nīshāpūr, one of the four great cities of the eastern Persian province of Khurasan (with Merv, Herat and Balkh) in early Islamic times and up to the Mongol invasions. Its modern successor is of a more modest size and importance in the present *ustān* or province of Khurasan, and is situated in lat. 36° 13' N., long. 58° 49' E., at an altitude of 1193 m/3,913 feet, on the eastern side of a plain surrounded by hills, including the ridge of the Binālūd Kūh to the north and east, separating it from the valley of Mashhad. A number of streams come down from the Binālūd Kūh and irrigate the agricultural lands of Nishapur before disappearing into the salt desert to the west.

The name goes back to the Persian Nēw-Shāhpūr ('Fair Shāhpūr'); in Armenian it is called Niu-Shapuh, Arab. Naysābūr or Nīsābūr, New Pers. Nēshāpūr, pronounced in the time of Yāqūt as Nīshāwūr, now Nīshāpūr. The town occasionally bore the official title of honour, Īrānshahr.

It was founded by Shāhpūr I, son of Ardashīr I, who had slain in this region the Turanian Pahlēzhak (Pālēzhak); some authors say it was not founded till the time of Shāhpūr II. In the wider sense, the region of Nishapur comprised the districts of al-Ṭabasayn, Qūhistān, Nasā', Bāward, Abarsahr, Jām, Bākharz, Ṭūs, Zūzan and Isfarā'in; in the narrower sense, Nishapur was the capital of the province of Abarsahr

(Armen. *Apar ashkharh*, the “district of the ‘Απάρνοι”; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 74; idem, *Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 52), which was in turn divided into 13 *rustāqs* and 4 *ṭassījs*. The latter were: in the west Rēwand (now Rīwend), in the south al-Shāmāt, Pers. Tak-Āb, in the east Pushtfrōshan (now Pusht Farūsh) and in the north Māzūl (now Māsūl).

In the Rēwand hills to the northwest of the town was one of the three most sacred fire-temples of the Sasanids, that of the fire Burzīn-Mihr. The Emperor Yazdajird II (438–57) made Nishapur his usual residence.

In the year 30/651 or 31/652 the governor of Basra, ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir, took Nishapur whose governor the Kanārang (χαναράγγης; Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 75) capitulated. The town was then insignificant and had no garrison. During the fighting between ‘Alī and Mu‘āwiya (36–7/656–7), the Arabs were again driven out of Nishapur by a rising in Khurasan and Ṭukhāristān. Pērōz III, the son of Yazdajird III and of the daughter of the Kanārang of Nishapur, is said to have lived for a period in Nishapur. Khulayd b. Ka’s was sent in 37/657–8 by ‘Alī against the rebellious town. Mu‘āwiya re-appointed ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Āmir governor of Basra in 41/661–2 and commissioned him to conquer Khurasan and Sijistān. The latter in 42/662–3 installed Qays b. al-Haytham al-Sulamī in Nishapur as governor of Khurasan. Ziyād b. Abī Sufyān in 45/665–6 made Khulayd b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ḥanafī governor of Abarsahr (Nishapur). ‘Abd Allāh b. Khāzim rebelled in 63/683 against the Umayyads. He fell in 73/692 at Merv fighting against ‘Abd al-Malik, whereupon Umayyad rule was restored in Khurasan.

Until the time when the Tahirid governor of Khurasan ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (213–30/828–45) made it his capital, Nishapur was of less consequence than the Arabs’ first capital, Merv. But soon, helped by its more salubrious climate, it overtook Merv in political importance, and also became a centre of economic activity (above all for its famed textiles, including luxury ‘*attābī* and *saqlātūnī* cloths, cf. al-Tha‘ālibī, *Laṭā’if al-ma‘ārif*, tr. Bosworth, *The book of curious and entertaining information*, Edinburgh 1968, 133) and of cultural life. It ceased to be a provincial capital after the Saffarid *amīr* Ya‘qūb b. al-Layth in 259/863 took over Khurasan from the Tahirids and entered the city, and for some 30 years control of it oscillated between the Saffarids and various warlords and mili-

tary adventurers like Rāfi’ b. Harthama until ‘Amr b. al-Layth was defeated and captured by the Samanid Ismā‘īl b. Aḥmad in 287/900 (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 217–25; Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 114–21). But then under the Samanids (4th/10th century), it attained especial prosperity as the provincial capital of Khurasan again and the base and residence of the commander-in-chief of that province. Arts and crafts, such as ceramic production, were notable, and the general prosperity of Nishapur was reflected in the formation of an influential bourgeoisie, composed of merchants, craftsmen, officials and scholars and religious figures from the two main *madhhabs* of Khurasan, the Ḥanafīs and the Shāfi‘īs, and from their rivals for popular support there, the members of the ascetic and pietistic sect of the Karrāmiyya. From this social group, which R.W. Bulliet has called a patriciate, stemmed notable scholars like Abū Muḥammad Juwaynī and his son the Imām al-Ḥaramayn Abū ‘l-Ma‘ālī, and the traditionist al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, Ibn al-Bayyī‘, and also ambitious statesmen like Maḥmūd of Ghazna’s minister Ḥasanak from the Mikālī family (see Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994: 1040*, 145–202; Bulliet, *The patricians of Nishapur*). The large number of traditionists and lawyers which the city produced was undoubtedly a stimulus to the production of several biographical dictionaries of Nishapur scholars, beginning with that of Ibn al-Bayyī‘ (d. 405/1014) in eight or twelve volumes, the starting-point for various continuations and epitomes (see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan. The Ta’rīx-i Nīšāpūr*, in *Ẓeki Velidi Togan’a armağan*, Istanbul 1950–5, 405–20).

The Arabic geographers describe Nishapur at this time as a thickly populated town divided into 42 wards, one *farsakh* in length and breadth, and consisting of the citadel, the city proper and an outer suburb in which was the chief mosque built by the Saffarid ‘Amr. Beside it was the public market called al-Mu‘askar, the governor’s palace, a second open place called Maydān al-Ḥusayniyyīn and the prison. The citadel had two gates and the city four: the Gate of the Bridge, the Gate on the road from Ma‘qil, the Gate of the Fortress (*Bāb al-Quhandīz*) and the Gate of the Takīn Bridge. The suburbs also had walls with many gates. The best known market places were *al-Murabba’a al-Kabīra* (near the Congregational Mosque) and *al-Murabba’a al-Ṣaghīra*. The most

important business streets were about fifty in number and ran across the city in straight lines intersecting at right angles; all kinds of wares were on sale in them (on the products and exports of Nishapur, see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 429–30). Numerous canals were led from the Wādī Saghāwar, which flowed down from the village of Bushtankār or Būshṭaqān and drove 70 mills, whence it passed near the city and provided the houses with an ample water supply. Gardens below the city were also watered in this way. The district of Nishapur was regarded as the most fertile in Khurasan.

The town suffered many vicissitudes after this period. A great famine broke out there in 401/1011. At the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Nishapur was the centre of the pietist Karrāmīs led by the anchorite Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ishāq. The Saljuq Ṭoḡhrīl Beg first occupied the town in 428/1037 and subsequently made it his capital. Alp Arslān also seems to have lived there. In Shawwāl 536/May 1142 the Khwārazm Shāh Atsız took the town for a time from the Saljuq sultan Sanjar. When it was sacked by the Ghuzz in 548/1153, the inhabitants fled, mainly to the suburb of Shādyākh, which was enlarged and fortified by the governor al-Muʾayyid. Ṭughān Shāh Abū Bakr ruled the city during 569–81/1174–85 and his son Sanjar Shāh during 581–3/1185–7.

In Rabīʿ I or II 583/May or June 1187, the Khwārazm Shāh Tekish took Nishapur and gave it to his eldest son Malik Shāh. At the end of 589/1193 the latter received Merv, and his brother Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad became governor of Nishapur. Malik Shāh died in 593/1197 in the neighbourhood of Nishapur. ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad (as Quṭb al-Dīn called himself after his father's death) took Merv and Nishapur in 598/1202 from the Ghurids Ghiyāth al-Dīn and his brother Shihāb al-Dīn.

In addition to the wars and rebellions (e.g. 604–5/1207–8) which afflicted the town, it suffered from repeated earthquakes (540/1145, 605/1208, 679/1280). Yāqūt, who visited it in 613/1216 but stayed in Shādyākh, could still see the damage done by the first earthquake and by the Ghuzz, but nevertheless thought the town the finest in Khurasan. The second earthquake was particularly severe; the inhabitants on this occasion fled for several days into the plain below the city.

In 618/1221 the Mongols under Chingiz Khān sacked the city completely (see Juwaynī-Boyle, i,

169–78). Although Nishapur's palmiest days were ended by the Mongol devastations, it soon revived from the effects of these. The city's centre had been displaced to Shādyākh after the earthquakes of the early 7th/13th century, and the same cause lay behind its reconstitution on a third site towards the end of the same century. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī describes it in the 8th/14th century as highly flourishing, with extensive protective walls, whilst Ibn Baṭṭūṭa calls it "Little Damascus" for its fertility and productiveness, and praises the *madrasas* and throngs of students which he saw there (*Rihla*, iii, 80–2, tr. Gibb, iii, 583–5).

Thereafter, Nishapur slowly declined in importance until its modest revival in the later 19th century. In 1890 G.N. Curzon found the Nishapur region still fertile, and the famous turquoise mines in the district called Bār-i Maʿdīn some 50 km/35 miles northwest of the town were still being profitably worked; but the walls of the town itself were ruinous (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 260–7).

The modern town has a station on the Tehran-Mashhad railway line which was extended to Khurasan in 1946. The tombs of two famous sons, ʿUmar Khayyām and Farīd al-Dīn ʿAttār, are still shown there. The estimated population in 2005 was 215,940.

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# P

**PALERMO**, in Arabic Balarm, for over two centuries the administrative centre of Arab Sicily, the period during which the Arabs controlled the island. The city is situated in lat. 38° 08' N., long. 13° 23' E. on the northern coast of Sicily, and is today the administrative capital of the autonomous region of Sicily in the Italian Republic. Founded by Phoenician traders in the 8th century B.C., Palermo, ancient Panormus, became successively a Carthaginian, Greek and Roman, Vandal, Ostrogoth and Byzantine city, under the latter being the second city of the island after the capital Syracuse.

The city surrendered to the Arabs after a short siege in Rajab 216/August–Sept. 831, four years after their arrival in Sicily, and straight away it appears as the strong point of Muslim domination in the island. It was there that the governors made their seat in the name first of the Aghlabids, and then of the Fatimids of Africa, who, however, had to send expeditions more than once to re-establish their authority over the rebel colony; such were the expedition of ‘Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Aghlab in 287/900, sent by his father, and that of Abū Sa‘īd in 304/916–17, which was sent by the Fatimid al-Mahdī, who built the citadel of Khālīṣa (Calsa) opposite the old town. In 336/948 the Fatimid governor Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Kalbī seized power at Palermo, and established a genuine local dynasty under Fatimid suzerainty, which lasted till about 442/1050. The period of Kalbī supremacy is for Palermo as for the whole of Sicily the most brilliant of the Arab era. In 445/1053 the last Kalbī, Ṣamṣām, who had climbed to power after a period of turbulence and unrest and a direct

intervention by the African Zīrids, was driven from the town, which thenceforward managed its affairs through its *jamā‘a* or municipal council. During this time the ties between the capital and the rest of the country loosened, and finally disappeared. It was thus that Palermo played no special part in the defence of Muslim Sicily against the Normans, and awaited more or less in apathy the arrival of her conquerors beneath her walls, where, however, she defended herself vigorously. She surrendered at last to Robert and Roger d’Hauteville after a five months’ siege, at the beginning of Rabī‘ II 464/January 1072, thus becoming Christian again after one hundred and forty years of Muslim domination. But the Arab character of Palermo was only very gradually obscured; although the great mosque was straightway given over to Christian worship and the Muslims lived from then on as subjects of the Normans, it was more than a century before every trace of an Arab population and Arab monuments and customs disappeared. As late as 580/1184 the traveller Ibn Jubayr saw at Palermo districts reserved for Muslims, and mosques, schools and markets frequented by them, and heard much Arabic spoken. The condition of these Muslims in the capital of the Norman kingdom, which had been reasonable enough under the tolerant rule of the two Rogers, grew worse under their successors (there was an anti-Muslim riot or pogrom in 556/1161) and became intolerable in the disturbances which followed the death of William II (1190). By the end of the 6th/12th century the Arab colony in Palermo had almost ceased to exist, although some Muslims of rank managed to remain there in the court of

Frederick II. Frederick deported many of the remaining Arabs, and the city of Palermo, and Sicily as a whole, entered on a process of social and economic decline. Only after the Italian reunification of 1860 did the city flourish once more.

For the description of Arab Palermo we have the precious account of Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited the town in 361/972, and those of Ibn Jubayr and al-Idrīsī, two centuries later during the period of Norman supremacy. The Kalbī capital as Ibn Ḥawqal knew it was divided into five parts: the Qaṣr (Cassaro), that is the old town surrounded by walls, the Khālīṣa (Calsa), founded by the Fatimids and also walled, and the open districts of the Ḥārat al-Maṣjid and the Ḥārat al-Jadīda in the south, and the Ḥārat al-Ṣaḡālība in the north. The population of Palermo in the days of the Kalbīs is estimated by Amari at three hundred or three hundred and fifty thousand. The remains that we have from the period of Arab domination (not counting the famous monuments of Norman-Saracenic art) are very scanty: the site of a mosque beside the church of S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, and some old work inside the royal palace (Torre pisana) which has recently been brought to light.

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**PALMYRA**, an ancient city of the Near East, in ancient and Islamic times, including the present day, known as Tadmur; it now comes within the Syrian Republic. It lies in the Syrian Desert some 145 km/90 miles east of Homs and 240 km/150 west

of the middle Euphrates, in lat. 34° 36' N., long. 38° 15' E., at an altitude of 407 m/1,336 feet.

From early times, Tadmur must have been a station on the caravan route connecting Mesopotamia with Syria, since the road on which it lay could pass through a gap in the southwest to northeastwards-running chain of hills: to the southwest of Tadmur, the Jabal al-Khanāzir, and to the north and northeast, the Jabal Abū Rajmayn running on to the Jabal al-Bishrī and the Euphrates. It was clearly of importance in the late second millennium B.C., when letters from Mari record that Tiglath-Pileser I (1116–1076) defeated men from Tadmur in the land of Amurru, and it was significant enough for the Old Testament author of II Chron. viii. 4 to attribute its building to King Solomon.

Under the Romans, the place was of international significance because of its position facing the lands of the Romans' enemies, the Parthians and the Sasanid Persians. In the troubled 3rd century A.D., the city-state of Palmyra was able to develop a wide-ranging policy and become a military power of significance under its energetic prince Septimius Odenathus II (Udhayna b. Hayrān b. Wabḥ Allāt), who drove the Persian emperor Shāpūr I back as far as his capital Ctesiphon and who acquired from the Roman emperor the title *corrector totius orientis* "governor of all the East". After Odenathus's assassination in 267 or 268, his widow Zenobia (Zaynab) and her son Vaballathus (Wabḥ Allāt) continued Odenathus's activist policy, but in 272 Palmyra had to open its gates to the emperor Aurelian and Roman control. Zenobia, famed equally for her beauty and her intellect, entered later Arabic folklore under the name of al-Zabbā; *inter alia*, she was said to have enticed and then killed the king of al-Ḥīra, predecessor there of the Lakhmids, Jadhīma al-Abrash, cf. R.A. Nicholson, *A literary history of the Arabs*, London 1907, 35–7. Palmyra subsequently became a legionary station on the *strata Diocletiana* linking Damascus with the Euphrates. In 325 its bishop, Marinus (who could conceivably be, in the surmise of Irfan Shahīd, an Arab, since we know of a famous Arab clan in al-Ḥīra, the Banū Marīnā; see his *Byzantium and the Arabs in the fourth century*, Washington D.C. 1984, 345), attended the Council of Nicaea, and Justinian later built a church there.

Its great days ended with the Arab overrunning of Syria. In the 630s, it surrendered *ṣullḥ*<sup>em</sup> to Khālīd b.



al-Walīd but later rebelled and had to be conquered 'anwat<sup>m</sup>. It now became a settlement of the Kalb, who dominated central Syria under the Umayyads. It was one of the towns which, under the claimant Sulaymān b. Hishām, rebelled against Marwān II al-Ḥimār in 127/744–5, and according to the geographer Ibn al-Faḡīh, Marwān had part of Tadmur's walls pulled down. Soon afterwards, its people were involved in the pro-Sufyānid, anti-ʿAbbasid movement in Syria of Abu 'l-Ward al-Kilābī.

The town suffered in later times from earthquakes, especially that of 552/1157, and Benjamin of Tudela's assertion, only sixteen years later, that there were 2,000 Jews at Tadmur seems unlikely. It now sank to the status of a miserable village amongst the extensive ruins of ancient Palmyra. It was rediscovered by the West when in 1678 two traders from the English Levant Company's factory at Aleppo visited the site, and this last was explored in detail by Robert Wood in 1751 and splendidly described and illustrated by him in his *The ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor, in the desert*, London 1753. The town has now revived in the 20th century through its position during the inter-War period and the post-Second World War years on the Iraq Petroleum Company's Kirkuk-Tripoli oil pipeline and through the growing tourist trade; it is now a town of some 50,000 inhabitants in the *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Homs (2005 estimate).

Palmyra was of significance in the development of early Arabic culture. Although the inscriptions, numbering almost 2,000, found at Palmyra include many in what is a continuation of Imperial Aramaic and although Greek must also have been a language of cultural prestige, the everyday language of the townspeople in the early Christian centuries was probably Arabic and the people themselves ethnically Arab. This is shown by the Arab names of its rulers during the period of its florescence in the 3rd century A.D. and the fact that over half the personal names occurring in the inscriptions (naturally, from the class of notables and leading merchants) can be explained etymologically as Arabic; they include, e.g. many theophoric names with the god Arṣu and the pan-Arab goddess Allāt. As well as Arṣu, whose name is an adaptation of Ar. Rukhā "the Favourable, Benevolent One", and Allāt, other Arab deities are prominent, such as Ma'n, 'Azīzu, Sa'r or Sa'd, Salmān and Raḥīm. The whole region of Palmyrene, passing under the control of the Lakhmids of al-

Ḥīra, must have become substantially Arabised; in 328, at al-Namāra some 220 km/140 miles to the south-southwest of Palmyra, the king Imru' al-Qays b. 'Amr's funerary inscription was written not in Aramaic but in Arabic language with the Nabataean alphabet (see F. Briquel-Chatonnet, in *L'Arabie antique de Karib'il à Mahomet. Nouvelles données sur l'histoire des Arabes grâce aux inscriptions*, ed. Ch. Robin = *RMMM*, no. 61 [1991–3], 40–3).

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**PESHAWAR**, in Arabic script Peshāwar or Peshāwur, a city of northwestern India, lying just west of the Bara, a tributary of the Kabul river, in lat. 34° 01' N., long. 71° 40' E. and at an altitude of 320 m/1,048 feet. It has always been an important stage on the trade route connecting India with Afghanistan, since it commands the southeastern entrance to the nearby Khyber Pass, and for the same strategic and geopolitical reasons has been on the route of invading armies from Central Asia and Afghanistan debouching from the Pass on to the plains of India. In modern times, the city has been connected by rail with Rawalpindi and the main lines of the Indian railway system, and by road with the Grand Trunk Road, and its importance increased with the construction in 1925 of the Attock-Peshawar line's extension to the Afghan frontier at Landi Kotal.

References to the district occur in early Sanskrit literature and in the writings of Strabo, Arrian, and Ptolemy. It once formed part of the ancient Buddhist kingdom of Gandhāra, for, from the Khyber Pass to the Swāt valley, the country is still studded with crumbling Buddhist stupas. Here, too, have been unearthed some of the best specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture in existence, while one of Aśoka's rock edicts is to be found near the village of Shāhbāzgarha in the Yūsufzay country. Both Fa-hien, in the opening years of the 5th century A.D., and Hiuen Tsang, in the 7th century A.D., found the inhabitants still professing Buddhism. It is also on record that Purushapura was the capital of Kanishka's dominions. Through centuries of almost unbroken silence we arrive at the era of Muslim conquest, when, between the 7th/13th and 10th/16th centuries, numerous Pathan tribes from Afghanistan spread over and conquered the country roughly corresponding to the modern North-West Frontier Province.

The town of Peshawar is an ancient one, and as Parashawara or Purushapura was once the capital of Gandhāra; it was also called Begram, appearing as such in early Pashto poetry. The present name of the town is popularly ascribed to the Mughal Emperor Akbar and is said to derive from Persian *pēshāwar* "frontier [town]". Islam first appeared there in the time of the Ghaznavids. Sebūktigin fought over the surrounding region against its then possessor, the Hindūshāhī ruler Jaypāl in ca. 376/986–7, and his son Maḥmūd likewise combatted and defeated there Jaypāl's son Anandpāl in 396/1006. Thereafter, it came firmly within the Ghaznavid dominions, forming an important link in the route down from the Afghan plateau to the Ghaznavid garrison city in northern India, Lahore (Lāhawr). In 575/1179–80 Peshawar was captured by the Ghurid Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām, but destroyed by Chingiz Khān some forty odd years later. Although Peshawar obviously retained its strategic importance, it is somewhat surprising that Peshawar is so little mentioned in the Indo-Muslim sources.

Towards the end of the 9th/15th century, according to local tradition, two large branches of Pathan tribes, the Khakhay and the Ghōriyya Khēl, migrated from their homes in the hilly country around Kabul to the Jalālābād valley and the slopes of the Safid Kōh. The most important divisions of the Khakhay

were the Yūsufzay, Gugiyānī and Tarklānrī; the Ghōriyya Khēl were divided into five tribes, the Mohmands, Khalīls, Dāwūdzyays, Chamkannīs and Zerānīs. The Yūsufzays, advancing into the modern Peshawar district, expelled the inhabitants, known as Dilazāks, and finally conquered the country north of the Kabul river and west of Hoti Mardān. By the opening years of the 10th/16th century, the Ghōriyya Khēl had also reached the Khaybar area. Eventually, these powerful tribes dispossessed the original inhabitants, driving some to the Swāt Kōhistān and forcing the Dilazāks across the Indus. Later, the Ghōriyya Khēl attempted to oust the Khakhay branch but were signally defeated by the Yūsufzays.

Since the modern Peshawar district lay athwart the route of invading armies from the direction of Central Asia, much of its history resembles that of the Panjab. The Pathans of this part of the frontier proved a thorn in the side of the Muslim rulers of India, and, although nominally incorporated in the Mughal empire, they were never completely subjugated, even Akbar and Awrangzīb contenting themselves with keeping open the road to Kabul. Bābur had used Peshawar as a base for campaigns into Kōhāt, Bannū and Bangash, and Awrangzīb's governor of Kabul, Mahābat Khān b. 'Alī Mardān Khān (not to be confused with Mahābat Khān Zamāna Beg), used Peshawar as his winter capital, building there his great mosque (see below). With the decline of Mughal power, Peshawar was in the 12th/18th century ceded to the Persian invader Nādir Shāh Afshār and then subsequently taken over by the Afghan chief Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī of Kandahar; under his son and successor Tīmūr Shāh, the Mughal practice was revived of using Kabul as the summer capital and Peshāwar as the winter one.

With the militant expansionism in the Panjāb of the Sikhs in the early 19th century, Peshawar in 1834 was captured by the Italian commander in Sikh service, General Paolo di Bartolomeo Avitabile, but with the defeat of the Sikhs by British forces in 1849 and the annexation of the Panjab, the Peshawar valley came under British control for nearly a century; administratively, it remained part of the Panjab until the formation of the North-West Frontier Province in 1901. (For British administration and policy with the various Pathan tribes of the region, see C. Collin Davies, *The problem of the North-West Frontier 1890–1908*, 2nd ed. London 1975.) In the

1930s, the Peshawar region was violently disturbed by the agitation of the *Khudā'ī Khidmatgārs* or “Red Shirts” of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār Khān, allied with the Indian National Congress; this rather unnatural alliance, against all the trends in other Muslim parts of India, gave a peculiar flavour to NWFP local politics in the run-up to Partition in 1947, although after that date the Muslim League took over from the previous Congress-inclined provincial government (see J.W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, 165–73, 211 ff.).

In British Indian times, Peshawar city was the administrative centre of the North-West Frontier Province created in 1901 by the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon, which after that time comprised various Districts plus Tribal Agencies. After the Partition of the subcontinent in 1948, it was the capital of the province of the same name in Pakistan for eight years, until in 1955 that province was amalgamated with the other provinces of Panjab, Sind and Baluchistan into the “one unit” province of West Pakistan. It is now the administrative centre of a District and Divan of the same name in Pakistan.

The population, since the Partition almost wholly Muslim and ethnically largely Pathan, was 555,000 in 1981, but the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the consequent civil warfare there have brought a massive influx of refugees into Peshawar, and the estimated population in 2005 was 2,552,000. On the north-west, the city is dominated by the fort known as the *Bālā Hīṣār*, and there are renowned bazaars, including the *Qissa-khwānī* or “Storytellers” Bazaar. Two miles to the west of the city are the cantonments, the main military station and administrative headquarters of the region. The former Islamiyya College, founded in 1915, was in 1950 erected into Peshawar University, with several affiliated colleges elsewhere in the region.

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# Q

**QAZVIN**, in Arabic script Qazwīn, a city of Persia some 150 km/90 miles west-north-west of the capital Tehran. It lies in lat. 36° 16' N., long. 50° 00' E. in a broad alluvial plain to the south of the western part of the Elburz mountain chain, on a historic route connecting the northern Persian cities of Ray and then Tehran with Azerbaijan. It has also access northwards to the Caspian coast at Rasht and Bandar-i Enzeli and southwestwards to Hamadan and the direction of Iraq. According to ancient traditions, given e.g. by Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī in his *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, ed. Browne and Nicholson, Leiden and London 1910–13, 830, Fr. tr. in A.C. Barbier de Meynard, *Description historique de la ville de Kazvīn*, in *JA*, séries 5, vol. x [1857], 257–308, the Islamic and modern city of Qazvin stands on the site of a town built by the Sasanid Emperor Shāpūr II, which was in turn erected on the site of an earlier town of Shāpūr I b. Ardashīr.

## I. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Qazvin guards the passes to the north leading through Ṭabaristān to Rasht and the Caspian Sea, and is situated at the junction of the roads from Rasht to Tehran and Tabriz to Tehran. From Qazvin roads also lead off to Hamadan and Qumm. In the 19th century there were four roads leading from Qazvin to Tehran, three used by muleteers and the other by those riding *chāpār* i.e. by relays. The climate is temperate with a mean maximum temperature in summer of 34.5 C and a mean minimum temperature in winter of -5.4. C. The annual rainfall

is 339.1 mm. with frequent snowfalls in January and February. In spite of its favourable situation as regards communications, Qazvin never rivalled Ray, Nishapur or Isfahan in the Middle Ages. The reason is partly to be found in lack of water, which placed a severe limitation on its growth. Al-Isṭakhrī states that Qazvin had enough water for drinking purposes only; this was provided by rainfall and the water of one *qanāt*. Until recently the plain of Qazvin was irrigated entirely by *qanāts* and four small streams. Mustawfī states that these streams flowed in spring; in a good year their water reached the gardens of Qazvin, but rarely flowed into the town in summer, the water being used by the estates situated upstream. In 1963 the Qazvin Development Authority was set up to develop the water resources and agriculture of the area (see further A.K.S. Lambton, *The Persian land reform 1962–1966*, Oxford 1969, 281).

Qazvin lies in the earthquake belt and has been damaged by earthquakes on several occasions. Earthquakes in the town were recorded in 249/863–4, 360/970–1, 513/1119–20, 514/1120, and 562/1169, and when James Morier passed through the town in 1809 he states that the city was largely in ruins as a result of a fairly recent earthquake (*A journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople*, London 1812, 254). Extensive damage from earthquakes was suffered by Ṭāliqān in 889/1484–5, Rūdbār in 956/1549–50, and the southern part of the Qazvin plain in 1962. Floods severely damaged the town in 965/1557–8 and again in 1267/1850–1. Outbreaks of plague (*ṭā'ūn*) are recorded in 1045/1635–6 and

several outbreaks of cholera (*wabā*) in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that the town was surrounded by extensive gardens, orchards and vineyards, which produced excellent grapes, almonds and pistachio nuts in abundance. Large quantities of raisins were exported. Melons and water melons were cultivated after the land had been flooded once and fruited well without another watering. Much grain was also grown. Good pastures existed in the neighbourhood. These, he alleges, were better for camels than in other provinces, and the Qazvini camel more expensive than others. At the present day, good quality sheep are bred at Shāl, a village to the south-west of the town of Qazvin, and in its neighbourhood. Textiles were woven in Qazvin from the early centuries of Islam down to modern times, but did not compare in excellence with those from more famous centres such as Isfahan, Kāshān or Kirman.

The boundaries of Qazvin have varied from time to time. In Islamic times it was first made into a province (*shahr*) by Hārūn al-Rashīd, who gave to it the districts of Bashāriyyāt and part of Dashtbī (which formerly belonged to Hamadān), Abharrūd and part of Qāqazān. In 284/897–8 Kharaqān became part of Qazvin, which then comprised 765 villages, and in the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim, Nasā and Salqānrūd were also transferred to it from Hamadān. In the 8th/14th century Qazvin comprised only 300 villages, and was divided into 8 districts or *nāhiyas*; Don Juan writing in 1602–3 states that there were 20 walled towns in the province of Qazvin and 1,000 open villages (*Don Juan of Persia*, tr. and ed. G. Le Strange, London 1926, 40). In 1884 it consisted of eleven *bulūks*, Kharrūd (Dūdānga), Quhpāya (Kūhpāya), Abharrūd, Bashāriyyat, Iqbāl, Fishkildarra (Pishkildarra), Dashtābī (Dashtbī), Qāqazān, Rāmand, and Afshāriyya; while Rūdbār (in which Alamūt is situated) was one of its dependencies. In modern times, Qazvin constitutes a *shahristān* consisting of 6 districts (*bakhsh*), namely, a central district consisting of the town, Āb Yak (comprising the subdistricts or *dihistāns* of Fishkildarra, Kūhpāya, and Bashāriyyāt); Muʿallim Kalāya (sub-districts Rūdbār and Alamūt); Diyāʾābād (sub-districts Qāqazān and Dūdānga); Āvij (sub-districts East and West Kharaqān and Afshāriyya); and Būʾin (sub-districts Zahrā, Dashtābī and Rāmand).

The population of Qazvin at the present day is mainly Turkī-speaking, large influxes of Turkish tribes into the district having taken place in Mongol times (see further below). In the Zahrā district, the people speak Tātī. Various tribes, many of which were semi-nomadic until recent times, are to be found in the different districts. Among them are the Īnānlū and Baghdadi Shāhsivān, who apparently came to Kharaqān and Sāva towards the end of the 18th century and were settled by Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār in their present location. The winter quarters of the Īnānlū were between Sawj Bulāgh, Zarand, and Zahrā, and their summer quarters in Kharaqān. The Baghdadi Shāhsivān wintered in the neighbourhood of Tehran and in the district between Qumm, Sulṭānābād (Arāk), Sāva and Tehran, and summered in Kharaqān and Khalajistān (Hamadan) up to the frontiers of Khamsa. Other tribes in the Qazvin district include the Lak, Chiginī, Ghiyāthvand, Qākāvand, Jalīlavand, Rashvand, Māfi Bahtūtī, Chumushgazak, and Kalhūr. In about 1932 Riḍā Shāh forbade migration, but it was resumed after his abdication. Some of the Shāhsivān are now settled in Rāmand, Zahrā, Kharaqān and Afshāriyya, where they are engaged in stockraising and agriculture.

Under the Sasanids, Qazvin was a frontier town, whose garrison was engaged in repelling the attacks of the Daylamites. This situation continued, or was repeated, in the early centuries of Islam. This, too, probably militated to some extent against its becoming a commercial and cultural centre, though al-Maqdisī speaks of it as being a mine of *fiqh* and *ḥikma*. It was conquered for the Muslims by al-Barāʾ b. ʿAzīb and Zayd b. Jabal al-Ṭāʾī in 24/644 during the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. When al-Barāʾ besieged the fortress of Qazvin, the people sued for a *ṣulḥ* agreement and were offered the same terms as had been given to the people of Abhar. Unwilling, however, to pay *jizya*, they accepted Islam. Al-Barāʾ subsequently assigned pensions in the district to Tulayḥa al-Asadī for the upkeep of his men. They multiplied and transmitted the estates which they held to their descendants who, according to Ibn al-Faqīh, still held them some two hundred years later and had title deeds for them from the government. From Qazvin, al-Barāʾ carried out raids into Daylam and Gilān and also took Zanjān. Saʿd b. al-ʿĀs, who succeeded al-Walīd b. ʿUqba as governor of Kūfa,

also made raids into Daylam, and built a town at Qazvin. Al-Ḥajjāj, after he became governor of most of Persia on behalf of the Umayyads, appointed his son Muḥammad governor of the frontier regions. Yazīd b. Muḥallab, Qutayba b. Muslim, and Naṣr b. Sayyār also appointed governors over Qazvin, as did the early ‘Abbasids.

A second town at Qazvin was built by Mūsā al-Hādī beside the one built by Sa‘īd b. al-‘Āṣ and called Madīnat Mūsā. He bought the nearby Rustamābād and constituted it a *waqf* for the benefit of the town. Mubārak the Turk, a freedman of al-Hādī, also built another town at Qazvin in 176/792–3 and called it after himself.

When Hārūn al-Rashīd passed through Qazvin on his way to Khurasan, he was impressed both by the tribulations which the local people suffered on account of the Daylamites and their efforts to combat them. Accordingly, he remitted the *kharāj* of the town and substituted instead an annual payment of 10,000 *dirhams*, and ordered a wall to be built round Madīnat Mūsā and Mubārakābād. This was not, however, completed until the caliphate of al-Mu‘tazz, when Mūsā b. Bughā finished it in 254/868. Hārūn al-Rashīd also built a Friday mosque in Qazvin and constituted various *khāns* and other buildings into a *waqf* for its benefit. During al-Qāsim b. al-Rashīd’s governorship of Qazvin, Jurjān and Ṭabaristān, it appears that there was an increase in the land held by the government, a number of local landowners placing their estates under al-Qāsim’s protection by a *taljī’a* contract, by which they paid *‘ushr* to the public treasury and a second *‘ushr* to him for his protection. In this way, they retained possession of their estates, while the ownership passed to the government. The anonymous *Mujmal al-tawārīkh* mentions a rebellion by Kawkabī, an ‘Alid, which was put down by Mūsā b. Bughā during the reign of al-Mu‘tazz.

The population of the town at this time appears to have been mainly Arab. After Mūsā b. Bughā completed the town wall, the population increased. It consisted of various tribes or families, most of whom traced their origin back to the first Arab settlers. Among them were the *Sādāt*, the majority of whom, according to Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, were characterised by their humility, knowledge, piety and courtesy. He states that they supported themselves by their own work and did not demand pensions, thus implying that they held aloof from

the temporal power and retained their independence. Khwāndamīr, writing later, states that the people of Qazvin were noted for their chivalry (*murūwat*) and humanity (*insāniyyat*).

Qazvin retained its importance as a frontier town during the struggles between the caliphate and the ‘Alids in the Caspian provinces. When al-Mu‘taṣim became caliph he determined to bring the Daylamites into subjection. Fakhr al-Dawla (thus in Mustawfī) Abū Maṣṣūr Kūfī, whom he sent to Qazvin as governor, together with his sons, occupied himself against the Daylamites for nearly twenty years from 223/838. In all, Fakhr al-Dawla appears to have held the post of governor for some forty years on behalf of the caliphs, except for two years when he governed on behalf of al-Ḥasan b. al-Bākīr, the ‘Alid, who took possession of Qazvin in 251/865–6. For a brief period Qazvin came under Samanid rule when Ilyās b. Aḥmad became governor in 293/905–6. In the following year, however, Fakhr al-Dawla Abū ‘Alī, Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī’s forefather, became governor on behalf of the caliph and held the town for twenty-seven years, though in 301/913–14 it was placed together with Ray, Dīnawar, Zanjān, Abhar and Ṭārum, under the general charge of ‘Alī b. al-Muqtadir. In 304/916–17 Yūsuf b. Abi ‘l Sāj made an abortive attempt to claim Qazvin, but was put to flight by Asfār b. Shīrūya, who made himself master of Qazvin and of an area stretching from Ṭabaristān and Gurgān to Qumm and Hamadan. In 315/927–8 Asfār routed an army sent against him by al-Muqtadir outside Qazvin, although it was aided by the people of the city. Asfār then seized the citadel, killed many of the inhabitants, did much damage to the city, and imposed a vast contribution of money on the inhabitants. He was later dispossessed by Mardāwīj and killed. Qazvin subsequently fell to Rukn al-Dawla, and the district remained in Buyid hands for upwards of a hundred years. In 358/968–9 there was an outbreak of disorder in the town and Abū ‘l Fath ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn, Rukn al-Dawla’s *wazīr*, who was sent to put it down, imposed a fine of 1,200,000 dirhams on the people.

In 421/1030, it passed into Ghaznavid hands. Up to this time, Mustawfī’s forefathers were apparently still governors of the town, but at this point no suitable member of the family was available for the post of governor and they became instead *mustawfīs*. About 424/1033–4 Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad Ja‘farī

succeeded to the government, which he and his sons held for about sixty years. The last of the line, Fakhr al-Ma'ālī Abū 'Alī Sharafshāh b. Ja'fārī, was very wealthy and he and his followers held much property in the neighbourhood. He died in 484/1091–2.

The first contact between Qazvin and the Ghuzz Türkmens appears to have been in 430/1038–9 when the inhabitants, with a payment of 7,000 *dīnārs*, bought off the Ghuzz and Fanā Khusraw, the Daylamite, who had taken Ray in 428/1037, slaughtering many of its inhabitants. Nāṣir-i Khusraw visited Qazvin in 438/1046, and describes it as follows: "It had many gardens, without walls or thorn hedges or any obstacle to prevent entry into them. I saw it to be a good city. It had a strong wall and embattlements. It had good bazaars, except that it had only a little water from one *kānāz*... The *ra'īs* of the town was an 'Alid. Of all the crafts in the town, the shoe-makers (*kafshgar*) were the most numerous" (*Safar-nāma*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1881, text, 4).

In spite of the proximity of Qazvin to the Ismā'īlī stronghold of Alamūt, the Saljuqs do not appear to have regarded it as an important governorship to be given to a powerful *amīr* or *malik*. Soon after the Ismā'īlīs were established in Alamūt, Abū 'l Maḥāsīn Rūyānī persuaded the Qazvinis to decree death to anyone coming from the direction of Alamūt, lest mingling with the Ismā'īlīs should give rise to disaffection within Qazvin (M.G. Hodgson, *The Order of the Assassins*, The Hague 1955, 123). There were also many fortresses in the mountains of Rūdbār held by the Ismā'īlīs, whence they were able from time to time to molest and trouble the Qazvinis, as they did in 523/1129 when they killed some 400 persons in revenge for an Ismā'īlī envoy who had been lynched in Isfahan whither he had gone to see Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. During the period when Muḥammad b. Buzurg Umīd was Grand Master (532–57/1138–62) there were raids and counter raids against Qazvin from Ismā'īlī strongholds. Somewhat later, in 560/1165, the Ismā'īlīs of Rūdbār built a fortress outside Qazvin, whence they were able almost to lay siege to the town.

In the late Saljuq period, it was disputed by various *maliks* and *amīrs*, including Toghrīl b. Muḥammad, to whom it was assigned by Sanjar. Under the Khwārazm Shāhs, renewed attacks were made from Qazvin on the Ismā'īlīs. When Jalāl Dīn Ḥasan suc-

ceeded his father Muḥammad as Grand Master of the Ismā'īlīs in 607/1210, he professed Islam and was known as Jalāl Dīn Naw-Musalmān. The people of Qazvin, knowing all too well the dissimulations and tricks of the Ismā'īlīs, were reluctant to accept his claims and demanded proof. He went to great lengths to win them over and induced them to send some of the leading men of Qazvin to Alamūt and burnt Ismā'īlī works in their presence.

During the struggle between the Khwārazm Shāhs and the Mongols, Qazvin from time to time changed hands, until finally the Khwārazm Shāhs were defeated. In 617/1220 the Mongols are alleged to have carried out a massacre of the people of Qazvin. Mengū Qā'ān appointed Ifūkhār al-Dīn Muḥammad Bukhārī governor in 651/1253–4. He and his brother Imām al-Dīn Yaḥyā held office until 677/1278–9. Ifūkhār al-Dīn is said to have learnt Mongolian and to have translated *Kalīla wa-Dimna* into it. In the disorders which preceded the reign of Ghazan Khan (694–703/1295–1304), Qazvin, like other parts of the Il-Khanid empire, suffered decay because of the extortion of *īlchīs* and others. Many people left the town, so much so that Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī alleges that the Friday prayers could not be performed. He also mentions the usurpation of *waqf* land by Mongols in Pishkildarra. At the end of the reign of Öljeitu (703–16/1304–16), the government of Qazvin passed to Ḥusām al-Dīn Amīr 'Umar Shīrāzī and Ḥājī Fakhr al-Dīn Aḥmad the *mustawfī*. Abū Sa'īd Bahādur (716–36/1316–35), at the beginning of his reign, assigned it to the expenses (*ikhrājāt*) of the establishment or household (*urdū*) of his mother.

It was in Mongol rather than Saljuq times that the population of the Qazvin province was profoundly modified by the introduction of a considerable number of Turkish tribes, though some were no doubt already settled there under the Saljuqs. In spite of this, it seems that many of the great families of Qazvin, when Mustawfī was writing, still traced their origins to an Arab ancestor, and many of them held large estates. One family mentioned by him, the Shīrẓādiyān, came from "the middle classes" (*awsāt al-nās*), their ancestor having been a shepherd. Certain changes were, however, taking place and a number of Turkish families had established themselves. One, the Qarāvulān, had bought many estates, but had already lost its position when Ḥamd Allāh

Mustawfī was writing. Another was the Būlātmūriyān, the first of whom, Amīr Takash, came to Qazvin as *shihna* in the time of Ögedey. The dominant rite was the Shāfiʿī, but there were also a few Ḥanafīs and Shiʿites.

After the break-up of the Il-Khanid empire, Qazvin, which had long since lost its character as a frontier town, seems to have had an uneventful history until Safavid times. Already under Shāh Ismāʿīl I (907–30/1502–24), who was faced with the problem of holding both the Ottoman and the Özbek frontier, Qazvin, situated on the main route from Azerbaijan to Khurasan, acquired a new importance. When Tabriz was temporarily lost to the Ottomans during the reign of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (930–84/1524–76), Qazvin, less vulnerable to attack and holding a central position between the vitally important provinces of Azerbaijan and Khurasan, became the capital in 962/1555, hence its *laqab dār al-saltāna*. It continued to hold this position until Shāh ʿAbbās built a new capital in Isfahan. Although Qazvin ceased to be the capital, it did not become an independent province but was administered by a *wazīr*, *dārūgha*, *kalāntar* and *mustawfī* appointed by the central government. Towards the end of the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn, it was made into a province, under a *beglerbegī*, and a certain Ṭahmāsp Khān, a military slave (*ghulām*), was appointed over its A sum was allocated for his remuneration (*mudākhal*) on the taxes (*wujūhāt*) of the surrounding districts and Rānkūh, and in return he was required to keep 300 soldiers (Mīrzā Raḥʿā, *Dastūr al-mulūk*). From the size of this contingent, it would seem that it was not one of the more important provinces.

Like various other towns, Qazvin became divided in Safavid times into two factions, the Ḥaydarī and the Niʿmatī. Alessandri, who visited it during the reign of Ṭahmāsp, mentions them, and states that four districts belonged to one faction and five to the other, and that enmity and frequent bloodshed had prevailed between them for over thirty years (*Narrative of the most noble Vincenzo d'Alessandri*, Hakluyt Society, first series, xlix, 224). The participation of these factions in the Muḥarram and Šafar ceremonies in the early 20th century is also recorded.

In the Mongol and pre-Mongol period, Qazvin had been a centre of orthodoxy, in spite of, or perhaps because of, its proximity to Daylam and later Alamūt. Nevertheless, there was a Shiʿite quarter

there in Saljuq times, and, as stated above, there were some Shiʿites in Qazvin when Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī was writing. Widespread conversion to Shiʿism probably did not take place until the early Safavid period, and even after this crypto-Sunnis as, for example, Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī, who was associated with Ismāʿīl II's conversion to Sunnism, were to be found among prominent local families (Iskandar Munshī, *ʿĀlamārā-yi ʿAbbāsī*, Iṣfahan 1956, i, 148, 213 ff. See also E. Eberhard, *Osmanische Polemik gegen die Safawiden in 16. Jahrhundert nach arabischen Handschriften*, Freiburg 1970). During the reign of Ṭahmāsp, the Nuqtawī heresy spread to Qazvin, where it was led by a certain Darvīsh Khusrāw. According to Iskandar Munshī (a hostile witness), he was “a low-class fellow” from the Darb-i Kūshk quarter. He abandoned the craft of his fore-fathers, who had been *muqannās*, and became a *qalandar*. After a period of travel and association with Nuqtawīs, he returned to Qazvin, where a following gathered round him. The ʿulamāʾ, apprehensive at his growing popularity, charged him with heresy and he was forbidden to sit in the mosque where he had taken up his quarters. After the death of Ṭahmāsp, he resumed his activities and people again assembled round him. He was eventually put to death as a heretic in 1002/1593–4.

The death of Ṭahmāsp was followed by disorders in Qazvin. Rebellious Türkmens seized Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā, one of the late Shah's younger sons, set him up as a puppet, and occupied the city for a brief period. In the spring of 994/1596 Ḥamza Mīrzā, who had been besieging Tabriz, then in Ottoman hands, marched on Qazvin, routed the Türkmens, took Ṭahmāsp Mīrzā prisoner, and overthrew the rebellion. Little damage appears to have been done in the town. Don Juan, who was there shortly afterwards, describes Qazvin as follows: “The country round is most fertile: it has great orchards and extensive gardens. Its population numbers above 100,000 householders [or 450,000 souls], and, that one may know its greatness, I have for curiosity, counted many times over its mosques, and of these there are more than 500. The royal quarter and the palace both are most sumptuous, and so extensive that you may go in a straight line through the purlieu for over a quarter of a league” (*Don Juan of Persia*, 40). The account given by a gentleman in Sir Antony Sherley's suite, who arrived in Qazvin in December 1598, when it was still the capital, is rather less favourable. He states



that there was nothing remarkable about the town except a few mosques and the doorway of the palace of the king, which was well built. According to him the town was a little smaller than London (*Sir Antony Sherley and his Persian adventure*, ed. E.D. Ross, London 1933, 153). Antony Sherley's brother, Robert, died in Qazvin in 1627, as also did Sir Dodmore Cotton.

Father Paul Simon, the first superior of the Discalced Carmelites in Persia, writing in 1607, states that Qazvin, which was by this time no longer the capital, was a very large city, not smaller than Isfahan. There were good buildings and an abundance of commodities for subsistence and entertainment, and "everything to be found as in any of these our [Italian] cities" (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 119). Pietro della Valle, who was there in 1618, found in it "nothing to satisfy the expectations of a royal residence, and only two things worthy of observation, the gate of the king's palace, and the grand maidan or square". Sir Thomas Herbert, on the other hand, reported of Qazvin in 1627 that it was "equal for grandeur to any other city in the Persian Empire, Spahawn excepted". He states that its walls were seven miles in circuit and estimates its population at 200,000. Olearius, however, some ten years later put the population at only 100,000, while Chardin, who was there in 1674, describes its walls in ruins, and the town as having "lost all those perquisites that set forth the pomp and grandeur of a sumptuous court". It contained, according to his account, 12,000 houses, and 100,000 inhabitants, its chief feature being the palaces of the grandees, which, he alleged, had passed for generations from father to son.

Qazvin's importance in Safavid times was due not only to its becoming, for a period, the capital but also the attempts to increase trade with Europe through southern Russia. Antony Jenkinson mentions the presence in Qazvin of merchants from India in 1561. Arthur Edwards, who made several voyages to Persia on behalf of the Muscovy Company, wrote in 1567 that velvets and other wares were made in Qazvin but not of as good quality as could be obtained in Europe, and, in 1569, that many spices were to be found there but in goodness they were "nothing like to such as be brought into England out of other places, and the price is so high, that small gain will be had in buying of them". In the account

of the mission of Sir Antony Sherley it is stated that there were a great many merchants in Qazvin, but not many rich ones, also several artisans, such as gold-smiths and cobblers, who made the best shoes in the whole country out of segrin [shagreen], in green, white and other colours. There were also some master craftsmen who made gilded and coloured bows with arrows to match, and others who made richly gilded horse-saddles with gilded and coloured saddlebows. Father Paul Simon records that Qazvin was much frequented for trade, because there was an abundance there of silks, carpets and brocades (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, i, 119).

The disorders which took place at the end of the Safavid period brought a temporary halt to Qazvin's prosperity, and there appears to have been a considerable decrease in the population, due in part, presumably, to the decline in trade. Maḥmūd the Afghan, after he had taken Isfahan, detached a force of some 6,000 men under Amān Allāh Khān to take Qazvin, which surrendered in 1722. In January 1723, however, there was a popular uprising (*lūḡībāzār*) led by the *kalāntars* or headmen of the city against the Afghans. They were attacked in every quarter and retreated to Isfahan. They are reported to have lost some 2,000 men. In 1726 Qazvin submitted to the Ottomans on condition that the governor sent to the city was not accompanied by troops. The agreement was not kept; 12,000 men under 'Alī Pasha were sent, only to be driven out shortly afterwards. Qazvin then declared for Ashraf. Hanway, writing in 1744, quotes a Persian merchant as saying that whereas formerly the city had had 12,000 houses, it had then only 1,100.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Qazvin still manufactured velvets, brocades, and cotton cloth (J. Morier, *A second journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1810–1816*, London 1818, 203) and was beginning once more to flourish. One of the royal princes, Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā, then still a boy, was appointed governor by Fath 'Alī Shāh in 1213/1798–9, and retained this post until 1221/1806–7. Qazvin's position, at the juncture of roads from the new capital Tehran, Tabriz, the second city of the empire, and Enzeli on the Caspian Sea, gave it a new importance, both strategic and commercial. Fath 'Alī Shāh recognised the first when he placed its governor under the orders of 'Abbās

Mīrzā in 1818 with a view to facilitating his march on Tehran from Azerbaijan in the event of his accession to the throne. The main reason for the revival of Qazvin, however, was the growing importance of the trade routes through Trebizond and over the Caspian Sea. Malcolm notes its prosperity in 1801 as “the mart of all the commerce of the Caspian” (quoted by C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800–1914*, Chicago 1971, 262) and Consul Abbott, reporting on the trade in Persia in 1841, states that Qazvin ranked equally with Tehran in the extent of its commerce and contained perhaps as many thriving and wealthy merchants from all parts of the country as any other city in Persia. Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī, who passed through Qazvin in 1884, states that it had 600 shops, 8 caravansarais, 40 mosques, 9 *madrasas* and 12 ice-pits (*yakhchāl*). Its importance as an entrepôt for trade is also shown by the fact that in 1890 the Imperial Bank of Persia opened a branch there, taking over the agency of the New Oriental Banking Corporation. Communications were meanwhile improved. By the 1880s single wire lines belonging to the Persian government connected Qazvin to Tehran (*ibid.*, 153–4). Metalled roads from Qazvin to Tehran in 1899 and from Qazvin to Hamadan in 1906 were completed under a concession granted to a Russian company in July 1893, and in 1913 a contract for a service of motors till the end of 1919 on the roads from Qazvin to Rasht, Tehran and Hamadān was obtained by a Russian subject, and some cars were put into service (*ibid.*, 201).

In spite of the commercial importance of Qazvin in the 19th century, there does not appear to have been any appreciable growth in population, though it is difficult to compare the figures given for different periods since the estimates are not necessarily based upon the same criteria. Morier, writing in the early part of the century, puts the population at 25,000, as also does William Ouseley. A later report dated 1868, gives the same figure, but the census taken in 1298/1880–1 and 1299/1881–2 puts the population at 64,362. Mīrzā Ḥusayn Farāhānī on the other hand states that it was 7,000 families or some 30,000 persons. The town was then divided into 17 districts (*maḥalla*). Its walls were mainly in ruins, but 12 gates were still standing. According to Curzon, the population was reputed to be 40,000 in 1889, but the actual figure was probably not more

than two-thirds of this (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 35). Various estimates for the early part of the 20th century, possibly following Curzon, also put the population at 40,000.

Qazvin played little part in the events leading up to the grant of the constitution. In the first National Consultative Assembly it was represented by two deputies, and a provincial council (*anjuman-i wilāyatī*) was elected. Popular *anjumans* were also set up and established contact with the Tehran *anjumans*, but were dissolved after Muḥammad ‘Alī attacked the Assembly in 1908. After resistance to Muḥammad ‘Alī had been organised in Tabriz and Isfahan and the nationalist movement had spread to Gilān, the supporters of the constitution in Qazvin, having taken *bast* in the Turkish *shāhbandarī*, established contact with the nationalists in Gilān. The latter under Yeprim Khān took Qazvin in 1909 and advanced from there on Tehran. In July, with a view to exerting pressure on the nationalists, Russia sent troops to Qazvin. Most of these were withdrawn in March 1911, but in December more Russian troops were sent. In the troubled years after the suspension of the Assembly in 1911 and during World War I there was a general breakdown of law and order in the province of Qazvin as elsewhere. In June 1918 the headquarters of the “Dunsterforce” was established in Qazvin, whence operations were undertaken against the Jangalīs. During the reign of Riḍā Shāh, it declined. As communications improved it ceased to be an important entrepôt and many of the merchant community and considerable numbers of the population in general moved to Tehran.

The modern city of Qazvin remains a significant centre for communications, being on the railway and the road connecting Tehran with Tabriz. Administratively, it comes within the province of Tehran. The population is 331,500 (2005 estimate).

## II. MONUMENTS

Most of Qazvin’s mediaeval mosques have disappeared, including the early mosque of Rabī‘ b. Khuthaym (possibly identical to the Jāmi‘ al-Thawr or Jāmi‘ al-Tūt of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥajjāj), the Great Mosque founded by Hārūn al-Rashīd, and four others mentioned by Zakariyyā Qazwīnī. In the 4th/10th century Qazvin consisted of an inner and

outer city with two Congregational mosques. The town walls, begun by Hārūn al-Rashīd, eventually comprised 206 towers and 12 gates. They were rebuilt in 572/1176 by the vizier Šadr al-Dīn al-Marāghī; mud brick was used throughout except for the battlements and the huge gates.

The earliest surviving Islamic building yet identified in Qazvin is the dome chamber of the Mašjid-i Jāmi', which possibly rests on a pre-Islamic structure. Its long *awqāf* inscriptions (a rarity in Persian architecture) date it to between 500/1106 and 508/1114, and mention the patron, the *amīr* Abū Maṣṣūr Khumartāsh b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Imādī. This dome chamber adjoined a pre-existing *madrasa* built in the 4th/10th century by the Šāhib Ismā'īl Ibn 'Abbād. According to Zakariyyā Qazwīnī, the size of this dome was unparalleled anywhere. He relates how the masons despaired of vaulting such a huge space until a passing boy suggested that they fill the interior with straw. Although the dome chamber's ground plan, with its double openings on all sides but the *qibla*, resembles those of major Saljuq mosques in central Persia, the elevation is markedly different. The model may perhaps have been a large-scale fire temple. The internal zone of transition avoids the complex trilobed squinches of central Iran in favour of a broad simple squinch with a superposed hexadecagon of similar form. The ratio of width to height is less than in other Saljuq dome chambers. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī records that the mosque was given two *iwāns* in 548/1153; if the north *iwān* dates from this time (its decoration is certainly Saljuq) one would expect a matching southern *iwān* preceding the dome. Possibly the Saljuq mosque even had four *iwāns*. The present mosque is unusually large; among religious buildings in Persia, only the shrine of the Imām Riḍā at Mashhad and the Isfahan Jāmi' are more extensive. It is mostly of Safavīd and Qajar date; the south *iwān*, for example, bears an inscription of Shāh 'Abbās II dated 1069/1658–9.

The Ḥaydariyya mosque or *madrasa* (its original function is uncertain) has close stylistic links with Khumartāsh's dome and could be dated a few years later. Its square dome chamber stands to the south of a courtyard surrounded by Qajar structures. The damaged squinch zone develops from that of Khumartāsh's dome, for the arches of the hexadecagon have tapering bases which fill the spandrels

between the arches of the octagon, an imaginative integration of the two levels. The exquisite decoration, mainly in brick and plaster, is notable both for a masterly floriated Kufic inscription and for a very early use of glazed ornament. A distinctive architectural and decorative style was developed in Qazvin during the Saljuq period and influenced buildings in the surrounding areas, such as the mosques of Qurwa and Sujās.

The so-called mausoleum of Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, which was recently restored, is of Mongol date. It has a square base, a square zone of transition with bevelled corners and a conical roof over an internal dome. Similar tomb towers abound in Māzandarān. The only completely Safavīd monument in Qazvin is the much-ruined palace of Shāh Tahmāsp, now a museum; a heavily restored *pīshṭāq* and a kiosk with some faded wall paintings survive. The last two centuries are represented by the Mašjid-i Shāh, the Shāhzāda Ḥusayn and an extremely rich and varied network of vaulted bazaars and caravansarais now being demolished.

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# R

**RABAT**, the modern name of the city in north-western Morocco which was in pre-modern times Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ “the Frontier Fortress of Victory,” in colloquial Moroccan Arabic er-Rbāt. It is situated in lat. 34° 02' N., long. 6° 51' W., on the south bank of the Wādī Abū Raqrāq/Wed Bou Regreg. It lies opposite the port of Salā/Salé, a much older foundation (see below), with whose fortunes Rabat has always been linked. With the establishment of the French Protectorate in 1911, Rabat became both the centre of the Sharifian state and residence of its sultan, and the administrative headquarters of the French administration. When Morocco regained its independence in 1956, Rabat became the official capital of the land, and the seat of political (Royal Palace, Parliament), administrative (government ministers, services of the state) and military power. All the diplomatic representatives were concentrated there. But the economic and commercial capital remained Casablanca (headquarters of large businesses, banks, export and import agencies, etc.). Morocco is thus the only North African state which has two capitals with specialised functions, 90 km/56 miles from each other, a fact which avoids, to some extent, too great a concentration of powers and functions in one dominating metropolis.

The foundation of Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ was the work of the Muwahḥidūn or Almohads. The site of the “Two Banks” (*al-Idwatān*) of the estuary of the Bou Regreg had previously been the scene of Roman and pre-Roman settlements: the Punic, later Roman Sala was built on the left bank of the river higher

up at the site of the royal Marīnid necropolis of Chella (Shālla). The Muslim town of Salā on the right bank, from the beginning of the 4th/10th century, in order to protect it against the inroads of the Barghawāṭa heretics at the time when it was the capital of a little Ifrānid kingdom, had fortified on the other side of the Bou Regreg a *ribāṭ*, which was permanently manned by devout volunteers, who in this way desired to carry out their vow of *jihād*; the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal is authority for its existence at this date. But we know very little of the part played by this *ribāṭ* in the course of the sanguinary wars later fought between the Barghawāṭa and the Almoravids. It is not even possible to point out its exact situation. It was perhaps the same fortified spot that is mentioned in the middle of the 6th/12th century under the name of Qaṣr Banī Targh by the geographer al-Fazārī.

The final and complete subjugation of the Barghawāṭa meant that a different part was to be played by the *ribāṭ* on the estuary of the Bou Regreg. In 545/1150, the founder of the dynasty of the Mu'minid Almohads, 'Abd al-Mu'min, chose the fort and its vicinity as the place of mobilisation for the troops intended to carry the holy war into Spain. A permanent camp was established there and he provided for a supply of fresh water by bringing a conduit from a neighbouring source, 'Ayn Ghabūla. The permanent establishments, – mosque, royal residence – formed a little town which received the name of al-Mahdiyya as a souvenir of the Mahdī Ibn Tūmart. On several occasions, very large bodies

of men were concentrated around the *ribāṭ*, and it was there that ‘Abd al-Mu‘min died on the eve of his departure for Spain in 558/1163.

The development of the camp went on under ‘Abd al-Mu‘min’s successor, Abu Ya‘qūb Yūsuf (558–80/1163–84), but it was the following prince of the Mu‘minid dynasty, Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr, who at the beginning of his reign gave the orders and opened the treasuries necessary for its completion. In memory of the victory gained in 591/1195 by the Almohads over Alfonso VIII of Castile at Alarcos, it was given the name of Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ. The camp was surrounded by a wall of earth flanked with square towers enclosing with the sea and the river an area of 450 ha. The wall is still standing for the most part, and is nearly four miles in length; two monumental gates, one now known as Bāb al-Ruwāḥ, the other which gives access to the *qaṣaba* (Kasba of the Ūdāya), date from this period. It was also Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr who ordered the building inside Ribāṭ al-Faṭḥ of a colossal mosque which was never finished; rectangular in plan it measured 183 m/610 feet long by 139 m/470 feet broad; the only mosque in the Muslim world of greater area was that of Sāmarrā in Iraq. It was entered by 16 doors and in addition to three courts had a hall of prayer, supported by over 200 columns. In spite of recent excavations more or less successfully conducted, this mosque still remains very much a puzzle from the architectural point of view. But the minaret, which also remained unfinished and was never given its upper lantern, still surprises the traveller by its unusual dimensions. It is now called the Tower of Ḥassān (*burj Ḥassān*). Built entirely of stones of uniform shape it is 44 m/160 feet high on a square base 16 m/55 feet square. Its walls are 2.5 m/8 feet thick. The upper platform is reached by a ramp 2 m/6 feet 8 ins. broad with a gentle slope.

This tower in its proportions, its arrangement and decoration, is closely related to two Almohad minarets of the same period: that of the mosque of the Kutubiyya at Marrākush/Marrakesh and that of the great mosque of Seville, the Giralda.

Ya‘qūb al-Manṣūr’s great foundation never received the population which its area might have held and the town opposite, Salé, retained under the last Almohads and in the 7th–8th/13th–14th centuries all its political and commercial importance. Rabat and Salé in 1248 passed under the rule of the Marīnids, and it seems that Rabat in those days was simply a military

station of no great importance, sharing the fortunes of its neighbour, which had gradually become a considerable port having busy commercial relations with the principal trading centres of the Mediterranean. But a chance circumstance was suddenly to give the town of the “Two Banks” a new aspect. The expulsion from Spain of the last Moriscos decided upon in 1610 by Philip III brought to Rabat and Salé an important colony of Andalusian refugees, who increased to a marked degree the number of their compatriots in these towns who had previously left Spain of their own free-will after the reconquest. While the population of the other Moroccan cities, Fez and Tetouan principally, in which the exiles took refuge, very quickly absorbed the new arrivals whom they had welcomed without distrust, the people of Rabat and Salé could not see without misgivings this colony from Spain settle beside them, for they lived apart, never mingled with the older inhabitants and devoted themselves to piracy and soon completely dominated the two towns and their hinterland. Rabat, known in Europe as “New Salé” in contrast to Salé (“Old Salé”), soon became the centre of a regular little maritime republic in the hands of the Spanish Moors who had either left of their own accord before 1610, the so-called “Hornachuelas”, or had been expelled in 1610, the so-called “Moriscos”, the former, however, being clearly in the majority. This republic, on the origin and life of which the documents from European archives published by H. de Castries and P. de Cenival threw new light, hardly recognised the suzerainty of the *sharīf* who ruled over the rest of Morocco. While boasting of their *jihād* against the Christians, the Andalusians of the “Two Banks” really found their activity at sea a considerable source of revenue. They had retained the use of the Spanish language and the mode of life they had been used to in Spain. They thus raised Rabat from its decadence. Their descendants still form the essential part of the Muslim population of the town and they have Spanish patronymics like Bargāsh (Vargas), Palāmīno, Morēno, Lōpēz, Pērēz, Chiquīto, Dinya (Span. Dénia), Runda (Span. Ronda), Mūlīn (Molina), etc.

The spirit of independence and the wealth of the Spanish Moors in Rabat soon made the town a most desirable object in the eyes of the sultans of Morocco. Nevertheless, the little republic with periods of more or less unreal independence, was able

to survive until the accession of the 'Alawī sultan Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh in 1171/1757. This prince now endeavoured to organise for his own behalf the piracy hitherto practised by the sailors of the republic of the "Two Banks". He even ordered several ships of the line to be built. But the official character thus given to the pirates of Salé very soon resulted in the bombardment of Salé and Larache by a French fleet in 1765. The successors of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh had very soon to renounce any further attempt to wage the "holy war" by sea. The result was a long period of decline for Salé which found expression not only in the gradual diminution of its trade but also in a very marked hatred of each town for the other. At the beginning of the 20th century, Rabat, like Salé, had completely lost its old importance. They were both occupied by French troops on 19 July 1911.

After the installation of the Protectorate, the demographical and spatial growth of Rabat was intensified. The population in 1912 was estimated at 24,283 (comprising 23,000 Moroccans and 1,283 Europeans), adjacent to Salé with 17,000 inhabitants, all Moroccans. In 1952, a few years before independence, the census of population gave 156,209 inhabitants for Rabat (114,709 Moroccans and 41,500 Europeans). But one should take into account not only the residents of the capital city but also those of Salé, closely linked with Rabat, and those of the surrounding suburbs. Hence the whole agglomeration of Rabat-Salé has a population of 2,366,494 (2004 census).

The "bipartite urban settlement" which has grown out of the "Republic of the Two Banks" has thus become strongly dissymmetrical, from all points of view. Together with its suburbs, Rabat holds three-fifths of the population of the agglomeration, the essential part of the tertiary sector jobs and even the industrial ones. The industrial concerns, estimated at 8,000 in 1986, make the capital the sixth of the industrial centres of Morocco, which hardly allows one to visualise it as a residential and official city. Rabat provides numerous jobs, distributes the resources to a multitude of officials but also to modest households existing in the shadow of the propertied classes (informal employment). As for Salé, it provides housing for employees and workers and appears as a "dormitory town" narrowly dependent on its powerful neighbour.

The urban structure of the two cities also differs. It is true that the two *madīnas* have always faced the mouth of the Bou Regreg and contain the historic memorials of the two cities (gate of Bab el-Alou and the ancient *mellāḥ* and Kasba of the Ūdāya at Rabat; and the gate of Bab Sabta, and the Marīnid Great Mosque and Medersa at Salé). But the Rabat *madīna* has been less densely packed than the Salé one, and its role in the agglomeration is secondary. On the other hand, the Salé *madīna* is overpopulated but in other respects is more attractive to the population on the right bank of the river.

The extensions *extra muros*, in effect the 20th century quarters, are of a very different nature on each side of the river.

In Rabat, these are large, well-spaced blocks, with wide roads and numerous green spaces, which have brought about, since the beginning of the "colonial city" – where the town planners Prost and Ecochard distinguished themselves – a relatively harmonious city (quarters of the Centre, the Residence, Tour Hassān, Orangers and Āḡadāl). The sites laid out after independence (Amal Faṭḥ, university campus, enlargement of the quarter of the luxurious villas of Souissi and the spacious plots of Ryad) have perpetuated this tendency, even if some poverty belts have grown up in the southern suburbs. The expanse of these suburbs, which are either "spontaneous" or have been remodelled by the state, is incontestably more limited there than on the Salé bank of the river.

In Salé, beyond the *madīna*, there is a rabbit's warren of "refuge quarters" which have gradually grown up, biting into the old market gardens and throwing into relief the lower-class and dependent nature of this city, which is neither a rival nor a twin of Rabat but which has become simply an annexe of the capital city.

Strangely enough, although Rabat is the undisputed national capital, it is not a regional centre. Its hinterland is limited to the Zaër country to the south, an important region for stock-rearing, and to a string of bathing resorts along the Atlantic coast. Contrariwise, the economic hinterland of Salé is much more extensive and clearly dominated by the city of Salé itself, and comprises the regions of the Sehoul and the Zemmour. Thus Salé has retained an active role within the adjoining rural world, which is characteristic of traditional Islamic towns, whereas

Rabat seems to have turned its back on the countryside, as befits a relatively new and probably still to some extent artificial town.

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**RAQQA**, in Arabic al-Raqqā, a mediaeval Islamic city of Mesopotamia on the left bank of the Euphrates, at its junction with its tributary the Nahr al-Balikh, now in the Syrian Republic. It is situated in lat. 35° 57' N., long. 39° 05' E. It flourished under the caliphs and the succeeding provincial dynasties, and thereafter until Ottoman times, when it was largely abandoned. However, it revived in the 20th century and is now the administrative centre of a provincial governorate (see below, Section VII.). In mediaeval

Islamic historical geography, it was considered as the capital of the region of Diyār Mudar in the province of the Jazīra or northern Mesopotamia.

#### I. ORIGINS AND HISTORY IN EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

The origin of settlement on opposite sides of the Nahr al-Balikh is attested by the Tall Zaydān and the Tall al-Bī'a, the latter identified with the Babylonian city of Tuṭṭūl (excavated since 1980). To the south of the Tall al-Bī'a, on the border of the Euphrates, Seleucus I Nikator (301–281 B.C.) founded the Hellenistic city of Nikephorion, later probably enlarged by Seleucus II Kallinikos (246–226 B.C.) and named Kallinikos/Callinicum after him. Destroyed in A.D. 542 by the Sasanid Khusraw I Anūshirwān, the emperor Justinian (527–65) soon after rebuilt the town in the course of an extensive fortification programme at the Byzantine border alongside the Euphrates.

The classical city was conquered in 18/639 or 19/640 by the Muslim army under 'Iyād b. Ghanm, who became the first governor of the Jazīra (in this connection, see W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992). Renamed Raqqā, the Muslim faith was heralded by a congregational mosque, founded by the succeeding governor Sa'īd b. 'Āmir b. Ḥidhyam, which was subsequently enlarged to monumental dimensions of c. 73 × 108 m. Recorded by Ernst Herzfeld in 1907, the mosque, together with the square brick minaret (Fig. 70), supposedly a later addition from the mid-4th/10th century, has since vanished completely.

In 36/656 'Alī crossed the Euphrates at Raqqā on his way to Ṣiffīn, the place of the battle with Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, the governor of Damascus and founder of the Umayyad dynasty. Located near the village of Abū Hurayra opposite the mediaeval citadel of Qal'at Ja'bar ca. 45 km/28 miles west of Raqqā, the burials of 'Alī's followers remained venerated places of Shī'ī pilgrimage (listed extensively in al-Harawī's *Kitāb al-Ṣiyārāt*). The last of those tombs located in the Muslim cemetery on the western fringes of the early Islamic city of Raqqā, the mausoleum of Uways al-Qaranī, recently had to give way to a huge pilgrimage centre. Another witness from the early days of Islam, a stone column supposedly depicting an autograph of 'Alī from the

Mashhad quarter of Raqqa, was already in the 6th/12th century transferred to Aleppo, where it was incorporated in the Maṣjid Ghawth.

Throughout the Umayyad period, Raqqa remained an important fortified stronghold protected by a garrison, occasionally involved in revolts and internal fighting over supremacy in the Jazīra, as described by al-Ṭabarī. Opposite Raqqa, near the south bank of the Euphrates, the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik (105–25/724–43), residing mainly at al-Ruṣāfa ca. 50 km/31 miles further to the southwest in the Syrian desert, created the agricultural estate of Wāsiṭ Raqqa, irrigated by two canals named *al-Hanūwa ʿl-Marī*. Further north, at a distance of ca. 72 km/45 miles, near the river al-Balikh, another member of the Umayyad family, the famous military commander Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik (d. ca. 121/739), a half-brother of the caliph Hishām, founded the residential estate of Ḥiṣn Maslama, which served as an advanced outpost towards the Byzantine frontier (on the ruins of Madīnat al-Fār, probably to be identified with Ḥiṣn Maslama, see the report by C.-P. Haase, in *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period*, in *Proceedings of the fifth International conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, ed. Muḥammad ʿAdnān al-Bakhīt and R. Schick, Amman 1991, 206–13).

Though the treaty between the inhabitants of Raqqa and the victorious Muslim general ʿIyād b. Ghanm, as quoted by al-Balādhurī, stipulated that the Christians should retain their places of worship but were not allowed to build new churches, the non-Muslim community is recorded to have thrived well into the Middle Ages. Till the 6th/12th century a bishop is attested to have resided there, and at least four monasteries are frequently mentioned in the sources, the most famous of which, the Dayr Zakkā, can be identified with recently excavated ruins on the Tall al-Bīʿa. To this monastery belonged the estate of Ṣāliḥiyya, a favourite halting place for hunting expeditions (described by al-Bakrī, and Yāqūt), possibly to be associated with the ruins of al-Ṣuwayla near the river al-Balikh, ca. 4 km/2.5 miles to the northeast of Raqqa (recently investigated archaeologically and recorded in *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, ii [1985], 98–9). There also existed a large Jewish community maintaining an ancient synagogue, still operating during the visit of Benjamin of Tudela in about 1167 (see his *Travels*, tr. M.N. Adler, London 1907, 32).

## II. THE EARLY ʿABBASID PERIOD

Early in the ʿAbbasid period the programme of border fortifications in all of the Muslim empire resulted in the construction of an entire new city about 200 m/660 feet west of Raqqa. Named al-Rāfiqa, “the companion (of Raqqa)”, the city, according to al-Yaʿqūbī, was already conceived in the time of the first ʿAbbasid caliph al-Ṣaffāḥ (132–6/749–54); nevertheless, al-Ṭabarī attributes the foundation of al-Rāfiqa to his brother and successor al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75), who in 154/770–1 decided on the construction of the city, which was eventually implemented by his son and heir-apparent al-Mahdī from 155/771–2 onwards. Construction work was still continuing when, in 158/775, al-Mahdī was summoned to Baghdad to be invested as caliph upon the sudden death of his father. Purposely modelled after the only recently completed residential city of Baghdad, the partly surviving city fortifications testify to the military might of the ʿAbbasid empire. In the form of a parallelogram surmounted by a half circle with a width of ca. 1300 m/4,265 feet, the city was protected by a massive wall of almost 5000 m/16,400 feet in length (Fig. 71). Fortified by 132 round projecting towers, an advance wall and a moat further improved the defence system. Originally accessible by three axial entrances, the recently excavated northern gate (Fig. 72) has revealed stately dimensions, with a portal opening of 4 m/13 feet. Remains of iron door posts attest the existence of massive or metal-plated doors, which attracted special praise in the Arabic chronicles. One of the doors, according to the mediaeval tradition, is identified with spoils from the Byzantine city of Amorion or ʿAmmūriya in Asia Minor, transported by al-Muʿtaṣim (218–27/833–42) in 223/838 to his newly-founded residence at Sāmarrāʾ in central Mesopotamia, from where it supposedly reached Raqqa towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. Only about half-a-century later, the door was again dismantled in 353/964 on behalf of the Ḥamdānīd Sayf al-Dawla ʿAlī (333–56/945–67), to be later incorporated in the Bāb al-Qinnasrīn at Aleppo.

In the centre of al-Rāfiqa, another Great Mosque was constructed with monumental proportions of 108 × 93 m/354 × 305 feet in order to serve the garrison of soldiers from Khurasan (Figs. 73–4). Built with massive mud brick walls, strengthened by



burnt brick facing and encircled by a chain of round towers, the plan layout is characterised by triple aisles on brick piers in the prayer hall and by double arcades on the three other sides of the interior courtyard (see Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, ii, Oxford 1940, 45–8, and recent project reports). This first pillar mosque in Islamic architecture obviously served as a model for later Friday mosques at Baghdad (enlarged from 192/808 till 193/809 by Hārūn al-Rashīd), Sāmarrā' (both mosques of al-Mutawakkil, inaugurated in 237/852 and 247/861 respectively) and at Cairo (Mosque of Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn, completed in 265/879).

### III. RAQQA AS CAPITAL OF THE ‘ABBASID EMPIRE

The new city al-Rāfiqa alone almost matches the traditional Syrian capital Damascus in size; but the two sister cities of Raqqa and al-Rāfiqa together formed the largest urban entity in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, probably only surpassed by the ‘Abbasid centre of power, Baghdad, in central Mesopotamia. Therefore, it was a logical choice that the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170–93/786–809), when searching for an alternative residence in 180/796, settled on Raqqa/al-Rāfiqa, which remained his base for a dozen years till 192/808. This resulted not only in additions to the city fortification (inscription on the eastern gate of al-Rāfiqa, the Bāb al-Sibāl, but more importantly, in the construction of an extensive palatial quarter to the north of the twin cities. This caliphal residence of almost 10 km<sup>2</sup>, as attested by aerial photographs, includes about twenty large-size complexes, of which the most monumental of ca. 350 × 300 m/1,148 × 984 feet in a central position obviously served as the main residence of al-Rashīd (Fig. 75), probably to be identified with the Qaṣr al-Salām mentioned by Yāqūt. The other structures were evidently used for housing the family members and court officials residing with al-Rashīd at Raqqa, or else were devoted to service functions.

The huge area of ruins outside the twin cities has since 1944 attracted archaeological investigations. First trial soundings were conducted by the Syrian Antiquities Service at the Main Palace, but were soon discontinued due to the poor state of preservation. Instead, another major complex of ca. 120 × 150 m/

393 × 492 feet, only 400 m/1,312 feet north of the city wall of al-Rāfiqa, named Palace A, was partly excavated. Excavations eventually continued at three other complexes to the east of the Main Palace: Palace B (1950–2), Palace C (1953), and Palace D (1954 and 1958), all of rather monumental dimensions measuring ca. 170 × 75 m/557 × 246 feet, 150 × 110 m/492 × 360 feet and 100 × 100 m/328 × 328 feet respectively. Additionally, further soundings in the vicinity of and at Palace A were implemented between 1966 and 1970. Since the modern town development caused the overbuilding of most of the palace city, the German Archaeological Institute in Damascus has conducted ten seasons of rescue excavations from 1982 till 1992. At the eastern fringes of the site, four larger buildings bordering on a public square were investigated: the so-called Western Palace of ca. 110 × 90 m/360 × 295 feet divided into representative, living and infrastructural units; the North Complex of ca. 150 × 150 m/492 × 492 feet, probably the barracks of the imperial guards; the East Complex of ca. 75 × 50 m/246 × 164 feet, mostly of recreational functions; and the Eastern Palace of ca. 70 × 40 m/230 × 131 feet, reserved entirely for representative purposes. On the northeastern limits of the palace area, another large-size complex with an extension of ca. 300 × 400 m/984 × 1,312 feet was also partly excavated, revealing an elongated double courtyard structure encircled by round towers, which was obviously left unfinished (see the reports by J.-Chr. Heusch and M. Meinecke, and see map at Fig. 11).

All the investigated buildings depended on mud as the major construction material, either in the form of sun-dried bricks or of stamped mud, only occasionally strengthened by burnt bricks. The ground plans, on the other hand, are generally characterised by precisely calculated geometrical subdivisions, indicating the careful laying-out of the built fabric. The publicly visible parts, on the exterior as well as in the interior, received a coating of white plaster, masking and protecting the mud core of the walls. On the representative units the buildings were decorated by stucco friezes in deep relief (Figs. 76–7), depicting mostly vine ornament in numerous variations. Genetically, these patterns are only vaguely related to Umayyad predecessors; instead, the dependence on classical models indicates an intended revival of the ornamental corpus of the monuments from the

2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. at Palmyra. Selections of excavation finds and decorative elements from the Raqqa palaces are exhibited at the Damascus National Museum and at the archaeological museum at Raqqa.

Though the investigated complexes lack building inscriptions pointing to their original function or to the patron, their history can be clearly defined by the numismatic evidence. Among the coins collected during the recent excavations on the eastern border structures of the palace belt, examples minted at al-Rāfiqa in the year 189/804–5 in the name of al-Rashīd are especially numerous, while only individual items minted at al-Rāfiqa in the reigns of the succeeding sons al-Ma'mūn (208/823–4 and 210/825–6) and al-Mu'taṣim (226/840–1) have been recorded (on the 'Abbasid mint at al-Rāfiqa, see now L. Ilisch, in *Numismatics – witness to history. IAPN publication*, viii [1986], 101–21). Consequently, those structures investigated recently must have been in use towards the end of al-Rashīd's tenure of power at Raqqa. After the removal of the court back to Baghdad on the death of al-Rashīd in 193/809, the palaces were obviously in use only briefly and occasionally.

This extensive residential city was evidently founded in 180/796 by al-Rashīd and continuously further enlarged for over a decade. These buildings formed the backstage of the political events of this period, described in great detail by al-Ṭabarī and others. From there, the yearly raids (*ṣawāʾif*, sing. *ṣāʾifa*) into the Byzantine empire and the frequent pilgrimages to the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina were organised. In these palaces lived the family of the caliph, including his wife Zubayda and his heirs apparent, al-Amīn, al-Ma'mūn and al-Qāsim, and also al-Mu'taṣim, for much of their youth (as described by N. Abbott, *Two queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946). Here was the military centre with the army command and the administrative centre of the vast 'Abbasid empire, where the treasures and the material wealth of the caliph were safeguarded. Here the members of the Barmakid family managed the affairs of the state until they were executed or imprisoned in 187/803.

For his periodic centre of administration, al-Rashīd also improved the infrastructure decisively. For the irrigation of the palace city, two canals were laid

out: one channelling the water of the Euphrates from about 15 km/9 miles further west, and another of over 100 km/62 miles collecting water from the Anatolian mountains to the north. According to Yāqūt, one of these (probably the Euphrates canal) was named Nahr Nīl (described by Kassem Toueir, in *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles en domaine irrigué*, in *Actes du Colloque de Damas*, ed. B. Geyer, Paris 1990, 217–20).

About 8 km/5 miles to the west of the city, the Euphrates canal passes by another monument to be associated with al-Rashīd. Surrounded by a circular enclosure wall of 500 m/1,640 feet in diameter, with round buttresses and four portals on the cardinal points, the centre is occupied by a massive square building of ca. 100 m/328 feet for each side. Accessible on the ground level only are four vaulted stately halls on the main axis, from where ramps lead to the upper storey, which was not, however, completed. This curious stone structure, recently also investigated archaeologically, with the traditional name of Hiraqla obviously alluding to the conquest of the Byzantine city of Heraclea by al-Rashīd in 190/806, can be interpreted as a victory monument. The stone material used seems to have originated from churches of the frontier region whose dismantling was ordered in 191/806–7 by the caliph. Obviously, due to the departure of the imperial patron to Khurasan in 192/808 and his death shortly thereafter, the building was left unfinished (see Toueir, in *World Archaeology*, xiv/3 [1983], 296–303, and in *La Syrie de Byzance à l'Islam, VII<sup>e</sup>–VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Actes du Colloque International*, ed. P. Canivet and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, Damascus 1992, 179–86).

The extensive construction programme at Raqqa was accompanied by accelerated industrial activities; these are attested by a string of mounds with large piles of ashes outside the northern wall of the city of Raqqa/Nikephorion. Recently investigated archaeologically at two points, workshops for pottery and glass production have been detected, for which the numismatic evidence points to their use in the time of al-Rashīd. The expertly-potted ceramics with incised or moulded decoration, as well as the fragile glass vessels featuring incised, relief or lustre decoration, which are known from the inventories of the excavated palaces, were thus evidently for the most part fabricated locally.

## IV. THE LATER 'ABBASID PERIOD

Shortly after the sudden death of Hārūn al-Rashīd, his widow Zubayda in 193/809 organised the transfer of the vast state treasuries to Baghdad, where her son al-Amīn (193–8/809–13) was enthroned as ruler of the 'Abbasid empire. While this marks the reinstallation of Baghdad as the administrative centre of the Muslim world, the city of Raqqa remained of regional importance as seat of the governor of the Jazīra province until the mid-4th/10th century.

In opposition to al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33), who succeeded in capturing Baghdad from his brother al-Amīn, a revolt caused the destruction by fire of the market quarter between the sister cities of Raqqa and al-Rāfiqa in 198/813 (Michael Syrus). To police the situation, al-Ma'mūn sent the general Ṭāhir b. al-Husayn as governor of the Jazīra to Raqqa, followed by his son 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir until 210/825–6, when he was nominated governor of Egypt. In the time of the Tahirids, the palace belt outside the city walls was already evidently falling into disrepair. Nevertheless, a last reactivation is attested for the time of al-Mu'taṣim on the basis of fresco inscriptions with his name found at the Palace B to the east of al-Rashīd's central residence (A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, ii, Vienna 1971, Pl. 18). This is to be connected with the last military campaign into the Byzantine empire conducted from Raqqa, which resulted in the conquest of the city of 'Ammūriyya/Amorium in 223/838. From there, the caliph carried off the famous iron doors to his newly-founded capital of Sāmarrā', to be set up at the main entrance, the Bāb al-Āmma, of his residential palace, then under construction.

Instead of utilising the palace city of al-Rashīd, new structures were built up on top of the suburb between the sister cities; soundings conducted by the Syrian Service of Antiquities (1953 and 1969) have revealed stucco decorations in the bevelled style of Sāmarrā' from the mid-3rd/9th century. About the same time also, the prayer-niche of the Great Mosque at al-Rāfiqa received a new stucco decoration with similar features. A series of stone capitals, now scattered to many museum collections, featuring the characteristic slant cut and related ornamental patterns, bear witness to continuous building activities.

Though the size of the inhabited area became drastically diminished, the city of Raqqa remained the only real antipode to Baghdad. Therefore, it was the obvious alternative for caliphs in exile or seeking refuge, as it was the case with al-Musta'in in 251/865, al-Mu'tamid in 269/882, al-Mu'taḍid in 286/899 and 287/900, and finally with al-Muttaqī in 332–3/944, as recorded by al-Ṭabarī and other historians. But the fame of the city at that period did not result from political might or artistic achievements but from the scholars living and teaching at Raqqa, for instance the famous astronomer Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Battānī (d. 317/929), or Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qushayrī (d. 334/945), the author of a *Ta'rikh al-Raqqa* (ed. Ṭāhir al-Na'sānī, Ḥamā 1959).

## V. THE FIRST PERIOD OF DECLINE

The decline of the administration of the 'Abbasid caliphate affected also Raqqa. Since the conquest by the Ḥamdānids in 330/942, the urban centre on the Euphrates was contested between the rulers of Mosul and Aleppo, as being the gate for supremacy in northern Mesopotamia. The founder of the Aleppo branch of the Ḥamdānid dynasty, Sayf al-Dawla 'Alī (333–356/945–967), is blamed by Ibn Ḥawqal and Ibn Shaddād for the devastation of the Jazīra and the former capital Raqqa. Political instability caused, for instance, the destruction by fire of part of Raqqa/Nikephorion in 332/944, resulting in a gradual depopulation of the initial urban settlement. The dismantling in 353/964 of the iron doors from an entrance gate to the city is another proof for a marked reduction of the population (on the history of this period in general, see M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, i, Algiers-Paris 1951). This development is also mirrored by the Umayyad Great Mosque, which, according to the position of the minaret in the interior courtyard, only remained in use with part of the initial prayer hall.

After the Ḥamdānids there followed a century of turmoil, when the governorship of Raqqa was fought over by the Arab tribal dynasties of the Numayrīds, the Mirdāsids and the 'Uqaylids (described in great detail by Ibn Shaddād). Nothing is attested as having been added to the urban fabric; on the contrary, the shrinking population retreated increasingly from the initial city Raqqa to the 'Abbasid foundation of

al-Rāfiqa, which according to Yāqūt, followed by al-Dimashqī, eventually also took over the name of the sister city.

#### VI. THE REVIVAL OF RAQQA IN THE ZANGID AND AYYUBID PERIODS

The fate of the city only changed with the appearance of the Zangids in the region (on the history of that period, see C. Alptekin, *The reign of Zangī (521–541/1127–1146)*, Erzurum 1978). Conquered by ʿImād Dīn Zangī in 529/1135, Raqqa was soon to regain importance, as attested by building activities. When Zangī was murdered in 541/1146 whilst besieging Qalʿat Jaʿbar further up the Euphrates, he was first buried at Šifīn, but soon afterwards his corpse was transferred to a domed mausoleum constructed for this purpose in the Mashhad quarter of Raqqa. Following the death of Zangī, his *wazīr* Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Isfahānī organised from Raqqa the succession of Zangī's son, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd (N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn*, Damascus 1967, 390–2). In this connection a palace is mentioned, which may eventually be identified with the Qaṣr al-Banāt (Fig. 78), a ruined structure from that period. Ibn Shaddād in addition also mentions a *khānqāh* of the same patron, as well as another commissioned by Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, together with a hospital (*bīmāristān*) and two *madrasas*, one for Shāfiʿīs and the other for Ḥanafīs, presumably all erected by or in the time of the same ruler. Most indicative for the reactivation of the city during this period is the ʿAbbasid Great Mosque of al-Rāfiqa, which already attracted minor construction and decoration activities in 541/1146–7 and 553/1158, as recorded on re-used inscription fragments (photographed by Gertrude L. Bell in 1909) and on newly-discovered inscription panels (excavated in 1986, now on display at the Raqqa Museum). The surviving parts of the mosque, the façade or the *qibla riwāq* and the cylindrical minaret (Fig. 73), are due to the reconstruction programme of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd, completed in 561/1165–6. The reduced size of the reactivated mosque, limited to the former prayer hall, mirrors the comparatively modest population of the town, which only occupied the eastern half of the ʿAbbasid city, where evidently most of the lost other religious buildings mentioned were also located. As the main entrance to the medi-

aeval city, there functioned the Bāb Baghdād at the southeast corner of the ʿAbbasid city walls, according to the brick decoration erected at this time (Fig. 77) (re-dated by J. Warren, in *Art and Archaeology Research Papers*, xiii [1978], 22–3; and R. Hillenbrand, in *The art of Syria and the Jazīra 1100–1250*, ed. J. Raby, Oxford 1985, 27–36).

With the conquest by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in 578/1182, the city passed into the control of the Ayyubids. As one of the chief towns of the principality of Diyār Muḍar, Raqqa was especially favoured by the Ayyubid prince al-Malik al-ʿĀdil Abū Bakr, who took up residence at the city between 597/1201 and 625/1128. He is attested to have constructed palaces and bath complexes, and laid out many gardens with extensive plantations. Of these Ayyubid additions to the town, nothing has survived. But in this period, Raqqa emerged as a major production centre for glazed ceramics of high artistic perfection, which were exported widely. Most frequent among these are figural or vegetal designs in black under a transparent turquoise glaze, but other variations with lustre on turquoise glaze, but other variations with lustre on turquoise and purple glazes, or coloured designs, including red, under a colourless glaze, are also recorded (see V. Porter, *Medieval Syrian pottery (Raqqa ware)*, Oxford 1981). The pottery workshops were located in the immediate vicinity of the urban settlement, even partly within the ʿAbbasid city walls to the south of the Great Mosque.

The Ayyubids successfully repulsed occasional attacks on the city by the Saljuqs of Anatolia and the Khwārazmians, but finally had to yield to the Mongol forces, who invaded northern Mesopotamia in 657/1259 (on the history of that period, see R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols*, Albany 1977). Urban settlement at Diyār Muḍar ceased in the early years of the Mamluk era, when in 663/1265 all the fortified cities on the middle Euphrates were destroyed for tactical reasons, including Raqqa (L. Ilisch, *Geschichte der Artuqidenherrschaft von Mardin zwischen Mamluken und Mongolen 1260–1410 A.D.*, Münster 1984, 51–2).

#### VII. THE OTTOMAN AND MODERN PERIODS

Throughout the Mamluk period, Raqqa remained practically deserted, as certified by Abu ʿl-Fidaʾ. Only

after the Syrian campaign of the Ottoman sultan Selīm I (918–26/1512–20), which resulted in the downfall of the entire Mamluk empire in 923/1517, was it reactivated as a military outpost. In the time of sultan Süleymān II Qānūnī (926–74/1520–66), Raqqa was the nominal capital of a province of the Ottoman empire, probably in memory of its past glory. A building inscription commemorating the restoration of a castle and a sacred building (*haram*) by Sultan Süleymān b. Selīm Khān remains the only testimony to this limited reactivation as a military and administrative centre (originally located at the Mausoleum of Uways al-Qaranī, now on display in the archaeological museum of the modern city). Due to destruction by Türkmen and Kurdish tribes, the governorship was transferred to the city of al-Ruhā/Urfā ca. 135 km/84 miles further north (according to Ewliyā Chelebi, *Seyāhat-nāme*). On the visit of Ewliyā Chelebi in winter 1059/1649, the place was deserted following recent raids, though the ruins of the glorious past and formerly-irrigated gardens still remained visible.

The site was only repopulated in the late 19th century, when the Turkish government settled there a group of Circassians in order to police the region. Initially a village of only a few houses near the southwest corner of the ‘Abbasid city, the population grew slowly but steadily, counting somewhat less than 5,000 inhabitants by the middle of the 20th century. Since then, due to the agricultural revival of the region, the settlement has reached a population of nearly 90,000 inhabitants in 1981. Now the capital of a province administered by a governor, and an active commercial and industrial centre, the city has reached a size larger than ever in its history, consequently submerging most of the historic fabric (See map at Fig. 80). This in turn has motivated an extensive programme of archaeological research and architectural conservation for the monuments from the Islamic past.

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RAY, in Arabic script al-Rayy, the ancient Raghā, classical Rhagae, a city of northern Persia which flourished in pre-Islamic times and post-Islamic ones up to the Mongol invasions of the 7th/13th century. Its ruins can be seen some 9 km/5 miles to the south-south-east of central modern Tehran, to the south of a spur projecting from Elburz into the plain. The village and sanctuary of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm lie immediately south of the ruins. The geographical importance of the town lies in the fact that it was situated in the fertile zone which lies between the mountains and the desert, by which from time immemorial communication has taken place between the west and east of Persia. Several roads from Māzandarān and the Caspian shores converge on Rayy on the north side.

## I. HISTORY

1. *The pre-Islamic period*

Raghā is mentioned in the Avesta as a sacred place created by Ahura Mazda, and in the Old Persian Behistun inscription it appears as a province of Media. It is also mentioned in the Apocrypha; thus in Tobit i. 14, Tobit send his son Tobias from Nineveh to recover the silver deposited at Raghā with Gabael, brother of Gabrias, and in Judith i. 15, the plain on which Nebuchadnezzar defeated the king of Media Arphaxad is placed near Ragau (if this is indeed Raghā).

Alexander the Great passed by Rhagae in the summer of 330 B.C. Seleucus Nicator (312–280 B.C.) rebuilt Rhagae under the name of Eurōpos (in memory of his native town in Macedonia) and settled the region with Macedonians. After the coming of the Parthians the town was renamed Arsakia. It is, however, possible that all these towns, although situated in the same locality, occupied slightly different sites for they are mentioned side by side in the authorities. Rawlinson placed Eurōpos at Warāmīn. The Greek popular etymologies which explain the name Raghā as alluding to earthquakes seem to reflect the frequency of this phenomenon in this region so close to Damāwand.

In the Sasanid period, Yazdagird III in 641 issued from Ray his last appeal to the nation before fleeing to Khurasan. The sanctuary of Bībī Shahr-Bānū situated on the south face of the already mentioned spur and accessible only to women is associated with the memory of the daughter of Yazdagird who, according to tradition, became the wife of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī. In the years A.D. 486, 499, 553, Ray is mentioned as the see of bishops of the Eastern Syrian church.

2. *The Arab conquest*

The year of the conquest is variously given (18–24/639–44), and it is possible that the Arab power was consolidated gradually. As late as 25/646 a rebellion was suppressed in Ray by Sa’d b. Abī Waqqāṣ. The Arabs seem to have profited by the dissensions among the noble Persian families. Ray was the fief of the Mihrān family and, in consequence of the resistance of Siyāwakhsh b. Mihrān b. Bahrām Chūbīn, Nu’aym b. Muqarrin had the old town destroyed and ordered Farrukhān b. Zaynabī (Zaynādī?) b. Qūla to

build a new town. In 71/690, again, a king of the family of Farrukhān is mentioned alongside of the Arab governor.

The passing of power from the Umayyads to the ‘Abbasids took place at Ray without incident but in 136/753 the “Khurramī” Sunbadh, one of Abū Muslim’s stalwarts, seized the town for a short time. The new era for Ray began with the appointment of the heir to the throne Muḥammad al-Mahdī to the governorship of the east (141–52/758–68). He rebuilt Ray under the name of Muḥammadiyya and surrounded it by a ditch. The suburb of Mahdī-ābādh was built for those of the inhabitants who had to give up their property in the old town. Hārūn al-Rashīd, son of al-Mahdī, was born in Ray and used often to recall with pleasure his native town and its principal street. In 195/810 al-Ma’mūn’s general Ṭāhir b. Ḥusayn won a victory over al-Amīn’s troops near Ray. In 250/865 the struggle began in Ray between the Zaydī ‘Alids of Ṭabaristān and first the Tahirids and later the caliph’s Turkish generals. It was not till 272/885 that Edgū-tegin of Qazvin took the town from the ‘Alids. In 261/894 the caliph al-Mu’tamid, wishing to consolidate his position, appointed to Ray his son, the future caliph al-Muktafi. Soon afterwards, the Samanids began to interfere in Ray. Ismā’īl b. Aḥmad seized Ray in 289/912, and the fait accompli was confirmed by the caliph al-Muktafi. In 296/909 Aḥmad b. Ismā’īl received investiture from al-Muqtadir in Ray.

In the 4th/10th century, Ray is described in detail in the works of the contemporary Arab geographers. In spite of the interest which Baghdad displayed in Ray, the number of Arabs there was insignificant, and the population consisted of Persians of all classes (*akhlāt*; al-Ya’qūbī, *Buldān*). Among the products of Ray, Ibn al-Faḥr mentions silks and other stuffs, articles of wood and “lustre dishes”, an interesting detail in view of the celebrity enjoyed by the ceramics “of Rhages”. All writers emphasise the very great importance of Ray as a commercial centre. According to al-Iṣṭakhrī, the town covered an area of 1½ by 1½ *fārsakhs*, the buildings were of clay (*ṭīn*) but the use of bricks and plaster (*jīss* = *gach*) was also known. The town had five great gates and eight large bazaars. Al-Maḥdī calls Ray one of the glories of the lands of Islam, and among other things mentions its library in the Rūdhā quarter which was watered by the Sūrḡānī canal.

### 3. *The Daylamī period*

In 304/916 the lord of Azerbaijan Yūsuf b. Abi 'l-Sāj occupied Ray, out of which he drove the Daylamī Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ṣu'lūk who represented the Sāmānid Naṣr. This occupation, commemorated in coins struck by Yūsuf at Muḥammadiyya (see Miles, *The numismatic history of Rayy*, 140–2), was the beginning of a troubled period. Ray passed successively into the hands of the Daylamī 'Alī b. Wahsūdhān, Waṣīf Bektimūrī, the Daylamī Aḥmad b. 'Alī and of Muflīh, slave of Yūsuf (in 313/925). Lastly, the Samanids, encouraged by the caliph, succeeded in bringing Ray again within their sphere of influence but soon their general Asfār (a Daylamī) became independent in Ray. In 318/930 Asfār was killed by his lieutenant Mardāwīj (a native of Gīlān and one of the founders of the Ziyārid dynasty who took over his master's lands (Cl. Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, in *Méms. Acad. Inscr. et Belles-Lettres*, xlii [1922], 363 [= 11]).

After the assassination of Mardāwīj (323/925), the Buyids established themselves in Ray, which became the fief of the branch of Rukn al-Dawla which persisted there for about 100 years. In 390/1000 the last Samanid al-Muntaṣir made an attempt to seize Ray but failed. In 420/1027 the Buyid Majd al-Dawla was ill-advised enough to invoke against the Daylamīs the help of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, who seized his lands (cf. Muḥammad Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sultān Maḥmūd*, Cambridge 1931, 80–5; C.E. Bosworth, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, 176–7). The brief rule of the Ghaznavids was marked by acts of obscurantism, like the destruction of books on philosophy and astrology and the atrocious persecutions of the Qarmaṭians and Mu'tazilīs.

### 4. *The Saljuqs*

The Ghuzz laid Ray waste in 427/1035, and in 434/1042 the town, where Majd al-Dawla still held out in the fort of Ṭabarak, fell into the power of the Saljuqs and became one of their principal cities. The last Buyid, al-Malik al-Raḥīm, died a prisoner in Ṭabarak in 450/1058 (or in 455/1063; cf. H. Bowen, in *JRAS* [1929], 238) and the new lord Ṭoghrīl Beg also died at Ray in 455/1063. Henceforth, Ray is constantly mentioned in connection with events relating to the Great Saljuqs and their branch in Jibāl or Persian Iraq.

From the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Mas'ūd (529–547/1133–52), Ray was ruled by the *amīr* Inanj whose daughter Inanj Khātūn became the wife of Pahlawān, son of the famous Atabeg of Azerbaijan, Ildegiz. When the latter put on the throne as sultan Arslān Shāh (whose mother he had married), Inanj opposed this nomination but was defeated in 555/1160. Inanj withdrew to Bistām, but with the help of the Khwārazm Shāh II Arslān reoccupied Ray. He was finally murdered at the instigation of Ildegiz, who gave Ray as a fief to Pahlawān. Later, the town passed to Qutlugh Inanj b. Pahlawān who, like his maternal grandfather, brought about the intervention of the Khwārazm Shāh Tekish in the affairs of Persia (588/1192). Two years later, in a battle near Ray, the last Saljuq Ṭoghrīl III was killed by Qutlugh Inanj but the country remained with the Khwārazmians. In 614/1217 the Salghurid Ataheg of Fārs Sa'd b. Zangī succeeded in occupying Ray, but was almost immediately driven out by the Khwārazm Shāh Jalāl al-Dīn.

### 5. *Religious and civil strife*

Al-Maqdisī mentions the dissensions (*'aṣabiyyāt*) among the people of Ray in matters of religion. Under 582/1186–7, Ibn al-Athīr records the damage done in Ray in the civil war between Sunnīs and Shi'ites; the inhabitants were killed or scattered and the town left in ruins. Yāqūt, who, fleeing before the Mongols, went through Ray in 617/1220, gives the results of his enquiry about the three parties, the Ḥanafīs, the Shāfi'īs, and the Shi'ites, of which the two first began by wiping out the Shi'ites who formed half the population of the town and the majority in the country. Later, the Shāfi'īs triumphed over the Ḥanafīs. The result was that there only survived in Ray the Shāfi'ī quarter which was the smallest. Yāqūt describes the underground houses at Ray and the dark streets difficult of access which reflected the care of the inhabitants to protect themselves against enemies.

### 6. *The Mongols*

The Mongols who occupied Ray after Yāqūt's visit dealt it the final blow. Ibn al-Athīr goes so far as to say that all the population was massacred by the Mongols in 617/1220 and the survivors put to death in

621/1224. It is, however, possible that the historian, echoing the panic which seized the Muslim world, exaggerates the extent of the destruction. Juwaynī, tr. Boyle, i, 147, only says that the Mongol leaders put many people to death at Khwār Ray (in the country inhabited by Shi'ites?) but in Ray they were met by the (Shāfi'ī?) *qādī* who submitted to the invaders (*il shud*), after which the latter passed on. Rashīd al-Dīn admits that the Mongols under Jebe and Sübetey killed and plundered (*kushish wa-ghārat*) at "Ray", but he seems to make a distinction between Ray and Qum, in which the inhabitants were completely (*ba-kullī*) massacred.

The fact that life was not completely extinguished at Ray is evident from the dates of pottery which apparently continued to be made in Ray (cf. R. Guest, *A dated Rayy bowl*, in *Burlington Magazine* [1931], 134–5: the painted bowl bears the date 640/1243). The citadel of Ṭabarak was rebuilt under Ghazan Khān (1295–1304) but certain economic reasons (irrigation?) if not political and religious reasons, must have been against the restoration of Ray, and the centre of the new administrative Mongol division (the *tumān* of Ray) became Warāmīn (cf. Mustawfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 55). After the end of the Il-Khanids, Ray fell to the sphere of influence of Tughā Tīmūr of Āstarābād. In 1384, Tīmūr's troops occupied Ray without striking a blow but this must mean the district and not the town of Ray, for the Spanish diplomatic envoy Clavijo, who passed through this country in 1404, confirms that Ray (*Xahariprey* = *Shahr-i Rayy*) was no longer inhabited (*agora deshabitada*). No importance is to be attached to the mention of sic, "Ray" in the time of Shāh Rukh (*Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, under the year 841/1437), or of Shāh Isma'īl, in Khwāndamīr's *Habīb al-siyar*.

## II. ARCHAEOLOGY AND MONUMENTS

Olivier in 1797 sought the ruins of Ray in vain and, it was Truillier and Gardane who first discovered them. The earliest descriptions are by J. Morier, Ker Porter and Sir W. Ouseley. The first has preserved for us a sketch of a Sasanid bas-relief which was later replaced by a sculpture of Faṭḥ Alī Shāh. The description, and particularly the plan by Ker Porter (reproduced in Sarre and A.V.W. Jackson, *Persia*), are still of value because since his time the needs of agriculture and unsystematic digging have destroyed

the walls and confused the strata. Large numbers of objects of archaeological interest, and particularly the celebrated pottery covered with paintings, have flooded the European and American markets as a result of the activity of the dealers. Scientific investigation was begun by the Joint Expedition to Ray of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, in 1934 (cf. *The Illustrated London News* [22 June 1935], 1122–3; E.F. Schmidt, *The Persian expedition [Rayy]*, in *Bulletin of the University Museum*, Philadelphia, v [1935], 41–9, cf. 25–7), and was continued by Chahryar Adle from 1974 onwards. In the citadel hill, Dr. Erich Schmidt found a great variety of pottery and the remains of buildings among which the most interesting are the foundations of al-Mahdī's mosque.

In an interesting passage, al-Maqdisī, 210, speaks of the high domes which the Buyids built over their tombs. The remains of three tomb towers are still visible at Ray, including a twelve-sided one whose site accords with two buildings of the Buyid period mentioned in Niẓām al-Mulk's *Siyāsāt-nāma*, ed. Darke, 211, tr. *idem*<sup>2</sup>, 167, sc. a *dakhma* or Tower of Silence built by a Zoroastrian at Ṭabarak, later called the *ḍida-yi sipāhsālārān* "vantage-point of the commanders", and the nearby "dome (*gunbadh*) of Fakhr al-Dawla", presumably the Buyid *amīr*'s tomb and also the so-called "Tomb of Toghri'l", which had an iron plate on it with the date Rajab 534/March 1140 (see on this last, G.C. Miles, in *Ars Orientalis*, vi [1966], 45–6, and on the towers in general, R. Hillenbrand, *The tomb towers of Iran to 1550*, diss. Oxford University 1974, unpubl., ii, 68–9, 73–5, 82–8). A further tomb tower, circular in plan and probably originally having a conical cap like the Gunbadh-i Qābūs in Gurgān, was photographed by Curzon in 1890 (see his *Persia and the Persian question*, i, 351) but destroyed in ca. 1895 for use as building materials (the fate of so many of the buildings of Ray in the 19th and early 20th centuries); its Kufic inscription band probably bore the date 466/1073 or, less likely, 476/1083–4 (see Chahryar Adle, *Notes préliminaires sur la tour disparue de Ray (466/1073–74)*, in *Memorial vol. of the VIth Internat. Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology, Oxford, September 11–16th 1972*, Tehran 1976, 1–12). The remains of several subterranean tombs and of what were above-ground tomb structures have also been discovered, see Adle, *Constructions funéraires à Ray circa X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus*



*Iran, Ergänzungsband 6*, Berlin 1979 (= *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für Iranische Kunst und Archäologie, München 7.–10. September 1976*), 511–15.

The hill of Ṭabarak on which was the citadel (destroyed in 588/1192 by the Saljuq sultan Ṭoḡhril III) was, according to Yāqūt, situated to “the right” of the Khurasan road, while the high mountain was to “the left” of this road. Ṭabarak therefore must have been on the top of the hill opposite the great spur (hill *G* in Ker Porter’s plan: “fortress finely built of stone and on the summit of an immense rock which commands the open country to the south”); cf. the map in A.F. Stahl, *Die Umgegend von Teheran*, in *Petermanns Mitteilungen* (1900).

Finally, one should note that a considerable number of silk fragments from the Buyid period, many of them with inscriptions on them, have ostensibly been found at Ray, although not in a controlled archaeological context; their authenticity accordingly remains disputed, see Dorothy F. Shepherd, *Medieval Persian silks in fact and fancy*, in *Bull. de Liaison du Centre International d’Etude des Textiles Anciens*, no. 39–40, Lyons 1974.

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**RIYADH**, in Arabic al-Riyāḍ, literally “the gardens,” from the fertile spots possible there because of underground springs and irrigation constructions. It lies in lat. 24° 39' N., long. 46° 46' E. Only since the early 19th century, with the rise of the Su‘ūdī/Saudi royal family, has it come into prominence, being since 1932 the capital of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia and its largest city.

#### I. GEOGRAPHY

Riyadh is situated in the centre of the Arabian peninsula, in the region of Najd, at 453 km/280 miles from Baḥrayn on the Gulf coast and 1,061 km/660 miles from Judda or Jeddah on the Red Sea coast. The actual site is on a plateau with an average height of 600 m/1,968 ft. made up of sedimentary deposits, mainly calcareous, and of the Jurassic period. This plateau is intersected by valleys with scarped edges, notably that of the Wādī Ḥanīfa to the west, which forms a natural boundary to the region as a whole. A shallower valley, that of the Wādī Baṭṭha, running north-south, has determined the communications layout of the city centre before being covered over and transformed into a main road. To the east, the topography becomes more broken and rocky hillocks hinder the growth of urbanisation. Like all Najd, Riyadh suffers from a hot desert climate: irregular rainfall, but less than 100 m per annum, average temperatures of 35° C in summer and 11° in winter, very low atmospheric humidity and a liability to violent winds, raising sand storms, which pose serious problems for traffic and the upkeep of public spaces.

#### II. HISTORY

The existence of underground water channels in the alluvial subsoil of the Wādīs Ḥanīfa and Baṭṭha allowed, well before the coming of Islam, the development of small human settlements, associated with date palm groves. The most notable seems to have been Hajar, an oasis and market mentioned by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ca. 732/1332 as a place of gardens and vegetation.

But it was only in the 12th/18th century that the name of Riyadh appears in history with the decline of Hajar, ruined by local conflicts. The town of

al-Dir'iyya was seized by the Āl Su'ūd in 1187/1773 and chosen by them as their capital, as also once again after a period of eclipse in *ca.* 1238/1823 by Turkī b. 'Abd Allāh Ibn Su'ūd, the restorer of Su'ūdī power, who incorporated the Kharj region in the newly-reconstituted state. The Āl Su'ūd were thus able after this to resist incursions launched against them from the Hījāz by the Egyptians, at the instigation of the Ottomans, in the 1840s. The dissensions after the death of Fayṣal b. Turkī in 1282/1865 ended in the conquest of Riyadh by the Āl Rashīd of Hā'il. The ensuing period of instability, characterised by revalries and conflicts between the "Turks" (in fact, the Egyptians), the Wahhābīs and the tribes, finally resulted in the recovery of Riyadh from its Rashīdī governor by 'Abd 'Azīz b. Su'ūd b. Fayṣal in 1319/1902. After the submission of the Āl Rashīd and the reconquest of al-Ḥasā in 1913, but above all with 'Abd al-'Azīz's entry into Mecca on 13 December 1924, the Su'ūdī state as then constituted comprised three-quarters of the peninsula. From then onwards, the evolution of Riyadh has been indissolubly linked with the political decision-making of the reigning dynasty and the decisions made to maximise the prodigious subterranean resources of the kingdom.

### III. CONTEMPORARY DEVELOPMENTS

With a population of less than 30,000 in 1929, even in 1949 Riyadh was only a modest-sized town within fortified walls. In this year, the walls were demolished and the town grew to 83,000 people spread over 5 km<sup>2</sup>. A continuous pattern of growth, strengthened by strong immigration currents, made the population pass the million point during the 1970s, to reach an estimated 4.26 million in 2006. At the same time, the surface extension of the agglomeration has reached around 600 km<sup>2</sup> today, whilst the development plan envisages an area of 1,781 km<sup>2</sup> including, at the present time, vast land reserves.

This exceptional growth has taken place in parallel with the creation of a diversified base of various functions, generating numerous jobs. The industrial sector represents 20% of those employed, and the main zones of activity, whether public or private, lie on the eastern and southern peripheries of the city. But Riyadh has become above all a city of service

enterprises, which has progressively concentrated, to the detriment of Jeddah, all the centres of decision making, whether political or economic and financial, at the same time as it has been acquiring hospitals, as well as financial and university institutions, destined to exert an influence over the Arabic and Islamic world.

### IV. URBAN PLANNING

After a period of uncontrolled urbanisation, the Su'ūdī authorities have opted for a highly-planned development of their metropolis. This is based on the Doxiadis Plan of 1968, actually put into practice in 1978 by SCET Inter, and contains all the main options for development to be realised in the following decades. These include: an extensive network of expressways which will complete a beltway around the city in order to assist traffic circulation, vital for a highly motorised population (600,000 private cars) which lives mainly in individual habitations. Furthermore, a general application of zoning has brought about the building of university complexes around the periphery, including an Islamic University and the King Su'ūd University, as also a diplomatic quarter which includes all the diplomatic representatives and the royal and governmental quarter or KCOMMAS. On the southeastern periphery is likewise situated the extensive housing development of 'Urayja.

In distinction from other Arab capital cities, Riyadh has no historic centre and only a few preserved buildings bear witness to the former architectural traditions of Najd.

### V. THE URBAN STRUCTURE

The administration of Riyadh is under the shared responsibility of the state and of a municipal administration, set up in 1936, whose powers were much increased in 1977. In 1951, Riyadh was linked to Dammām by a railway, but air travel remains the most used method of communications; the airport opened in 1952 to the north of the city, now judged inadequate, has been replaced since the 1980s by the King Khālid Airport which covers an area of 225 km<sup>2</sup>. But the main preoccupation of the administration is the permanent challenge of a desert environment, against which it is setting up a double response:

the systematic provision of green spaces for the whole agglomeration and an abundant provision of water. In order to satisfy a daily consumption of around 400 litres per head, the underground water levels of the region have been tapped and these resources are supplemented by the bringing in of desalinated water, whilst a growing proportion of the water used is being recycled for watering the numerous parks and gardens.

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# S

**SAMARQAND**, one of the most ancient cities of Central Asia, situated in lat 39° 40' N., long. 66° 58' E., at an altitude of 710 m/2,330 feet on the southern bank of the Zarafshān river, the Nahr al-Ṣughd of the early Islamic geographers. In early Islamic times it was the first city of Transoxania, even when, as under the Samanids, Bukhara was the administrative capital, Samarqand flourished from its position at the intersection of trade routes from India and Afghanistan via Balkh and Tirmidh, and from Persia eastwards to Merv, and these routes then continued eastwards as the Silk route to Eastern Turkestan and China; but above all, it benefited from the great fertility of the highly-irrigated Zarafshān valley, which could support a dense agricultural population (see Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*<sup>3</sup>, London 1968, 83 ff.). It is now within the Uzbekistan Republic (see below).

## I. HISTORY

In Antiquity, it was Maracanda (the second part of the name being Eastern Iranian *kand* “town,” frequent in Eastern Iranian place names), the capital of Sogdiana, captured and razed to the ground by Alexander the Great in 329 B.C. (Arabic legend made the Tubba‘ king of Yemen, Shamir Yur‘ish, the founder). Subsequently, it came within the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom, historically and politically separate from the rest of the Persian lands, and was exposed to attacks from the nomadic peoples of the Inner Asian steppes, although commercial and cultural contacts with the lands further west continued (see Pauly-Wissowa, xiv/2, art. *Marakanda*, cols. 1421–2).

Little specific information on Samarqand is available for these centuries. The only positive material about Samarqand at this time is given by Chinese imperial historians and travellers. From the Han period the kingdom of K’ang-Kü is mentioned, whose chief territory, K’ang, is identified in the T’ang Annals with Sa-mo-kian = Samarqand. According to the Annals of the Wei, compiled in A.D. 437, the Chau-wu dynasty related to the Yüe-chi (Kushans) had been reigning there since before the Christian era. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiüen-tsang visited Sa-mo-kian in A.D. 630 and briefly describes it.

The Muslim Arabs do not appear for certain in the affairs of Samarqand until the time of the governor of Khurasan Qutayba b. Muslim; the alleged tomb at Afrāsiyāb of the *Shāh-i Zīnda*, the Prophet Muḥammad’s cousin Qutham b. al-‘Abbās, who was supposed to have been in Samarqand in 56/676 (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 91–2), must have appeared later as part of a family cult inaugurated by the ‘Abbasids after they came to power in 132/750, possibly adapting a pre-Islamic cult on this site (see below, Section II, 1.). The Iranian ruler of Samarqand at the time of Qutayba was Ṭarkhūn (probably a title rather than a personal name; for this very old title amongst the Turks of Inner Asia, possibly of Chinese origin, see R.N. Frye, *Ṭarxūn-Ṭürxūn and Central Asian history*, in *HJAS*, xiv [1951], 110–11; C.E. Bosworth and Sir Gerard Clauson, *Al-Xiwārazmī on the peoples of Central Asia*, in *JRAS* [1975], 11–12), called *malik Ṣughd* or *malik Samarqand* in the Arabic historical sources, and first mentioned in 85/704 in warfare with Qutayba at Bukhara. In 91/710 Qutayba sent his brother ‘Abd al-Raḥmān to Samarqand in order to collect

tribute, which Tarkhūn paid; but the anti-Arab party in the city then deposed the latter, who was either killed or committed suicide. There replaced him another Sogdian prince, Ghūrak, who ruled in Samarqand for some 27 years until his death in 119/737 or 120/738, with an Arab garrison in his city. Gradually, the Arabs consolidated their position in Sogdia, but Ghūrak's policy towards them oscillated between conciliation and attempts to call in aid from the Chinese Emperors as nominal suzerains over Central Asia or from the Turks. In 102/721 the Türgesh appeared in Sogdia under their leader Kūr-ṣul or Köl-chur; and in 110/728 Ghūrak joined in a general rising of the Soghdians, with Turkish help, against the Arabs, so that the Arabs in Transoxania were temporarily reduced to their garrisons at Samarqand and at Dabūsiyya. Not till the late 730s, with the strong measures of the governor Naṣr b. Sayyār, was Arab authority firmly established again (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 184–93; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 36, 42–8, 55, 60–1, 65 ff., 89–90).

Although Qutayba had built a mosque in Samarqand, the progress of Islamisation there, outside the Arab garrison, must have been slow. There were certainly adherents of many other faiths in the city at this time. In ca. 629 AD, the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang had found only two abandoned Buddhist monasteries there, and Buddhism had almost certainly disappeared a century or so later. But there was probably already a Nestorian Christian bishopric in Samarqand during the 6th century, and in the early 8th century, it was erected into a metropolitan see; at the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Clavijo (see below) still found many Christians in Samarqand, but the end of the community seems to have come within the reign of Ulugh Beg shortly afterwards, and nothing is thereafter heard of it (see B.R. Colless, *The Nestorian province of Samarqand*, in *Abr Nahrain*, xxiv [1986], 51–7). In the mid-4th/10th century, Ibn Ḥawqal described a Christian community (*umr*) with monastic cells, on the hill of Shāwdhār to the south of Samarqand, whose inhabitants included Christians from Iraq (Barthold, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel-Asien bis zur mongolischen Eroberung*, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 22 ff., 30–1). Not long after this time, the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, tr. 113, § 25.13, comm. 352, mentions a convent of the Manichaeans at Samarqand (*khānagāh-i Mānaviyan*) with adherents called *nigūshāk*

“auditores”, doubtless the Manichaeans who had fled from Iraq in fear of persecution during the time of al-Muqtadir.

In the early ‘Abbasid period, the Zarafshān valley was deeply affected during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158–69/775–85) by the Neo-Mazdakite movement of the “wearers of white” led by al-Muqanna‘, and the governor of Samarqand, Jibrā‘il b. Yahyā, helped to suppress the revolt in his area. Abū Muslim is said to have built the outer wall of the city, and Hārūn al-Rashīd to have restored it after it had fallen into decay. The rebel against the central government Rāfi‘ b. al-Layth began his outbreak in Samarqand in 190/806 by killing the governor there and seizing the city, holding it until he surrendered to al-Ma‘mūn in 193/809. It is also from the early ‘Abbasid period that we have the first Islamic coins issued from Samarqand, beginning with issues of 142–4/759–62 (E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 148–9).

At the command of al-Ma‘mūn, the governor of Khurasan Ghassān b. ‘Abbād in ca. 204/819 allotted to the four sons of Asad b. Sāmān Khudā various cities of Transoxania and eastern Khurasan as governorships, and Nūḥ received Samarqand. On his death in 227/842, the city eventually passed under the control of his brother Aḥmad (d. 250/864), whose copper *fulūs* were struck there from 244/858 onwards. With the collapse of Tahirid authority in Khurasan under Saffarid attacks, Naṣr b. Aḥmad found himself virtually independent ruler of Transoxania with his capital at Samarqand. However, his brother and eventual vanquisher Ismā‘īl, progenitor of all the future Samanid *amīrs*, made Bukhara the Samanid capital, although Samarqand remained over the following centuries the commercial centre of Transoxania.

It was, for a start, one of the principal markets for Turkish slaves brought from Inner Asia, and Ibn Ḥawqal states that slaves trained at Samarqand were the best of all from Transoxania. But one of its most famous products, exported all over the Islamic world, was paper, introduced thither by the Chinese artisans captured at the battle of Ṭalas in 133/751 (al-Tha‘alibī, *Laṭā‘if al-ma‘ārif*, ed. al-Abyārī and al-Ṣayrafī, 218, tr. Bosworth, *The Book of Curious and Entertaining Information*, Edinburgh 1968, 140). It was, moreover, a centre for scholarship. The great Ḥanafī theologian al-Māturīdī (d. ca. 333/944) stemmed from

the Māturīd quarter of Samarqand, his tomb in the city being still shown in the 9th/15th century, and another Ḥanafī theologian and Qurʾān commentator was Abu ʿl-Layth al-Samarqandī (d. towards the end of the 4th/10th century). Unfortunately, the local history written in Arabic by the famous theologian Abū Ḥafṣ ʿUmar b. Muḥammad al-Nasaʿī (d. 537/1142–3), the *Kitāb al-Qand fī maʿrifat ʿulamāʾ Samarqand*, which dealt with the shrines and graves of local scholars and also with some of the city's historical events, has come down to us only in an abridgement of a Persian translation (see Storey, i, 371; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 15–16).

It is to the heyday of the Samanids, the 4th/10th century, that the descriptions of Samarqand by the geographers al-Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, al-Maqdisī and the author of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* refer. They show that Samarqand had the typical tripartite formation of Iranian towns: a citadel (*kuhandiz*, arabicised *quhandiz* or translated *qalʿa*), the town proper (*sharistān*, *shāristān*, *madīna*) and suburbs (*rabad*). The three parts are here given in their order from south to north. The citadel lay south of the town on an elevated site; it contained the administrative offices (*dār al-imāra*) and the prison (*ḥabs*). The town itself, of which the houses were built of clay and wood, was also on a hill. A deep ditch (*khandaq*) had been dug around it to obtain the material for the surrounding earthen wall. The whole town was supplied with running water, which was brought from the south to the central square of the town called *Raʾs al-Ṭāq* by an aqueduct, a lead-covered artificial channel (or system of lead pipes?), running underground. It seems to have dated from the pre-Islamic period as its supervision, as is expressly stated, was in the hands of Zoroastrians, who were exempted from the poll-tax for this duty. This aqueduct made possible the irrigation of the extensive and luxurious gardens in the town. The town had four main gates; to the east, the *Bāb al-Šīn*, a memorial of the ancient connection with China due to the silk trade; to the north, the *Bāb Bukhārā*; to the west, the *Bāb al-Nawbahār*, which name, as in Bukhara and Balkh, points to a (Buddhist) monastery; and to the south, the *Bāb al-Kābīr* or *Bāb Kīshsh* (*bāb* stands for the Persian *darwāza*). The lower-lying suburbs adjoin the town, stretching towards the Zarafshān and surrounded by a wall with 8 gates. In them lay the majority of the bazaars, caravanserais and warehouses, which were rare in the city itself.

The government offices of the Samanids and the Friday mosque were in the city itself. See *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, loc. cit.; Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-maʿārif*, 217–19, tr. Bosworth, 140–1; ed. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 460, 463–6.

Samarqand was, together with Bukhara, occupied by the incoming Qarakhānids in 382/992, and with the defeat of the last Samanid, Ismāʿīl b. Nūḥ al-Muntaṣir, in 394/1004, passed definitively under Turkish control. In the second quarter of the 5th/11th century it became, under ʿAlī b. Hārūn Boghra Khān, called ʿAlitigin, and then under the parallel line of the descendants of the Ilig Naşr, the eventual capital of the western khānate of the Qarakhānids, covering Transoxania and western Farghāna. With such rulers as Shams al-Mulk Naşr b. Tamghach Khān Ibrāhīm, Samarqand became in the later 5th/11th century a splendid cultural and artistic centre. The city also became a regular mint centre for the Qarakhānids. But after the battle of the Qaṭwān Steppe in 536/1141, when the Saljuq sultan Sanjar and his vassal Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Khān were decisively defeated by the pagan Qara Khitay, Samarqand and Bukhara became the centre of a reduced Qarakhānid principality under Qara Khitay overlordship. It nevertheless continued to flourish commercially, and in ca. 1170 the Spanish Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela visited Samarqand and allegedly found there 50,000 Jews (M.N. Adler, *The itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, London 1907, 59). The last Qarakhānid in Samarqand, ʿUthmān Khān b. Ibrāhīm, was executed by the Khwārazm Shāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad in 608/1212, and the city occupied by the Khwārazmians. But shortly afterwards, the Mongols of Chingiz Khān reached Transoxania, and after conquering Bukhara in 616/1220, they arrived at Samarqand, the concentration-point for the Khwārazm Shāh's forces, in the spring of 617/1220. The city fell after a five days' siege (Rabʿ I 617/May 1220, or possibly Muḥarram 617/March 1220). After it had been devastated, some of the citizens were allowed by the Mongols to return after payment of a ransom of 200,000 dīnārs (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 411–14).

For the next century-and-a-half, Samarqand was only a shadow of its former self. The Taoist hermit Chʾang-chʾun (travelled in Western Asia 1221–4) states that there were 100,000 families in the city before the Mongol sacking, but only a quarter of

these remained in *Sie-mi-se-kan* after than (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, i, 76–9). In the mid-8th/4th century, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found the population much reduced, and the city ruinous and without a wall (*Rihla*, iii, 51–2, tr. Gibb, iii, 567–8).

The revival of the town's prosperity began when Tīmūr after about 771/1369 became supreme in Transoxania and chose Samarqand as the capital of his continually-increasing kingdom, and began to adorn it with all splendour. In 808/1405 the Spanish envoy Ruy Gonzales de Clavijo visited it in its new glory (Eng. tr. Le Strange, *Narrative of the Spanish embassy . . . 1403–1406*, London 1928). He gives Cimesquiente as the native name of the town, which he explains as *aldea gruesa* “large (lit. thick) village”; in this we have an echo of a Turkish corruption of the name of the town based on a popular etymology which connects it with *säemiz* “thick”. The Bavarian soldier Johann Schiltberger seems also to have been in Samarqand at this time (*Reisebuch*, Stuttgart 1885, 61, Eng. tr. J.B. Telfer, London 1879). Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449) embellished the city with his palace Chihil Sutūn and built his famous astronomical observatory there. A very full description of the city in Tīmūr's day, which may be justly described as classical, is given by the memoirs of Bābur (*Bābur-nāma*, Eng. tr. Beveridge, 74–86; Chaghatay (in translit.) and Persian ed. and tr. W.M. Thackston, Cambridge, Mass. 1993, 90 ff.), who captured Samarqand for the first time in 903/1497 and held it for some months. In 906/1500 it was occupied by his rival, the Özbek Shībānī Khān. After his death, Bābur, in alliance with Shībānī Khān's enemy, the Safavid Ismā'īl Shāh, succeeded in 916/1510 in once more victoriously invading Transoxania and occupying Samarqand, but by the next year he found himself forced to withdraw completely to his Indian kingdom and leave the field to the Özbeks. Under the latter, Samarqand was only the nominal capital and fell completely behind Bukhara.

During the 18th century, Samarqand fell into severe economic decline and in the middle years of that century was virtually uninhabited. However, when the extension of Russian Imperial power into Central Asia accelerated in the later 19th century, Samarqand was occupied by Russian troops under General K.P. Kaufmann in November 1868 and a treaty of vassalage imposed on the *amūr* of Bukhara, within whose territories Samarqand had fallen. The

city was now detached from Muẓaffār al-Dīn Khān's nominally independent khānate of Bukhara and became part of the directly-ruled Russian Governorate-General of Turkestan. After 1871 a new Russian town sprang up to the west of the old city, with a station on the Trans-Caspia to Tashkent railway. The great anti-Russian rebellion of Turkestan in 1916, when the Tsarist government attempted to conscript the non-Russian local populations for labour service, began in the Samarqand *oblast*. Under the Soviet régime, the *oblast* became one of those making up the Turkestan Autonomous SSR in 1918, and then in 1924, part of the Uzbek SSR, of which Samarqand was at first the capital but replaced by Tashkent in 1930. Since 1991 it has come within the Uzbekistan Republic. The modern city, an important centre for the processing of foodstuffs and for industry, had in 2004 an estimated population of 360,000.

## II. MONUMENTS

Archaeologists refer to the ruins of Samarqand as Afrāsiyāb after the destruction of the town by Chingiz Khān in 617/1220. A museum on the site preserves fragments of stucco ornament and ceramics. Thereafter, under Tīmūr and his successors, the earlier southern suburbs of the town became the new Samarqand with its striking ceramic revetment and typical modular architecture. The shrine of Qutham b. al-'Abbās known as the *Shāh-i Ẓinda* “the living prince”, had survived on the southern slopes of Afrāsiyāb. Recent excavations, particularly those directed by N.B. Nemtseva in 1962, have revealed the base of a 5th/11th-century minaret in the north-west corner of the shrine as well as an earlier mausoleum, the underground mosque and a semi-underground chamber, all reflected in the later renovations. The south-eastern corner of a *madrasa*, possibly a funerary construction, was excavated to the west and opposite the shrine, if a *wagf* of the Qarakhānīd Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr Tamghach Bughra Khān dated Rajab 458/June 1066 relates to it.

### 1. *The Shāh-i Ẓindā ensemble (see Fig. 81.)*

Cemeteries develop around shrines of holy men. Here mausolea are like scattered jewels with the shimmering of their blue-turquoise tile glazing enhanced with bichrome bands in white and black or turquoise. A series of tombs, with portal and domed

room, lines an ancient north-south alley, while the shrine itself stands at its top northern end. Its lower section, off-centred to the east, overrides the old walls of Afrāsiyāb. The two main 9th/15th century *chahār tāqs* emphasise the entrance to the shrine (CT1) and the lower southern monumental entrance (CT2) to the whole alley; a subsidiary one (CT3), late 18th century, stands at the top of steps. Its southern face (CT1) carries remains of ten-pointed star vertical panels in tile mosaic which include hexagonal terra cotta elements around the stars.

1. The shrine, entered through delicately carved wooden doors (806/1403–4), consists of (a) a mausoleum/*gūr-khāna*, (b) a *ziyārāt-khāna* (735/1334–5), (c) a *mašjid* (15th century), (d) a minaret (11th century), (e) an ambulatory/*miyān-khāna*. The original mausoleum with its tiled *muqarnas* and dome in blue and turquoise, was in (b). The *mašjid* stands over the older one, the *mihrāb* inscription in tile mosaic, quotes Surā II, 139.

2. At the southern end of the ensemble, the monumental entrance with *hazārbāf*, “a thousand weave” decoration, is dedicated to Ulugh Beg’s son, ‘Abd Azīz (838/1434–5), and leads into the *ṣāhār tāq* (CT2). On its west side, a doorway opens into a contemporary mosque. The east door leads into a later *madrasa* (1227/1812–13).

3. An excavated anonymous mausoleum, 7th/13th century.

4. The mausoleum of Khwāja Aḥmad (1350s) remains the only surviving building to recall the older east-west road of the ensemble; it is “The work of Faqr [b.] ‘Alī”, and a variety of deep moulded glazed tiles enhance the portal: a band of calligraphy in white against a turquoise scroll, a frame of underglaze black painted star tiles with a turquoise glaze and a *girikhi*, a “knot” decoration, in turquoise and unglazed terra cotta in the tympanum.

5. A mausoleum for an anonymous lady, earlier known as ‘Arab Shāh, perhaps one of Tīmūr’s first wives, Qutlugh Āqā (13 Šafar 762/12 December 1361). A restored plinth and two steps under the portal lead into the mausoleum. There are similar colour harmonies and moulded glazed tiles, inside and outside tiled *muqarnas*, as in 4.

6. a.b.c.d. Excavated mausolea dating to the 1360s.

7. The mausoleum of Shād-i Mulk Āqā (who died on 20 Jumādā II 773/29 December 1371) was built by her mother Turkān Āqā (died 785/1383), Tīmūr’s elder sister. The calligraphy of the portal in Arabic

refers to the building and the daughter, the Persian below the *muqarnas* praises the building. The Persian around the door frame mentions the “pearl” buried within. Three craftsmen have left their signatures, with unclear *nisbas*: Birr al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn and Zayn al-Dīn. Here is to be seen the best-preserved tile decoration of the ensemble. The restored portal over the entrance was originally higher. Eight frames arise from a plinth of three square ornate panels; they are hemmed in on either side by deeply carved turquoise engaged columns. Two of the frames are larger, with calligraphic and star patterns enclosed in a risen border. Underglazed painted tiles of irregular shapes, in delicate turquoise and white on blue, fill the spandrels with leafy lotuses around a raised roundel. These tiles are also used for the large frame inscription and around the four carved and glazed panels of the inner portal containing a lotus-filled *mihrāb* and an upper roundel. The *muqarnas* of the portal are echoed in those of the chamber, which measures about 42 m<sup>2</sup> and is all glazed with lotuses and leaves, small *girikhs* and *mihrābs*; large roundels almost fill the tiled wall panels, three aside. Eight black and white ribbed panels, each containing a “tear-drop” motif, meet at the apex of the inner dome in an eight-pointed star. A feeling of lightness emanates from the decoration despite its dense patterning.

8. Only the portal remains of the mausoleum of Amīr Husayn/Tughluq Tegīn, who died in 777/1376; he was one of Tīmūr’s generals. The vault goes back to the 6th/12th century.

9. The Amīr-zāde mausoleum, 788/1386, stands east of an earlier crypt and on the south side of 7. In a similar manner, two frames filled with turquoise moulded rosettes and calligraphic *haft rang* tiles, are enclosed in risen borders, the lower part being two *haft rang* tile panels. The slightly recessed entrance is three-quarters framed by a band of square tiles with moulded square Kufic (Muḥammad and ‘Alī) based on minute lozenges of terra cotta, possibly gold originally, with a red dot or glazed in blue with turquoise and blue infill; above it, a tympanum of hexagonal star-filled tiles encompasses two central panels in *haft rang* tiles. A ribbed inner single shell dome over a plain chamber over 38 m<sup>2</sup> was plastered in the 19th century.

10. An excavated mausoleum, late 8th/14th century.

11. The mausoleum is the work of Ustād ‘Ālim-i Nasafi in the 1380s, with turquoise glazed plugs in its south brick wall; there is no trace of the outer dome,



only a 16-sided drum of *hazārbāf* panels in black and turquoise. The ceramic programme is a mixture of old and new techniques and designs. The vertical panels of the portal strapwork recall the design on the base of the Jām minaret, Sūra CIX, 1; CXII; and CXIV, 2–3. The panels and stars within also contain glazed moulded Kufic inscriptions, mostly in white on a blue ground. Large floral *haft rang* tiles make up the inner panels and the corner engaged columns; yellow, pale green and light brown for red, now add to the general turquoise impression. A splendid turquoise *girikh* punctuates the border of the right outer wall. Rectangular panels filled with hexagonal tiles cover the walls of the shrine, and corner arches with *muqarnas* lead to a dome covered in strapwork *girikh* filled with the same hexagonal tiles, all of which create a suffused turquoise vision.

12. The mausoleum known as that of Ulugh Sulṭān Begum, was built in the 1380s over part of the 5th/11th century *madrasa*. A roofless portal survives with *lājward* (dark blue) tile panels, and framed and moulded turquoise glazed narrow *girikh* containing small *lājward* tiles. A combination of calligraphic tiles in gold and white against a leafy scroll survives on the front. The red cinnabar, now visible, was originally hidden by the gold leaf décor. The use of dark blue and gold, recalling Chinese textiles, appears here for the last time.

13. The mausoleum of “Amīr Burunduq”, dated to the end of 8th/14th century, adjoins the Tūmān Āqā complex to the south. Only the right side of the portal remains with its *hazārbāf* panel. Nine burials were found in the crypt, as well as some textiles.

14. “This is the tomb of the great and noble queen, Shīrīn Bika Āqā, daughter of Taraghay, 787[1385–6]”. Taraghay was the sister of Tīmūr. The mausoleum has the earliest double-shell dome with an outer bold *hazārbāf* pattern and remains of tile mosaic panels on the drum. The higher than usual portal, *ca.* 11 m, is decorated with a dense composition of calligraphic bands, arabesques and stylised flowers. Blue remains the dominant colour, with added turquoise and white, and a touch of light brown. The 36 m<sup>2</sup> in area mausoleum rises to a total height of about 18 m. The dado is tiled with hexagonal green tiles with gold cranes in flight inspired by contemporary Chinese textiles. The rest is painted plaster with elongated cartouches at the base of the sixteen-sided drum as in 19. The walls are divided into niche-shaped panels filled with vegetal or stylised leaf patterns.

15. The mausoleum with two *hazārbāf* walls and a tiled double dome *ca.* 15 m high, is attributed to Tūmān Āqā (808/1405–6); set next to the undated *masjid/khānaqāh* of Tūmān Āqā, it contains the tomb of Amīr Abū Saʿīd Maḥdī b. Ḥaydār dated 733/1332–3 or 833/1429–30. Tile mosaics decorate the three entrances with blue and some black ground. In the north entrance to the mosque, the ten-pointed star pattern meshes with a blue *girikh*. This *girikh* is lined in white, a well-known device of carpet designers when a motif requires enhancing. Other colours are green, light brown, turquoise and plain terra cotta. Intricate plaster *muqarnas* lead to the painted dome.

16. a.b.c.d.e. These excavated mausolea overlook the east-west road.

17. This octagonal mausoleum, with arch openings on all sides and crude *hazārbāf* décor, is dated to around 1440. It would have had a double dome. Remains of a plaster painted inscription can still be seen on the inside of the octagon (Sūra II, 256).

18. A 9th/15th-century excavated burial vault is sited west of 12.

19. The two turquoise tiled double-domed buildings of the so-called Qāḍī-zāde Rūmī mausoleum, built in the 1420s, stand out from afar with their larger part rising to 23 m. *Hazārbāf* patterns animate both drums, with a *ḥadīth* inscription on the larger one. More patterning would have covered the south portal. Chambers were excavated to the west and east. The zone of transition and dome of the tomb chamber, almost 10 m<sup>2</sup>, consist of elaborate plaster *muqarnas*; the crypt contained remains of a female in her mid-thirties. This is the only building in the ensemble with a feeling of space, partly due to unpatterned plain walls or dados of unglazed hexagonal tiles framed by blue glazed strips.

## 2. The mosque of Ḥaḍrat Khidr

Its name recalls the saint-protector of travellers and master of the water of life, Khidr. On the south slope of Afrāsiyāb, this summer mosque, with its wooden columns, overlooks the site of the Iron Gate and the road to Tashkent. Built in the 19th century with two small minarets and a squat dome on foundations going back to Sogdian times, it was restored in 1915 by ‘Abd al-Qādir Bakiev.

Little remains of the citadel in the western part of the town. It contained the usual administrative buildings, the treasury, the armoury, the Chihil Sutūn,

the Gök Saray, and the palace with the Gök Tash, a carved grey marble monolith which was used as a ceremonial throne.

Rūhābād, “The abode of the soul”, in mid-town. The shrine of Burhān Dīn Sagharjī was built in the late 8th/14th century over the tomb of the *shaykh*, whose body was brought back from China by his son Abū Saʿīd. The massive plain square tomb chamber is crowned by a dome on an octagonal zone of transition. Its dado consists of unglazed octagonal tiles separated by glazed black strips.

The mausoleum of Saray Mulk Khānum is late 8th/14th century and possibly part of a *madrasa*. Its vanished portal briefly rivalled that of Tīmūr’s Maṣjid-i Jāmi‘ 200 m away. The inner dome has gone; the semi-basement crypt in brick is cruciform like the main chamber. Despite its ruinous condition, a variety of tiles and paintings have survived.

The vast Maṣjid-i Jāmi‘ known as Bībī Khānum (801–8/1398–1405) was started on Tīmūr’s return from India; 95 elephants for the carrying of quarried stones were added to an immense task force. Its *ṣaḥn* measures 87 m by 63 m and the four L-shaped halls, with 480 columns, are linked by four portals, one of which, the entrance *pīshṭāq*, rises to 41 m. At the opposite end of the *ṣaḥn* stands the *miḥrāb* domed chamber; in India the two lateral minor domed chambers would have been extra gateways. Built too fast, with a minaret at all four corners, the mosque soon began to deteriorate and was superseded in the 11th/17th century by the Tilla Kārī mosque on the Rīgistān (see below). The 1897 earthquake hastened the collapse of the domes, but restoration work on a long-term basis was started in the 1970s.

Parts of the tile programme of the mosque were determined by its large size and recall that of the slightly earlier gateway to the Aq Saray in Shahr-i Sabz and the contemporary shrine of the Sufi saint Khwāja Aḥmad Yasawī in Turkestan. Large-scale *hazārbāf* patterns, with a dominant of turquoise, cover most parts of the surviving monument; six-sided *haft rang* tiles still fill the space of some spandrels, and complex tile shapes including twelve-sided ones, decorate part of the *miḥrāb* dome. The restored portal as well as the plinth and dados of the main entrance are of carved stone. After the earthquake of 1875, the monumental Qurʾān stand of carved marble was moved out into the *ṣaḥn*.

### 3. The *madrasa* and *khānaqāh* of Muḥammad Sulṭān and the Gūr-i Mīr

The remains of the *madrasa* and *khānaqāh*, on either side of a courtyard, were probably completed in 1401/803–4 by Muḥammad Sulṭān, Tīmūr’s favourite grandson. After his death in Anatolia in 805/1403, Tīmūr had an octagonal mausoleum built for his remains, on the south side, known as the Gūr-i Mīr “the World Master”. Its turquoise melon-shaped double dome soars to a height of 37 m. A gigantic Kufic inscription “God is eternal” runs round the drum. Tīmūr was buried here in 807/1405 as well as later Timurids. Ulugh Beg added an eastern gallery to the mausoleum in 827/1424. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Bannā’ al-Iṣfahānī signed a concluding portal in 837/1434. An unfinished 11th/17th-century *iwān* still stands on the west side. The last standing minaret collapsed in 1903.

The inner room of the mausoleum, about 100 m<sup>2</sup>, with its high cupola, has painted pendentives with gold leaf decoration; its dado, in onyx and further gaudy restoration in blue and gold, contrast with the dark nephrite of Tīmūr’s cenotaph. The stone was brought by Ulugh Beg from Inner Asia in 828/1425 and is inscribed with Tīmūr’s genealogy. This and other cenotaphs are surrounded by a delicately-carved marble railing. Six cenotaphs are echoed in the cruciform crypt by simpler tombstones similarly inscribed.

### 4. The Rīgistān

In the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries, six main roads converged towards this sandy area, a crossroads of cultural and commercial life. When Ulugh Beg reshaped the square, he erected a *khānaqāh*, a caravanserai and two mosques; only his *madrasa*, 56 m by 81 m, famous for its learned scholars, survives on the west side of the square with its *pīshṭāq* rising to 34.7 m. The mosque stands at the opposite end of its square courtyard with four corner domed halls; it is surrounded by a series of lesser *iwāns* each with two levels of cells. Only two of the four corner minarets have survived. Two inscriptions on the *pīshṭāq* and one on the portal of the mosque give dates between 820/1417 and 823/1421. Again, the *hazārbāf* decoration in turquoise and black covers the larger wall surfaces with details underlined in tile mosaics with or without unglazed geometric elements. The large

patterns of the *pishtāq* vary from enhanced square Kufic to bursting star motifs.

On the opposite side of the square, the master-builder ‘Abd al-Jabbār built the Shīr Dōr *madrasa* under Imām Qulī of the Jānids from 1028/1619 to 1045/1636. It is a feeble image of the Ulugh Beg *madrasa*, despite the lions in the spandrels of the entrance *pishtāq*, the melon-shaped domes and minarets on either side, and the lavish use of tile mosaics. The whole building, without a mosque, is slightly smaller than the Ulugh Beg *madrasa* although the imposing courtyard is bigger and allows two levels of blind arcades with rooms around it.

To its north-eastern side stands the hexagonal Chahār Su built with bricks from the Bibī Khānum mosque at the end of the 18th century under Murād Khān of Bukhara. This bazaar crossroads was famous for its hatmakers.

A short distance to the north-west of it has been re-sited in the 1880s the grey marble platform of the Shībānīd dynasty with 31 inscribed tombstones.

Between the two *madrasas* of the Rīgistān stands the Tilla-kārī “adorned with gold” *madrasa* (1056–70/1646–60). It is also a Jānid construction and combines the functions of a theological college and a *masjid-i jāmi‘*. The mosque on its west side replaced the crumbling Bibī Khānum. The recent and lavish restoration has included the rebuilding of a new turquoise dome over the *mihrah*.

##### 5. *The observatory of Ulugh Beg*

‘Abd Razzāq Samarqandī records under the year 823/1420 the construction of the circular building 48 m wide, decorated with glazed bricks, and sited to the north-east of the town on the side of a rocky hill. Recent excavations have revealed at the centre of the inner hexagonal shape a deep, stepped trench marked in degrees which was part of the gigantic sextant used for recording the movements of the planets and the stars. Contemporary texts mention shallow inner galleries on two floors above the ground floor service area, possibly painted with maps and charts if not decorative subjects. In the central area, and perpendicular to the wall of the sextant, stood a solar clock in the shape of a concave profile wall which would show up the shadow of the sextant.

The shrine of Chupan Ata stands on the same hill as the observatory but farther to the east. It is a rather

coarsely-shaped mausoleum with a tombstone in a 16 m<sup>2</sup> chamber without a grave below. The very high drum has chamfered sides with monumental Kufic inscriptions in tiles. It could have been a place of popular pilgrimage in the 9th/15th century.

The mausoleum of ‘Ishrat khāna “The house of happiness” was built by Ḥabība Sulṭān Begum, wife of Sultan Abū Sa‘īd, as a mausoleum for a daughter, and is dated by its *waqf* to 869/1464. There are about 20 tombstones in the crypt. The double dome and high drum collapsed in 1903. The middle of the 28 m-long façade is dominated by a high *pishtāq* which opens into the 64 m<sup>2</sup> tomb chamber; on both sides of it and beyond its four corners, steps lead to the next floor and its various rooms. The western side of the ground floor contains a mosque. All ten types of vaulting are elaborate systems of arch nets with flat profiles. What survives of the *hazārbāf* decoration on the outer walls shows more restraint than earlier Timurid architecture. A few *haft rang* stars and bands survive near the entrance. Inside, traces of blue and ochre painting of stylised vegetal motifs recall some of the painting in the mausoleum of Gawhar Shād in Herat. No gold now remains visible. Polychrome glass from the windows was recovered in the excavations.

The ‘Abdī Dārūn “inside” ensemble was built in the 1440s to the south-east of the city near the ‘Ishrat khāna. The mausoleum with its conical roof is set on foundations possibly going back to Sultan Sanjar; with its adjacent chambers, it stands behind the *khānaqāh* by the north side of a large octagonal pool at the top of a long alleyway. On its eastern side was built a later wood-columned mosque as well as a *madrasa* south of it. The drum of the double-domed *khānakāh* has a bold Kufic inscription; some tile mosaics survive within it. Mu‘izz al-Dīn b. Muḥammad Ya‘qūb b. ‘Abdī, a descendant of the caliph ‘Uthmān, was supposedly a *qāḍī* in the Samarqand of the 3rd/9th century.

##### 6. *The Aq Saray mausoleum*

This now stands on its own to the south of the Gūr-i Mīr, an unfinished brick structure built in the 1470s, with plain walls and no outer dome. The portal rises to 19 m and leads into a cruciform dome chamber with a dado of polychrome tile mosaics with gold. Some painting with gilding survives in the vaulting. A headless skeleton was excavated in the crypt. Later Timurids could have been buried in this building.

7. *The Khwāja Aḥrār ensemble*

South of the town, the outdoor tomb of the powerful leader of the Naqshbandiyya order Khwāja ‘Ubayd Allāh Aḥrār, known as Khwāja Aḥrār, who died in 896/1490, lies under a platform of grey and black marble which carries sixteen richly carved tombstones and is surrounded by a wall. A summer mosque looks over the square which lies to the west; on the north side stands the recently restored Nādir Dīwān Begi *madrasa* (1630–5), with its mosque probably built earlier. The decoration on the entrance portal with tiger and gazelle in spandrels, and the *pīshṭāq* in front of the domed *miḥrāb* chamber, vaguely echo Timurid tile mosaics and calligraphic tiles.

The Namāz-gāh mosque stands in the north-western part of Samarqand and was built by Nādir Dīwān Begi around 1040/1630. A *pīshṭāq* rises in front of a domed chamber between two groups of three blind arches. The baked brick surface shows no sign of surviving decoration.

Up to the building of the railway, there used to be on the left bank of the Zarafshān two large brick arches set at an angle to each other. One has since collapsed. They are said to have been part of a greater structure built under the Shībānīds to offset the current of the river during the spring high waters.

Although no gardens survive from the Timurid period or later, many are mentioned in contemporary texts and the *Bābur-nāma*. In his *Ẓafar-nāma*, Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī describes the building of the Dilgushā garden in 799/1396, east of the town. The garden of “delights” was walled on four sides with a lofty tiled gateway in the middle of each side. Each corner contained a tiled pigeon tower; at the centre stood a domed pavilion. The main pathways were lined with poplars, and the grounds were divided into triangles and hexagons with borders of specific fruit trees: quince, apple, apricot, peach, pomegranate, pear, plum, pistachio and almond besides a variety of vines. Near-by was the Bagh-i Dulday “perfect” garden. Amongst a number of other gardens, to the west of the town stood the “new”, the “paradise” and the “north” gardens; to the north could be found the “plan of the world” and the “four” gardens, the garden “of the square”, and to the south, the “plane tree” garden. Most gardens had elaborate pavilions with rich tiling and wall paintings.

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**SANAA**, conventional form for the Arabic Ṣan‘ā’, a city of the northern highlands of the Yemen from ancient times its chief urban centre, now the capital of the unified Republic of Yemen. It is situated at lat. 15° 22' N., long. 44° 11' E., at an altitude of more than 2,200 m/7,216 feet and at a distance of some 170 km/106 miles as the crow flies from the nearest point of the Red Sea.

It is all but surrounded by mountains, Jabal Nuqum (2,892 m/9,486 feet) in the east, at the foot of which the town lies spread, Jabal ‘Aybān 3,194 m/10,476 feet) in the west, the highest peak in the immediate vicinity, and the twin peaks of al-Nahdayn (2,513 m/8,243 feet) which lie due south. Its climate is a temperate one, generally very dry and mild. Its rainfall pattern is consistent, with maximum falls in March, April, May and July, August, September (see Ṣan‘ā’, 13–19, in *Bibl.* below).

## I. PRE-ISLAMIC SANAA

Despite the current claim that the name Sanaa is derived from the excellence of its trades and crafts (perhaps the feminine form of the Arabic adjective *asnaʿ*), it is highly probable that the name is Sabaic and, in keeping with the basic meaning in Sabaic of the root *snʿ*, means “well fortified” (A.F.L. Beeston *et alii*, *Sabaic dictionary*, Louvain and Beirut, 1982, 143). It is certainly as a military centre that the town emerges in the pre-Islamic inscriptions, particularly as the headquarters of the Sabaeans for their military expeditions southwards against Himyar. Inscriptions Ja 575, 576, for example, speak of Sabaeen campaigns launched from Sanaa (*bn/hgrn/šnʿw*) and Ja 574, 576, 577 announce a triumphant return to Sanaa (*ʿady/hgrn/šnʿw*) from the wars. Apart from being a “town” (*hgr*), Sanaa was also a *mahram* (*mḥrm*) which Beeston (*Šanʿāʾ*, 37) interprets as “a place to which access is prohibited or restricted, no matter whether for religious or for other reasons.” The palace of Ghumdān is also mentioned in the pre-Islamic inscriptions. Islamic tradition also reports that the mid-6th century Abyssinian King Abraha built a church in Sanaa (al-Qalīs), for a study of which see *Šanʿāʾ*, 44–9.

Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not tell us when the site of Sanaa was first settled, nor do they mention the town’s ancient name of Azāl. The above-quoted inscriptions and a very large majority of the texts mentioning the name of the town are all to be dated to the 3rd century A.D. The site must, of course, have been settled a very good deal earlier (see *Šanʿāʾ*, 36–9).

## II. EARLY ISLAMIC AND MEDIAEVAL SANAA

For the more than two centuries of the early Islamic history of Sanaa, we have little more than a list of the governors despatched to the Yemen by the Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and ‘Abbasid caliphs. A comprehensive list was attempted in *Šanʿāʾ*, 53–4, and see Tables 1, 4, 6, 8 and 11 of ‘Abd al-Muḥsin Maḍʿaj M. al-Maḍʿaj, *The Yemen in early Islam, 9–233/630–847, a political history*, London 1988. The remainder of the period can be divided into six as follows: the Yuʿfirids, 232–387/847–997, the Ṣulayḥids, 439–92/1047–99, the sultans of Hamdān, 493–569/1099–1173, the Ayyubids, 569–

628/1173–1230, the Rasūlids 628–783/1230–1381 and a period in which the Zaydī Imāms controlled Sanaa, 783–953/1381–1546.

A detailed history of this period cannot be given here, and a few notes will suffice. The Yuʿfirids, it might be noted, were the first Yemeni dynasty to take other than a purely local control of any part of the Yemen. Descended from Himyar, they regarded themselves as their legitimate heirs and moved into Sanaa from their original territory in Shibām when they perceived the weakness of the local ‘Abbasid governors posted there. Their 150 years’ rule of Sanaa came to an end in 387/997, leaving the town in anarchy until the arrival of the Fatimid Ṣulayḥids in 439/1047.

Our sources are particularly silent about the Ṣulayḥids during their Sanaa period. The zenith of Ṣulayḥid rule came later during the period during which they were centred in Dhū Jibla, which the dynasty settled in about 480/1087. With the death in 492/1098 of the *Dāʿī* Sabaʾ b. Aḥmad, Sanaa was lost to the Ṣulayḥids.

During the period 492–569/1098–1173, Sanaa fell under the rule of three families of Hamdān from Yām, also Ismāʿīlīs like the Ṣulayḥids: Banū Ḥātim (I), Banu ʿl-Qubayb and Banū Ḥātim (II) (G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974–8, ii, 68, 70–5). Depending almost entirely on the forces which could be mustered from Hamdān, the three families controlled Sanaa and were still there to contest authority with the Ayyūbids after their conquest of Tihāma or coast lands and the southern highlands from Egypt in 569/1173.

It cannot be said that Sanaa was constantly in the hands of the Ayyubids during their period in the Yemen. Rather, the Ayyubids fought from time to time against those in control in the town, firstly the Hamdānid sultans, later the Zaydīs, and always after fairly elaborate military manoeuvres to secure Dhamār to the south of Sanaa. They took over the town for a period, until ousted, and then the whole process began all over again after an interval of time.

A similar story can be told of the Rasūlid period during the years 628–723/1230–1323. Despite the brilliance of Rasūlid administrative and intellectual achievement in Tihāma and the southern highlands, they too never succeeded in occupying with anything like permanency the chief town of the country. During approximately the last 130 years of the dynasty,

723–858/1323–1454, Sanaa remained in general within the political orbit of the Zaydīs and beyond the grasp of the Rasūlids and indeed of their successors, the Ṭāhirids (see *San'ā'*, 49–68).

### III. LATE MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN SANAA

The following is a very brief outline of dates and political events. From about 954/1547, when the Ottoman Özdemir Pasha advanced on Sanaa, until 1038/1629, Sanaa was the capital of Ottoman Yemen. Although he did not deal the *coup de grâce* – that was left to the Imām al-Mu'ayyad – the real hero of the Turks' expulsion from Sanaa and the Yemen was al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, al-Qāsim al-Kabīr. Up to the mid-13th/19th century, the Zaydī Imāms controlled Sanaa and northern Yemen with more or less authority. Zaydī rule, however, seriously declined, mainly as a result of internal squabbling, allowing a second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen. The Ottomans had already begun to expand in Arabia and in 1289/1872 Aḥmad Mukhtār Pasha entered Sanaa to begin the second Ottoman occupation of the Yemen until about 1337/1918. The post-1337/1918 history of Sanaa and the Yemen is that of the Zaydī Ḥamīd al-Dīn house, under the Imāms Yaḥyā, Aḥmad and, for a few days only in 1382/1962, al-Badr. The house rose to prominence in Zaydī circles in 1307/1890 in the figure of al-Manṣūr bi 'llāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Ḥamīd al-Dīn. The Imām Aḥmad (1948–62), famed for his bravery and learning as much for his ruthlessness and toughness, died from natural causes in September 1962. His son, al-Badr, was proclaimed Imām and widely recognised, but was compelled to flee Sanaa after he was attacked by young army officers who had been plotting a military coup. Ḥamīd al-Dīn rule was brought to an end and the newly-appointed chief of staff, 'Abd Allāh al-Sallāl, was pronounced the new President of the Yemen Arab Republic.

The Republic needed vast numbers of Egyptian troops to prop it up in the face of general royalist opposition. They left the Yemen only in 1967 at the time of the Six-Day War between Egypt and Israel and the Republican government, balanced between the Zaydī and Shāfi'ī religious and tribal interests, the military and a new breed of Western-educated technocrat, continued in power and opened up talks

with the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on the question of the formation of a unified Yemen. The Republic of Yemen came into being in 1990 with Sanaa as its capital (see *San'ā'*, 68–108). The population of the city was in 2005 estimated at two millions.

### IV. THE BUILDINGS OF SANAA

The visitor to the old town of Sanaa (which is still largely intact though surrounded by new development) notices the extremely prominent traditional domestic architecture, the high, multi-storey tower house. It is usually square and at least five, if not eight or nine storeys high. The ground floor is used as stores and for the domestic animals and the top storey, called by the name *mafrāj*, is used as a second reception room and for the daily afternoon *qāt*-chewing ritual (see Lewcock and Serjeant, in *San'ā'*, 436–500).

Another extremely prominent architectural feature in Sanaa is naturally the mosque, and there are over one hundred in the town. Al-Ḥajarī lists about a hundred of many different periods and is a mine of information regarding their history and general background. Perhaps the most impressive and interesting for the historian is the Great Mosque (*al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr*) whose original foundation no doubt has an early Islamic date (al-Mad'aj, *The founding of the Great Mosque*, in *New Arabian Studies*, i [1993], suggests the first construction was in 11/633, 184). For a detailed study of the mosques of Sanaa, see *San'ā'*, 310–90).

The public baths (*ḥammāmāt*) play an important social role in the daily life of Sanaa and there are seventeen still in operation today, some possibly pre-Islamic in foundation. The fuel burnt is human excrement (*kharā*), which is reputed to burn giving off great heat. The fuel is collected from the "long drop" (*manṭal*) found in every house in the town for this very purpose (see Fig. 82). Women have their own bath times regulated at each public bath and the baths play a particularly important role at festival times (*a'yād*) (see *San'ā'*, 501–25).

### V. THE MARKET OF SANAA

The large market in Sanaa has been the subject of some academic studies (see in particular, *San'ā'*, 159–302) and the complexities of its administration and organisation are beginning to be understood. A

12th/18th century document entitled *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, which is a collection of market regulations, was published by Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Ṣayāghī in 1964 and it has also been the subject of a lengthy study in *Ṣan'ā'*, 179–240. Today's Sanaa market is dealt with in some detail, in *ibid.*, 241–75.

## VI. THE MINT OF SANAA

The earliest coins which can be assigned to Sanaa date from 156–8/772–4, and the 3rd/9th century in particular saw a huge output from the mint, “a substantial proportion of all the gold being coined in the territories of the caliph”, according to Lowick (in *Ṣan'ā'*, 303). Umayyad, 'Abbasid, Ayyubid, Rastilid, Ottoman and, of course, Zaydī coins minted in Sanaa are all attested.

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**SARAJEVO**, the main city and cultural centre of Bosnia (and of the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the former Yugoslavia). It is situated in lat. 43° 52' N., long. 18° 26' E., at an altitude varying according to neighbourhood between 537 m/1,761 feet and 700 m/2,296 feet, on the banks of the small river Miljacka, a western tributary of the Bosna river at the outlet of a narrow valley opening towards the west, the “Plain of the Seraglio/Palace,” Turkish. Saray Ova or Saray Ovaşı, which gives to the city its name. It is surrounded by tall, precipitous mountains rising up to 1,630 m/5,345 feet.

Its first mention, under the name of *Vrhbosna* (“the Crete of Bosnia”), of which the *župa* (local parochial

district) of the same name is mentioned from the 10th century onwards) apparently dates from 1415, but this appellation in fact only applied to the fortress situated on a rocky promontory dominating the city (and the small township in front of the latter), since the city of Sarajevo as such, for a long time called simply *Saray* (meaning the seraglio, i.e. the “palace”), or *Bosna Saray*, was founded ca. 1429 according to some authors, but quite certainly at a later date, by the Ottomans.

The fertile region around Sarajevo, with its abundant water sources and forests, was inhabited from the Neolithic period (2400 to 2000 B.C.), as is proved by the excavations of Butmir (one of the principal urban centres of the Balkan peninsula in this period, the ceramics of which are renowned). Other prehistoric dwellings have been brought to light on the slopes of Trabević (as on those of Debelo Brdo), some of which may have possibly existed even before the Roman period. Towards the end of the Bronze Age (900 B.C.), this region experienced all Illyrian influx, of which numerous vestiges have been discovered. In the Roman period, the 8th Augustan Legion was based on the plain of Sarajevo, and the well-known sulphurous bathing establishments of Ilidža, a thermal station situated in the foothills of Mount Igman (today some 10 km/6 miles from the centre of the city) were developed. Other Roman remains have been discovered within Sarajevo itself.

After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Eastern Goths were the first to establish themselves in this territory, then, in 535 A.D. the entire region was conquered by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian I. During the 7th century Slavic tribes occupied the region, and from the 10th century onwards there began to be formed, in the depression between the current cities of Sarajevo and of Zenica, the nucleus of the future mediaeval Bosnian state. It is known, on the other hand, according to a document of the king of Hungary Béla IV dating from 1244, that at that time the territory of Sarajevo formed a part of the *župa* (local parochial district) of Vrhbosna, then the site of the cathedral of Saint Peter, centre of the diocese. As early as 1379, the presence was noted at Vrhbosna of traders from Ragusa, who mentioned a locality called Trgovište (meaning “the place of [open] market”) situated in the territory of what is now the city of Sarajevo, at the point where the stream known as Koševo (currently the name of a

quarter of the city) joins the river Miljacka. It is also known that in 1415 a local dignitary, the voivode Pavle Radenović, was buried at Vrhbosna.

The first decades of the 15th century were marked by increasingly frequent incursions on the part of Ottoman cavalry, who took possession in 1416 (or possibly not until 1428) of the fortress of Hodidjed, a strategic position commanding the valley of Miljacka, situated two hours' march from Vrhbosna. Hodidjed was definitively captured by the Ottomans in the summer of 1435 (according to some sources in the previous year), thus some thirty years before the laying of the first foundations of the future city of Sarajevo, intended as a secure base for the conquest of Bosnia, of Herzegovina, of northern Serbia, of Dalmatia and of a part of Croatia, then also, a century later, of a part of Hungary.

The Ottomans recognised at a very early stage the value of its location, and when they conquered Bosnia during the time of Mehemmed I, in the spring of 867/1463, they made it the principal arsenal of the conquered territory. From 1438–9 onward an Ottoman governor was installed there, with the duty of controlling the indigenous local dynasties (in particular that of the Pavlovićs) who were required to pay tribute. After the definitive conquest of the kingdom of Bosnia, and the execution of its last king, Stjepan Tomašević, the Ottoman governor at first resided at Vrhbosna, the name of which was to be retained for some time (at least until the beginning of the 16th century), as is shown by the travel-writing of Felix Petancius and of Benedict Kuripešić, and exchanges of letters with Ragusa (where the following forms are found: Werchbossen, Verchbossen, Verbosavia, Verbosania, Verchbossania, etc.).

The first significant foundations date from the years 1460–1 (cf. the *waqf-nāme* of 1462 of Īsā Beg, son of Ishāq Beg, who was to become *sanjaq beg* of Bosnia in 1464): initially, the governor's palace and a wooden mosque, then a bridge over the Miljacka, a caravanserai, a *bedesten*, a *hammām*, residential houses, shops, water-mills, etc. It is said that from 1455 onward the new urban centre (*qaṣaba*), was called sometimes *Saray*, sometimes *Saray ovasi*, or even *Saray qaṣabası*, the first mention of its current form (which is found in a letter written in Cyrillic characters) dating from 1507. Twenty years after the first constructions, in 1480, the city was taken by assault and burnt, in the course of a raid mounted jointly by the Hungar-

ian garrison of Jajce led by Peter Doczy, and Serbian troops under the command of the despot Vuk Grgurović/Branković ("Zmaj Ognjeni Vuk").

Sarajevo's most illustrious period belongs to the 16th–17th centuries. It corresponds, of course, to the era of the greatest expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans and in South-Eastern Europe, but also to the Ottoman golden age *per se*, a period in which the massive quantities of booty amassed in the course of incessant military campaigns against "the infidels" brought prosperity to commerce and to craftsmanship, and assisted in the development of a large number of towns. Sarajevo was for close on a century the seat of the governors of Bosnia (more precisely, from 1463 to 1533, at which date the latter was transferred to Banja Luka before being restored to Sarajevo in 1637–8). Its governors (Īsā Beg, Ayās Beg, Yahyā Pasha, Iskender Pasha (whose name is still born by the quarter of "Skenderija"), then the son of the latter, Mustay Beg, and the most illustrious of them, Ghāzī Khosrew Beg, a native of the town of Trebinje in Herzegovina, who lived for seventeen years on the banks of the Miljacka (he was several times *sanjaq beg* of Bosnia between 1521 and the year of his death, 1541, and was buried in Sarajevo), embellished it with the construction of a large number of renowned buildings: the mosques of Īsā Beg (926/1520), of Ghāzī Khosrew Beg (937/1530) with a *medrese* built in 1537, a library, a *tekke*, a public kitchen, a hospice for travellers, a stone-built *khān*, a *bedesten*, a *hammām*, etc.), of Ghāzī 'Alī Pasha (969/1561), of Ferhād Beg (also in 969/1561), not forgetting the Imperial Mosque "Careva džamija" (built in 1566 at the order of Süleymān the Magnificent, to replace the former mosque of the same name, founded in 1457 and destroyed in 1480), and many others; the *tekkes* of the Mewlewīs, of the Khalwetīs, as well as that of the Qādirīs (the renowned *tekke* of Hājīr Sinān Āghā, constructed in 1638–40 and subsequently restored on numerous occasions); the *bedestens* (in particular the well-known "Bursa bezistān" built by Rüstem Pasha in 1551); the clock tower (built at the end of the 16th century or at the start of the 17th), the *medreses*, the *türbes*, the fountains, the baths, the *khāns*, etc.

The number of inhabitants of the city, which had gained the status of *shehir* before the 16th century, grew rapidly as a result of the influx of the Muslim population, which settled at the outset on the left bank of the Miljacka; for a very long time, each



religious group lived in separate *maḥalles*. This population consisted above all of new converts – there had been progressive Islamisation of a significant section of the local Slav population – as well as numerous administrative and religious cadres, Ottoman civilians and soldiers, of diverse origins and belonging to the most varied ethnic groups, as is demonstrated by the genealogies of some of the eminent Muslim families of the city. But the city also expanded as a result of an influx of indigenous Christian populations. It is interesting to note in this context that in 1477 there were in Sarajevo 103 Christian households, 8 households of Ragusans, and only 42 Muslim households. The Christian population was composed of the Orthodox – whose Old Church, “Stara Crkva”, was built in 1528, then rebuilt on several occasions after numerous fires, in particular in 1616 and in 1658, subsequently reconstructed completely in 1730, then once more renovated in 1793 – and of Catholics, some of whom came from Ragusa in the course of the second half of the 16th century and settled in a separate quarter, subsequently called “Latinluk”. Not to be ignored is the arrival, also around the middle of the 16th century, of a relatively substantial Jewish colony. These were, of course, Jews expelled from Spain and Portugal, who settled in a quarter later known as “Cifuthana”. The synagogue was probably built around 1580, then completely renovated in 1821, having been twice damaged by fire, in 1697 and in 1788. The total number of hearths (in Turkish *oĵaq*) thus apparently increased from 153 in 1477, to 181 in 1480, subsequently to 1024 in the first half of the 16th century, then to 4270 in the second half of the 16th century. Aided by geographical position and “the industries of war”, commerce and craftsmanship developed rapidly, as is clearly shown by the number of warehouses and covered markets, of traders and of types of merchandise which were sold there or which passed through the city. In fact, the city was located “on the caravan route leading from Istanbul and from Salonica towards the West, at a staging-point where it was necessary to substitute horses and mules for camels” (G. Veinstein). It was linked to the Adriatic coast on the one hand by the valley of the Neretva, on the other by the route situated further to the north-west, leading from Livno to Split. Furthermore, in the local context, the city, situated at a crossroads, was also an excellent outlet for agricultural markets. In a totally different domain, it may be added that in 1085/1674–5 under Meḥemmed

IV and in 1099/1687–8 under Süleymān II, copper coinage was struck there (these being the coins known as *manqūṛ*). This economic prosperity was naturally accompanied by increasingly intense religious and cultural activity, for Sarajevo had very rapidly become an important administrative centre. With reference to the Muslim population, there is abundant testimony; in the literary domain as such, the best known names for the whole of this period remain those of Meḥmed Nergisī (d. 1044/1635) and of Ḥasan Qā’imī (d. ca. 1101/1690, cf. J. Šamić, *op. cit.* in *Bibl.*). It should, however, be noted that the overall development of the city was thwarted on numerous occasions by various scourges: outbreaks of plague (like that of 1526–7) and of cholera (1691), fires (particularly worth mentioning are those of 1644 and 1656) and earthquakes, not to mention famines. In spite of all this, the description of Sarajevo in 1660 provided by Ewliyā Chelebi (even bearing in mind the exaggerations characteristic of this author) is quite impressive: the city reportedly then comprised 400 *maḥalles*, including ten Christian ones and two Jewish ones (it may be recalled that according to an earlier source at the end of the 16th century, the city allegedly comprised 91 Muslim *maḥalles* and two Christian *maḥalles*), 17,000 houses, 77 mosques and 100 *meşjids*, a clock tower, numerous *medreses* and other specialised religious schools, 180 *mektebs*, 47 *tekkes*, 110 public fountains, 300 *sebils*, 700 wells, 76 flour mills, five *ḥammāms*, 670 private bathrooms, three caravan-serais, 23 *khāns*, 1,080 shops, a *bedesten*, seven bridges over the Miljacka, an Orthodox church, a Catholic church, a synagogue, seven *‘imārets*, etc.

This long period of prosperity was brusquely interrupted four decades later, in September 1697, by a terrible and totally unexpected blow, the sacking and burning of the city by Austrian troops commanded by Prince Eugene of Savoy who, taking advantage of his victory over the Ottomans before Zenta, carried out an exceedingly bloodthirsty raid, leaving behind him, after a brief occupation of the city, the ruins of Sarajevo ablaze. The unsuccessful siege of Vienna attempted by the Ottomans in 1683 marked, effectively, the beginning of a totally different period, that of the *reconquista*, and of the definitive withdrawal of Ottoman troops from Hungary and from Slavonia, but also from Voïvodina, from Croatia and from Dalmatia. A new era also began for the city of Sarajevo (the seat of the Ottoman *uezirs* was furthermore transferred after 1699 to Travnik, where it remained until

1850), a period during which relations between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of the region deteriorated sharply, as did relations between on the one hand the ruling classes composed of indigenous Muslims, the *aghās*, the *a'yāns* and the local *begs*, struggling fiercely to preserve their long-standing privileges, and on the other the Porte, resolutely promoting a whole series of new reforms – for the most part exceedingly unpopular – and its representatives who, appointed for very short periods, sought to enrich themselves with maximum haste at the expense of the indigenous populations, irrespective of religion, although the non-Muslims bore the heaviest burden.

In the 18th century, the economic and financial crisis of the Ottoman Empire, following the crisis of the very structures of the state, considerably weakened the latter's military power. This had immediate repercussions for the whole of the *eyālet* of Bosnia, henceforward a frontier region bordering on Christian Europe, as well as for the city of Sarajevo, where disorder and corruption became rife. In fact, the arrival in the city of huge numbers of Janissaries forced to leave the vast territories conceded to the "infidels" provided a ready source of troops for rebel governors, who relied upon them on every occasion, also upon a large number of malcontents among the aggrieved local *sipāhīs* and the Muslim masses of the city, whose standard of living had worsened considerably since the beginning of the reconquest, with the constant increase in levies and the creation of new taxes. There ensued a series of revolts and seditious activities, punctuated by full-scale internal wars such as those conducted, on behalf of the central power, after the major revolt against the Porte which erupted in Sarajevo in 1750, by Mehmed Pasha Kukavica, a native of Foča in Bosnia (from 1752 onwards), or by the *qul chāwūsh* 'Alī Agha (from 1772 onwards). These difficult times were accompanied by a whole series of scourges, first plague, which raged on a number of occasions in the course of this century (in 1731–2, 1741, 1762–3 and 1781–2), then numerous fires which devastated Sarajevo on some ten occasions (in 1721, 1724, 1731, 1748, 1766, 1769, 1773, 1776, the most serious occurring in 1788 and 1797), as well as numerous floods. In spite of all this, efforts were made to restore certain ancient buildings, such as the fortress situated in the old town (in 1729–39), the mosque known as "Magribija" (constructed in the 16th century and entirely rebuilt in 1766), the Serbian Orthodox church (rebuilt in 1730 and fully

restored in 1793 – we are told that in 1720 the city reportedly contained between 3,000 and 5,000 Serbs, but this number must also include the Serbs of the surrounding villages gravitating round the Orthodox church in Sarajevo), etc. It may be recalled finally that the history of Sarajevo in the second half of the 18th century is drawn from an exceptional source, the *Chronicle* of Mullā Muṣṭafā Bāsheski (1731–2 to 1809), which covers the years 1746–1804, and which contains a mine of first-hand information.

At the beginning of the 19th century, general discontent and resistance to reforms continued in Sarajevo, just as in other regions of Bosnia and of Herzegovina, to the point where insurrections against the governors sent by the Porte (or even sometimes directly against the central power) were carried out with increasing intensity. This was particularly the case in 1814 and then in 1826 (date of the major revolt which followed the suppression of the corps of Janissaries). But these revolts were invariably brutally suppressed, for example, by Jelāl al-Dīn Pasha in 1829, and subsequently by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Pasha. However, soon afterwards, in 1246/1831, a new major uprising erupted, this time against reforms in the organisation of the Ottoman army and led by the *qapudān* Huseyin Beg Gradašćević, nicknamed "Zmaj od Bosne" (i.e. "Dragon of Bosnia"). The movement spread rapidly at first, both in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but when, some time later, other *qapudāns* dissociated themselves from it and joined the side of the government forces, it too was suppressed, with much bloodshed, after a decisive battle which took place at Pale near Sarajevo. (Attention should be drawn in this context to a tendency which has been observed throughout the Balkans: during the Communist period, some historians and pseudo-historians of former Yugoslavia represented these various uprisings against the Porte, led by various local *condottieri*, as "national revolts" of the indigenous Muslim populations against the Ottoman Turks, which is manifestly false.) In spite of these numerous setbacks, some years later (in 1840 and then in 1848), there was a renewal of uprisings against the *wezīrs* of the Porte based in Travnik, which induced the latter to embark on a wide-ranging policy of repression. The task was entrusted, in 1850, to 'Ömer Pasha (formerly a junior officer in the Austrian army, a native of Lika, in Krajna, a region of Croatia, whose name before his conversion to Islam was Mihailo (Mića) Latas (1806–71), who, armed with special powers

and a substantial military force, definitively crushed all resistance in 1850–1, executing in the process a large proportion of the indigenous Muslim ruling class, just as he had done previously, in actions of a similar type, in Syria, in Albania and in Kurdistan, or was later to do in Montenegro and in Herzegovina, although his efforts in Crete in 1867 were unsuccessful. After these bloody events, the seat of the Ottoman *wezirs* in Bosnia was definitively transferred from Travnik to Sarajevo. From this time onwards, the city experienced the implementation of a number of reforms aimed at European-style modernisation, as during the vizierate of Topal 'Othmān Pasha (i.e. between 1861 and 1869), a period which saw a hesitant and belated reform of education, the establishment of the first Ottoman printing-press in these regions (that of the *wilāyet*), and thus the appearance of the very first local Muslim journals. Two other phenomena affected the city of Sarajevo substantially from the mid-19th century onwards: on the one hand, the gradual and final disappearance of the organisation of the *esnāf* (guilds of craftsmen) which had dominated the economic life of the city in preceding centuries; on the other hand, and most importantly (as this was to change enormously the relations existing between the various populations of the city), the gradual but constant enrichment of many of the Serbian families of Sarajevo, who were subsequently to represent a considerable social force in the material and spiritual life of the city. It is, however, worth remembering that, in the words of a significant remark of M. Ekmečić, “around the middle of the last century (i.e. the 19th), Sarajevo contained 100 mosques, and *one* Serbian Orthodox church”. Finally, it may be noted that, as in the

past, Sarajevo had to endure in the 19th century a prolonged outbreak of plague (in 1813–16), and a number of major fires (in 1831, 1842, 1852, and the most devastating of all, in 1879).

According to the resolutions of the Congress of Berlin (June–July 1878), Bosnia and Herzegovina were placed under the mandate of Austria-Hungary, although the latter did not formally annex the two provinces until October 1908. The troops of the Dual Monarchy entered the city of Sarajevo in August 1878, having encountered a desperate resistance, as unexpected as it was murderous, on the part of a section of the Muslim population of the city, which lasted eight hours. It was led by numerous local individuals, including an *imām*, Hadži Lojo (Loyo), although there was no significant involvement on the part of Sarajevo's Muslim ruling class, which remained aloof from this popular movement. The forty years of Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878–1918) transformed the appearance of the city beyond recognition, not only in matters of town-planning and architecture, but also in terms of the religious (corresponding in this particular case to *ethnic*) composition of the population. This is clearly illustrated by the following table, devised by one of the two most knowledgeable historians of the city, Hamdija Kreševljaković (the other specialist being Vladislav Skarić). What is established is on the one hand a quite spectacular fall in the percentage of the Muslim population, and on the other an extraordinary increase in the percentage of the Catholic population:

Seeing the occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as a first stage in its colonisation of the Balkans, the Austro-Hungarian government proceeded methodically towards the implementation of numerous

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total pop.</i>	<i>Muslims</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Jews</i>
1851	21,102	15,224 (72.23%)	3,575 (16.94%)	239 (1.14%)	1,714 (8.12%)
1879	21,377	14,848 (69.45%)	3,747 (17.52%)	678 (3.26%)	2,077 (9.74%)
1885	26,267	15,787 (60.09%)	4,431 (16.88%)	3,326 (12.66%)	2,618 (9.96%)
1895	38,083	17,787 (45.06%)	5,858 (15.39%)	10,672 (28.02%)	4,054 (10.64%)
1910	51,919	18,460 (35.57%)	8,450 (16.27%)	17,922 (34.51%)	6,397 (12.33%)
1921	60,087	21,465 (35.73%)	12,479 (20.77%)	18,076 (30.08%)	7,427 (12.36%)

projects, especially in Sarajevo, designed to facilitate the attainment of this objective, while at the same time demonstrating to international opinion the civilising nature of its mission: construction of railway, of a central electricity system and of urban canals; improvement of the quays of the Miljacka; construction of the Catholic cathedral (1884–9, replacing the former Catholic church, on which little information is available, as is hardly surprising when the figures in the above table are considered); building of a monumental Town Hall in pseudo-Moorish style (1896), and many other public buildings on the grand scale (such as the magnificent Zemaljski Muzej (1888), modelled on the Vienna Museum, the Theatre, the Law Courts, the Bank, the Protestant Church, the Hospital, schools, hotels, etc.; not forgetting the laying-out, in 1886, of the city's first municipal park on the site of a Muslim cemetery). This rapid Europeanisation brought to Sarajevo many soldiers and officials. Among the latter, both in administration and in education, there were to be found a large number of Orthodox (i.e. Serbs) and Catholics (predominantly Croats, who were joined by considerable numbers of new arrivals from elsewhere: Austrians, Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenians, Rumanians, etc.). The city was extended rapidly in a westwards direction, i.e. towards the plain, and towards Ilidža, which soon became a kind of "oriental Baden". At the same time, as was to be anticipated, there was a decline in the craftsmanship of the city, an inevitable consequence of the appearance of the first factories.

The shock experienced by the Muslim population of Sarajevo, as a result of Austro-Hungarian occupation and the sudden irruption of all this modernity, was acute, as is shown by many texts of this period, and also by the emigration (although apparently of limited extent) of some of the inhabitants of the city to Turkey, or towards closer regions still controlled by the Ottoman Empire (see A. Popovic, *L'Islam balkanique*, 272–3). However, gradually the Muslims reacted and organised themselves into a religious community guided by an *Ulema medžlis* and an administration of *waqfs*, at the head of which was the chief of the community bearing the title of *Re'īs al-'ulemā'*. In matters affecting schools, and education in general, great changes took place, since the Austro-Hungarian authorities completely reformed the organisation of public instruction. In this new

system, which had little effect on the various Muslim elementary schools, *medreses*, more or less "reformed", served for the training of religious functionaries of inferior status. The best-known in Sarajevo at this time were the Kuršumlija and Hanika *medreses*, both dating from the time of Ghāzī Khosrew Beg. Furthermore, in 1887, a special college was inaugurated in Sarajevo with the aim of training judges for the Muslim courts and senior religious functionaries. This was the highly-renowned *Šeriatska Sudačka Škola u Sarajevu*, which was the principal seedbed of the Muslim religious intelligentsia of Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1887 and the Second World War, and where the duration of studies was five years. Many details concerning this institution are to be found in the two volumes compiled on the occasion of its thirty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries: in *Tridesetpetogodišnji izvještaj Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo 1917, and especially in *Spomenica Šeriatske Sudačke Škole u Sarajevu, izdana povodom pedesetgodišnjice ovoga zavoda (1887–1937)*, Sarajevo 1937. In 1892 an academy was also founded for the training of school-teachers (*Dār al-mu'allimīn*), where the course of study lasted three years. It should be noted that there was a first, among the local Muslims, a period of passivity, of mistrust and of defiance regarding everything emanating from the Austro-Hungarian authorities. In this context, worth citing for example is the fact that in 1887, at the time of the inauguration of the *Šer. Sud. Škola* which has been mentioned above, the new administration encountered obstinate resistance on the part of the Muslims, who refused to send their sons to the school, with the result that the first pupils of this establishment were recruited among orphans (cf. Abduselam Balagija, *Les musulmans yougoslaves*, Algiers 1940, 115). But subsequently, as a result of a gradual transformation of opinions, many Muslim children began to attend secular elementary schools and academies. Some even pursued studies abroad, especially in Vienna and in Budapest, for those to whom Zagreb was not a preferable option, to qualify as doctors, engineers, etc. Others also went abroad, but with the object of pursuing traditional studies, in Istanbul, in Cairo and in Medina, or on the contrary, to become initiated into Western-style Islamology, in Vienna (as was the case with Šukrija Alagić, Fehim Bajraktarević and Safvet-beg Bašagić) or in Budapest (in the case of Šaćir Sikirić), thus becoming the very first local orientalists.

There is much that should be said regarding the Muslim press of Sarajevo during these four decades. This evidently reflects accurately the principal political, social, cultural and other tendencies which emerged in the Muslim community, a community which found itself from day to day, without really understanding *how*, being carried along in the wake of the other populations of the city, which until recently had only constituted the *re'āyā*. Details should also be supplied regarding the first Muslim political parties founded in Sarajevo in this period (on these parties, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 287–9). Finally, it may be recalled that it was in Sarajevo, on 28 June 1914, that the Archduke of Austria Franz Ferdinand was assassinated by Gavrilo Princip, a young local Serb, and that this act served as the pretext for the unleashing of the First World War.

From 1918 to 1941, Sarajevo was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (a state which was initially called, and for a short time, “Kingdom of the Serbs, of the Croats and the Slovenians”). While continuing to play its role as a major regional city, and although it was, from 1929 onwards the centre of the Drinska Banovina, i.e. the Department of Drina, Sarajevo quite rapidly lost its former importance and was relegated to the second rank, suffering unfavourable comparisons (in all respects) in regard to the major centres of the country, such as Belgrade, Zagreb and Ljubljana. It retained its picturesque monuments and its pleasing aspect of an ancient Ottoman city, with its “upper town” composed of residential quarters and its “lower town”, with its *čaršija*, the streets of which still bore the names of the crafts which had been practised there, its mosques, its quarters of former times, and its cemeteries extending over the neighbouring hills (in particular, one of the most spectacular of all, the Jewish cemetery, dating from the 16th century, situated on the left bank of the Miljacka). Sarajevo nevertheless continued to develop on the economic, industrial, cultural and political levels. Its population, within which the religious barriers were becoming blurred, with the consequence that an increasing number of mixed marriages was observed, grew from 60,087 inhabitants in 1921 (“more than a third of whom are Muslims, who are for the most part craftsmen”, F. Babinger) to slightly more than 80,000 in 1941. The city was naturally the principal religious and cultural centre not only for the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also for

the Muslim community of the Kingdom as a whole. As regards the Muslim scholastic establishments, it should be noted that the *medrese* of Ghāzī Khosrew Beg continued to offer higher secondary education, but also that a new pilot scholarly establishment was opened, known as the “Academy of Islamic Law” (*Šerijatska gimnazija*), which was the only Muslim academy in the Kingdom where Muslim pupils could receive an education comparable to that dispensed in other public academies. As for the *Šeriatska Sudačka Škola*, it was converted in 1937 to the *Viša islamska šerijatskoteološka škola u Sarajevu* (“Islamic High School of Law and Theology”) and gained the status of a Faculty. Furthermore, the Muslim press (of various tendencies) continued to develop, as did the Muslim political parties (which were to disappear in 1941). (On these topics, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, 328–31 and *passim*.)

During the Second World War (1941–5), the city of Sarajevo was part of the Fascist Croat state of Ante Pavelić, then, after the war, it became the capital of the Federal Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina of Titoist Yugoslavia. In the course of this latter period (1945–92), Sarajevo experienced extraordinary growth, expanding from some 100,000 inhabitants in 1946, to 213,092 in 1961, then to about 250,000 in 1968, and passing the figure of 300,000 in 1992, henceforward comprising a large number of modern quarters, most of them extending over the plain. The city continued to be the base for the guidance of the Yugoslav Muslim community and the seat of its chief. (On relations between the latter and the Communist authorities during this period, see Popovic, *Les musulmans yougoslaves*.) As regards the Muslim educational establishments, they experienced several phases, which may be summarised thus. At the very beginning of the taking of power by the Communists, all the Muslim religious schools mentioned above were closed. Thus the *Viša Isl. Šer.-Teol. Škola* was definitively closed in April 1946, this coinciding with the abolition of the Muslim courts. Then, gradually, as a result of an extraordinary reversal of the situation, beginning with the Communist government's decision to seek a major role in the organisation – predominantly Muslim – of Non-Aligned States, a new system was put in place. Under this system, the principal institution for the training of religious cadres became once more the renowned Gazi Husrevbeg *medrese*, then some time

later, in 1977, there was established (still in Sarajevo) a Faculty of Islamic Theology (*Islamski Teološki Fakultet*). The same period saw a remarkable flourishing of the Muslim press.

The disintegration of Titoist Yugoslavia, following the collapse of the Communist world and the resurgence of various local nationalisms, culminated in the spring of 1992 in a brutal civil war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in which the city of Sarajevo became one of the principal theatres of operations (on these controversial and poorly-understood issues, as well as on the Muslim community, cf. X. Bougarel, *Discours d'un ramadan de guerre civile*, in *L'Autre Europe*, 26–7 [Paris 1993], 171–197; and idem, *Un courant panislamiste en Bosnie-Herzégovine*, in G. Kepel (ed.), *Exils et royaumes. Les appartenances au monde arabo-musulmans aujourd'hui*, Paris 1994, 275–99).

The ending of hostilities in the early years of the 21st century has allowed Sarajevo to edge slowly towards a resumption of normal life.

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**SEVILLE**, modern Spanish Sevilla, for over five centuries the flourishing Islamic city of Ishbīliya in al-Andalus. It is situated in lat. 37° 23' N., long. 5° 59' W., at 9 m/30 feet above sea level, on the left bank of the Guadalquivir (Arabic, al-Wādī al-Kabīr “the great river”). The modern inland port is the fourth largest city of Spain and is the administrative centre of the Andalusian province of the same name.

#### I. HISTORY

In Antiquity, Seville was a flourishing port of the Carthaginians, and then became the Roman Hispalis

in Hispania Baetica and an important administrative and cultural centre of the Visigoths.

The Muslim geographers locate Seville at a distance of 100 km/60 miles from the sea, and describe it as a *madīna* and capital of the *kūra* which bore the same name or was sometimes known as Ḥimṣ, from the Syrian *jund* established there in 125/742–3. The boundaries of the *kūra* are fixed fairly precisely by al-ʿUdhri, who said that the dependencies (*aḥwāz*) of Seville were contiguous 48 km/30 miles to the west with the *kūra* of Niebla, 40 km/25 miles to the south and south-east with that of Shadhūna, and 65 km/40 miles to the east with the territories of Cordova, the capital of which was 150 km/90 miles away, and that they extended for 80 km/50 miles to the north as far as the *kūra* of Mérida. The richness of its lands was particularly noted by al-ʿUdhri, Ibn Ghālib, al-Idrīsī and al-Ḥimyarī, who call attention to the excellence and fertility of the soil, both for plantations and orchards and also for irrigated land and pasturages. The name Aljarafe (Sharaf) applies to the natural region, both the district and the mountain (*iqḷīm* and *jabal Sharaf*), and it recurs constantly in descriptions of Seville; bordering on the *iqḷīm* of Shadhūna, it extends in all for 65 km/40 miles, according to al-Idrīsī, starting about 5 km/3 miles to the north of Seville and including the prosperous, densely inhabited territories situated between Seville, Niebla and the sea. The economy of Seville was based essentially on vast plantations of olive and fig trees, mainly in Aljarafe, and in particular on the production of oil of high quality, used throughout al-Andalus and also exported to the East. Of similar importance economically was the cultivation of cotton, here again of excellent quality, which was sent to other parts of al-Andalus and to Ifrīqiya. Safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*) was a product that was exported and also widely distributed within the country. Cereals, an abundance of fruit of varied kinds, herds of cattle and horses, game and fish of high quality, sugar cane, honey, medicinal plants and other vegetable produce, especially the *qirmiz* (*Quercus coccifera*), constituted other natural riches of the *kūra* of Seville, which included 12 *iqḷīms* or agricultural districts; the names of these are enumerated by al-ʿUdhri and al-Bakrī, who record that the total figure of the *jibāya* at the time of the amir al-Ḥakam b. Hishām amounted to 35,100 *dīnārs*.

In the spring of 94/713, after occupying Medina Sidonia, Alcalá de Guadaira and Carmona, Mūsā b.

Nuṣayr annexed Seville to the other possessions of Islam, entrusting it to the protection and supervision of the Jews and of an Arab detachment. Shortly afterwards, the populace rebelled and had to be put down with severity by ‘Abd ‘Azīz b. Mūsā, who established his residence there as *wālī*; the town was the seat of the Arabo-Muslim government of al-Andalus until the time when the *wālī* al-Ḥurr transferred it to Cordova in 99/717–8. During the period preceding the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty, Seville witnessed a modification of its social structure as a result of Arabo-Berber ethnic and religious influence, particularly after the Syrian *jund* of Homs had been installed there. The original Visigothic nobility was replaced by an Arab nobility or military caste, mainly Yemenī, which began to dominate the town and countryside and to exploit the indigenous population and the agricultural wealth of the province. In his *Jamhara*, Ibn Ḥazm has left a very clear eye-witness account of the Arab families established in Seville and the region.

The history of Seville under the amirate is characterised by constant rebellions. The chronicles, and above all the account of al-‘Udhri, make particular reference to all those, whether Arab or *mawālī*, who revolted in the *kūra* of Seville. Under the administration of governors nominated by Cordova, Seville had to endure revolts by members of the *jund* and of the “noble” families, which were repressed with severity by the amir’s troops. One revolt, which broke out in 149/766 under the leadership of Sa‘īd al-Yaḥṣubī al-Maṭarī in the Niebla district and then spread to Seville, is noteworthy, as is also the rebellion of the former governor of the town, Abu ‘l-Ṣabbāḥ b. Yaḥyā al-Yaḥṣubī, who had been disgraced. In 154/771 according to al-‘Udhri, or in 156/773 according to Ibn ‘Idhārī and others, Ḥaywa or Ḥayāt b. Mulāmis al-Ḥaḍramī, aided by the Yemenīs of Seville and acting in concert or almost simultaneously with ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Ḥimṣī (who started his activities to the north-west of Seville and in the neighbourhood of Cordova), with other rebels overran the south-western districts of al-Andalus, claiming to enjoy complete autonomy in Seville and the adjacent territories. It seems that, until the amirate of ‘Abd Allāh, no other serious subversive movement occurred in Seville. After the revolts just referred to and those recorded by al-‘Udhri, it was to experience several decades of peaceful existence, disturbed only

in 230/844 by the invasions of the Vikings (*Majūs*), see A.A. El-Hajji, *The Andalusian diplomatic relations with the Vikings during the Umayyad Period*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, viii (1967), 67–105. During the amirate of ‘Abd Allāh, from the start rebellion proved to be the keynote of the time, both in Seville and throughout al-Andalus. Apart from the early rebellions at the time of the nomination of Muḥammad, son of ‘Abd Allāh, as governor of Seville, the disturbances which most gravely threatened the peace of this *kūra* were those provoked by the ambitions of two powerful Arab families, the Banū Ḥajjāj and the Banū Khaldūn, who owned vast estates between Carmona and Seville in and Aljarafe and who were the instigators of the conflict between Arabs and *muladies*, which for several years brought bloodshed to the south-western territories of al-Andalus. From 276 to 301/889–913, the dynasty of the Banū Ḥajjāj set up a small independent state in Seville and Carmona, nominally subject to the amir of Cordova. It is probable that complementary information on Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Ḥajjāj is to be found in volume v of the *Muqtabis* of Ibn Ḥayyān, relating to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III.

Under the Umayyad caliphate, Seville, which had been conquered by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III in 301/913, enjoyed some years of peace and prosperity, broken only in 363/974 by the revolt of a group in which some members of the Banū Ḥajjāj were implicated and during its course the prison was attacked. Then, at the time of the *fitna*, the nomination of the son of Qāsim b. Ḥammūd, Muḥammad, as the personal delegate of the caliph to the government of Seville, led the townsfolk, on hearing of the rising of the people of Cordova against the Ḥammūdīd caliph, to revolt in their turn against Muḥammad and besiege him in the Alcázar.

But the period of greatest prosperity for Seville, in the political, economic and cultural spheres alike, was that of the dynasty of the Banū ‘Abbād or ‘Abbāids after the rising of the *qādī* Abu ‘l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād in the middle of Sha‘bān 414/early November 1023. After the death of Muḥammad b. ‘Abbād in Jumādā I 433/January or February 1042, his son ‘Abbād al-Mu‘taḍid undertook a vigorous policy of expansion which resulted in the annexation of Niebla, Huelva-Saltés, Carmona, Arcos, Ronda and other adjacent territories and in the considerable enlargement of his kingdom. On the death

of al-Mu'taḍid (461/1068–9), his son Muḥammad al-Mu'tamid, in face of the mounting military and economic pressure exerted by King Alfonso VI of Castile, with the onerous system of *parias*, decided to seek the aid and intervention of the Almoravid *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn; the latter finally dispossessed al-Mu'tamid of his kingdom, as a result of the military action of Sīr b. Abī Bakr, who captured Seville by storm on 20 or 22 Rajab 484/7 or 9 September 1091, and remained there as governor until his death in Dhu 'l-Qa'da 507/April–May 1114. Under Almoravid rule for 55 years and four months, Seville became crowded with new inhabitants who wore the veil – a foreign element in the social context – and the town developed a special atmosphere which is vividly described by Ibn 'Abdūn in his treatise on *ḥisba*. Seville had fourteen governors, perhaps more, who were related to the Tāshfīn family, one of whom, Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Ḥājj, tried to halt the invading force which, in the time of Alfonso VII, sacked the whole Seville region and killed the Almoravid governor in Rajab 526/May–June 1132. Seville was a place of assembly for troops arriving from the Maghrib and for Andalusian soldiers recruited by the *fūqahā'* and *'ulamā'* of Cordova and Seville, until the time when Barrāz b. Muḥammad al-Masūfī, acting in the name of 'Abd al-Mu'min, annexed the town to the Almohad empire (13 Sha'bān 541/18 January 1147). The Sevillans sent a delegation headed by the *qāḍī* Ibn al-'Arabī to express their gratitude to 'Abd al-Mu'min. Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, who was governor of Seville from 551 to 558/1156–63, from the time when he became caliph and, above all, from 567/1171–2, made the town the second capital of his empire and the administrative centre of al-Andalus. He strengthened the city's fortifications and completed many other important undertakings; the population increased considerably, prosperity was enjoyed for several years, and the town took on a new appearance. However, Seville was destined to suffer various attacks, particularly in 553/1158, by forces from Avila under Ibn Mardānīsh and Ibn Hamushk. These were a source of anxiety for the Almohad governor of Seville for two or three years. In the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, the town was subjected to raids by Alfonso Enríques and the Infante Sancho of Portugal, and also by Alfonso VIII of Castile, which caused considerable damage in Aljarafe and in the Vega. At the beginning

of the 7th/13th century there were serious floods, an endemic danger from which Seville suffered frequently, as a result of the Guadalquivir overflowing its banks (597/1200), and a great number of houses was destroyed by the inundations. This catastrophe, the pressure from the Christians and the political crisis in the Almohad empire brought about the start of a decline from which Abū 'l-'Ulā' Idrīs, the son of Yūsuf I, succeeded in temporarily rescuing Seville in 617/1220–1. The last years of Muslim life in Seville are full of sad incidents, in particular the attack by forces from León in 622/1225, when heavy losses were inflicted on the Sevillans, the siege of the town by al-Bayyāsī, who held the castles of Tajada and Aznalcázar, and the rising of al-Ma'mūn, son of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr. All these happenings coincided with the increasing military and economic pressure exerted by Ferdinand III, which compelled al-Ma'mūn to conclude honourable truces, and with the insurrection of Ibn Hūd against the Almohads. In 626/1229 the people of Seville renounced their obedience to the Almohad empire and accepted the authority of Ibn Hūd. Ferdinand III harassed Seville increasingly and kept the town under siege for 17 months, from Jumādā 1 645/September 1247, according to the Almohad *Bayān*, until the moment when it fell into his hands on 1 Sha'bān 646/19 November 1248 or, more probably, according to the *Crónica general*, on 25 November 1248 (for all these events, see J. González, *Las conquistas de Fernando III en Andalucía*, in *Hispania*, xxv [1946], 98–121). The attempts made by the Marīnid sultans to restore Seville to Islam failed, though their devastations in the region caused much damage, especially in 674/1275, the year of the siege of the town, and in 676/1278, when Aljarafe was pillaged. After this unhappy chapter, Seville remained in Christian hands, never again to be placed in danger or even threatened. It had been in the possession of the Muslims for 535 years.

After the Reconquista, Seville flourished as the main Spanish port for the exploration and exploitation of the New World, and was in the 16th century the richest and most populous city of Spain.

## II. MONUMENTS

From its long Muslim history, Seville has retained only a few historic buildings; nevertheless, it was



one of the great art cities of al-Andalus. But the prosperity it has enjoyed during the modern period when, from the 16th century, it came to be the great port and commercial centre safeguarding the links between Spain and her empire in the New World, has endowed Seville with new buildings which have replaced those which adorned the city at the time of the Christian reconquest.

## 1. *Fortifications*

### i. *The town wall*

For Seville, situated in a plain on the banks of a large navigable river, a fortified enceinte was indispensable. The Arabic texts refer to this at a very early date: after the Norman invasion of 230/844, the wall had to be repaired, at the command of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II who appointed one of his Syrian *mawālī*, 'Abd Allāh b. Sinān, to direct the works. On several occasions the waters of the Guadalquivir damaged the south face of this wall, at the edge of the river. Moreover, after the deposition of 'Abd Allāh, the Zīrid amir of Granada, al-Mu'tamīd had the ramparts strengthened, in view of the imminence of an Almoravid attack.

But this enceinte seems to have been repaired or completely reconstructed under the second Almoravid sultan 'Alī b. Yūsuf. The geographer al-Idrīsī, who was writing between 541 and 548/1147–54 and who had seen Andalusia before the Almohad conquest, said that the town wall of Seville was very strong. It survived the Christian reconquest. After having surrounded the town for seven centuries, it was demolished between 1861 and 1869. It measured 6 km/4 miles in circumference and was flanked by 116 towers. One small section of the wall still survives, between Cordova and the Macarena gates. The lofty curtain wall of solid concrete is constructed in courses each 83 cm high. Seven towers have been preserved, one of which is polygonal, the Torre Blanca, the other six being rectangular. All of them are decorated on their outer faces with bands of brickwork in relief. An outer wall stands 35 m each outside the main ramparts. The gates, in themselves strong and massive constructions, contained angled passages. When built, this Almoravid enceinte represented the latest development of Muslim fortifications in Spain, and it retained its efficacy throughout the Middle Ages. In 647/1239, after a siege, the town surrendered to

the king of Castile; it was not taken by storm.

Under the Almohad Abū Ya'qūb, the wall along the bank of the river must have been repaired again. In 617/1220–1, the governor of the town, the Almohad Abu 'l-'Ulā', built an angled defensive outwork, a *coracha*, which extended from the Alcazar to the river and ended in a strong twelve-sided bastion, the Golden Tower. The two lower storeys of this tower have been preserved, but the upper lantern has been rebuilt. The walls are constructed of rough stone and concrete. Like all the great Almohad bastions, the Golden Tower contains vaulted rooms, in this instance roofed with groined arches, alternately triangular and rectangular in plan and occupying three storeys. The arched windows which give light to these rooms are ornamented on the outer side with blind arcades bordered with ceramics.

The Golden Tower greatly strengthened the defence of the Guadalquivir bank. Between this and another bastion built on the left bank, it was possible to fasten a chain, to bar the river.

### ii. *The Alcazar*

Like all large towns in al-Andalus, Seville had its citadel, the Alcazar, the residence of the sovereign or governor. Its rectangular towers, ornamented with a double band in relief at the top, led to the belief that this fortification was the work of the Almohads. But recent restoration work of the west face has revealed that, beneath their outer covering, the curtain wall and towers were built of cut stone, following the characteristic technique of the 3rd/9th century. In its oldest form, the Alcazar thus dates back to the construction works ordered by 'Abd al-Raḥmān II. In the 4th/10th century, an alteration was made with a gate in this rampart, with a handsome facade of cut stone. The Almohads must have contented themselves with restoring the whole structure and repairing the upper part of the towers.

## 2. *Palaces*

Of the Muslim palaces contained in the Alcazar, and particularly the one adorned by the 'Abbāids, nothing remains from before the 6th/12th century. From the Almohads' buildings there only survive one section of the arches and interlaced lattice-work panels which surrounded the Patio de Yeso, and a ribbed vault in the Patio de Banderas. All the rest of

the Alcazar was rebuilt and altered in the Christian period: today, as a whole, it represents a great monument of Mudéjar art. However, in the Hall of the Ambassadors, the triple semicircular horseshoe-shaped archway, under a large arch of the same form, may represent an architectural arrangement dating from the caliphal period.

### 3. Mosques

#### i. *The first chief mosque*

Although all that survives is a section of the minaret, which now forms the base of the clock-tower in the old collegiate church of St. Salvador, we are fairly well informed regarding the first chief mosque in Seville. The foundation inscription which was carved on a pillar has been discovered; the mosque was built in 244/829 under the direction of the *qādī* of the town, Ibn 'Adabbās. With a width of 48.5 metres, it contained eleven aisles, at right angles to the wall of the *qibla*. Arches of brickwork rested on stone pillars. In 471/1079, the upper part of the minaret was repaired by al-Mu'tamīd.

Despite its handsome size, the mosque became too small. In another quarter of the town, near the Alcazar, the second Almohad caliph, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, had a new sanctuary built. Nevertheless, in 592/1195 his son Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ordered the restoration of the former chief mosque which, at the reconquest, was transferred into a church. In 797/1395, an earthquake undermined the top of the tower. Shortly afterwards, a bell-tower of cut stone was erected, and this still forms the second section of the present bell-tower. The mosque underwent various alterations and was demolished in 1671.

The base of the minaret – the oldest Muslim building in Spain, after the mosque of 'Abd Raḥmān I at Cordova – measures 5.8 m. in width. It is built of rough stone, of large size. In the interior, a spiral staircase mounts round a cylindrical central shaft. This arrangement, unknown in the Muslim East, occurs again in two ancient minarets in Cordova. This peculiarly Andalusian feature is perhaps of Roman origin.

#### ii. *The Almohad chief mosque*

The Almohad caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf wished to endow his favourite town with an immense and beauti-

ful chief mosque. The oratory and the *ṣaḥn* would appear to have been built during this sovereign's long visit to Andalusia, from 566 to 571/1171–6. It was a large building, measuring approximately 150 m by 100 m. The prayer court had 17 aisles, in the shape of a T, and probably there were 5 domes in the bay along the wall of the *qibla*. In length, there were 14 bays. In its plan, it conformed with the earliest Almohad mosques, though the dimensions were increased.

The *ṣaḥn*, which extended for a distance of eight bays, has been preserved in part. It was surrounded by lofty arcades of brickwork. Rectangular buttresses occurred at intervals along the outside walls, their summits crowned with toothed merlons, as in the great mosque of Cordova. Two of the doorways of this *ṣaḥn* have survived, the Puerta del Perdón, in the main axis of the building, and the Puerta de Oriente, on one side of the courtyard.

Although nothing now survives from one of the most immense prayer courts built by the Muslim West, the minaret of this Almohad chief mosque, now known as the Giralda, still dominates the town. This minaret was started in 551/1156 by the overseer Aḥmad b. Bašo, who built the foundations and the base of the tower with cut stone which had been used before. The death of the caliph for a time suspended work, which was resumed on the orders of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Maṣṣūr by the architect 'Alī of Gomara. The *ja'mūr*, the work of Abū Layth al-Ṣiqillī, was erected in 589/1198.

This great Almohad minaret, second only to the Kutūbiyya of Marrakesh, measures 16.1 m in width, while the height of the tower is 50.85 m. It was built of brick; around a central block, occupied by seven rooms placed one above the other, a ramp – not a staircase – mounted at a gentle angle, giving access to the upper part of the tower. The lantern was remodelled and surrounded by a gallery for the bells, between 1520 and 1568. Each of the faces of the tower is divided vertically into three sections. In the centre, panels of blind arcades with floral spandrels frame the twin apertures which give light to the ramp. On each side, the wall, which is left plain at its base, is decorated for two storeys with a mesh design in brickwork. All this ornamentation is of great richness and rare subtlety of design.

Reminders of Marrakesh, more distant echoes of Cordova, the natural richness and the light colour of Seville – these were the features that were noted

in the Almohad chief mosque. Today, the minaret still bears witness to Seville as a great centre of art, second only to Cordova.

#### 4. *Mudéjar art in Seville*

Further testimony, indirect but convincing, is provided by Mudéjar art in Seville. The churches erected in the town until the end of the 15th century largely employed Muslim forms and techniques. They were almost always built of brick; the doorways are in the form of large projecting blocks, often decorated with Muslim motifs, and the naves are roofed with *artesenados*. In design and form, their bell-towers are so close to minarets that it has sometimes been thought that they dated back to the Muslim period. Their panels of blind arcades and their floral decoration reproduce, in a simpler style, the motifs of the Giralda.

The palaces of the Alcazar are almost Mudéjar: but with the local traditions is also mingled the influence of the art of Granada. It is in the Mudéjar churches and in the Giralda that the richness of the tradition of Seville is best appreciated.

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**SHIRAZ**, in Arabic script Shīrāz, one of the historic cities of the southwest Persian province of Fars. It is situated in lat. 29° 36' N., long. 52° 32' E., at an altitude of 1,524 m/5,000 feet, at the western end of a large basin, some 130 km/80 miles long and up to 24 km/15 miles wide, though less in the vicinity of Shiraz itself. A river bed, which is dry for most of the year, bounds the northern part of the city and runs southwards towards Lake Māhalū.

The Islamic city is on a continuously-occupied site which may go back to Sasanid, or to even earlier, times. It was probably founded, or restored, by Muḥammad, brother of the Umayyad governor of the East, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf, or by his cousin Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, towards the end of the 7th century A.D. or the beginning of the 8th century.

According to Mustawfī, there were eighteen villages, irrigated by *qanāts*, in the surrounding district (*ḥawma*) of Shiraz, which belonged to the city. A network of roads radiates from Shiraz (see Le Strange, *Lands*, 195–8). It is approached on the south from the Persian Gulf through high mountain passes, and on the north through a series of hills which separate it from the plain of Marwdasht. Its water supply comes mainly from *qanāts*, of which the most famous is that of Ruknābād, made by Rukn al-Dawla b. Būya. July is the hottest month with a mean temperature of 85°, February the coldest with 47°. The annual rainfall is 384.6 mm. There have been several major earthquakes; those of 1824 and 1853 caused heavy loss of life and destruction of property. Over the centuries, the city has also suffered from floods, famines epidemics and sieges.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Shiraz was a centre of learning, where Islamic theology, mysticism and poetry flourished. Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/982), who founded a *ribāṭ* there, is buried in the city. *Qāḍīs*, *ulamā'* and Sufis and, to some extent, the rulers of the city as well as the people generally, shared in the vigorous religious life which prevailed. Mustawfī mentions that the people of Shiraz were much addicted to holy poverty and were of strict orthodoxy. Ibn Baṭṭūta also states that they were distinguished by piety, source religion and purity of manners, especially the women (*Rihla*, ii, 54, tr. Gibb, ii, 300). The Dhahabiyya order, established in the early 11th/17th century had, and still has, its centre in Shiraz (see R. Gramlich, *Die Schiitischen Derwischorden Persiens*, Wiesbaden 1965–81. The poet Ḥāfiz, who lived in Shiraz under Shāh Shujā' b. Mubārīz al-Dīm

Muḥammad (759–86/1357–84), is buried outside the city, as also is Sa'dī, who flourished at the court of the Atabeg Abū Bakr b. Sa'd (623–59/1226–61).

In the early centuries, it was under caliphal governors. Al-Iṣṭakhrī mentions the tax rates prevailing in Shiraz. He states that the land in the bazaars belonged to the government (*sulṭān*) and private persons paid ground rents. In the middle of the 3rd/9th century, Ya'qūb b. Layth, the Saffārid, having seized Fars, made Shiraz his capital. His brother 'Amr b. Layth, who succeeded him, built a congregational mosque on the site of which the present *maṣjid-i jāmi'* stands. 'Alī b. Būya 'Imād al-Dawla took Fars in 321/933. He was succeeded by his nephew 'Aḍud al-Dawla b. Rukn al-Dawla, who ruled Fars from 338/949 to 366/977 and Iraq and Fars from 366/977 to 372/983. Under his rule, Shiraz became an important economic and cultural centre. The anonymous *Hudūd al-'ālam* (written in 372/982–3) states that it was a large and flourishing town with two fire-temples. 'Aḍud al-Dawla built there a large library, a hospital, mosques, gardens, palaces, bazaars and caravanserais and a cantonment for his troops called Kard Fanā Khusraw. This became a small town in which business flourished. It provided an annual revenue of 16,000 *dīnārs*. According to Ibn al-Balkhī, Shiraz and Kard Fanā Khusraw together accounted for 316,000 *dīnārs* out of the total revenue of Fars of over 2,150,000 *dīnārs*. After the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Kard Fanā Khusraw fell into decay and was nothing but a hamlet when Ibn al-Balkhī was writing in the first decade of the 6th/12th century, and its estimated revenue (*ibrat*) was 250 *dīnārs*, though the sum collected was not more than 120 *dīnārs*. The hospital by this time was also in decay, but the library, which had been cared for by the family of the *qāḍī al-quḍāt* of Fars, was still in good condition.

Towards the end of the Buyid period, there was much disorder in the neighbourhood of Shiraz. Ṣamṣām al-Dawla Bā Kālījār, fearing attacks, built a strong wall round the city. According to al-Maqdisī, the city had eight gates, though some authorities mention eleven. The accounts of Fars during the early years of Saljuq rule are somewhat confused. In 439/1047–8 Abū Kālījār b. Sulṭān al-Dawla made peace with Ṭoghrlī Beg and governed Shiraz on his behalf. He was succeeded by his son Fulād Sulṭān, who was overthrown in 454/1062 by Faḍlūya, the Shabānkāra Kurd leader, who was, in turn, defeated

in the following year by an army from Kirman under Qāwurd. Shiraz was repeatedly plundered during these years. After the death of Malik Shāh (485/1092), Saljuq control over Fars weakened, but various of the Saljuq governors, in spite of frequent struggles between rival *amīrs* for control of the province, appear to have established a degree of security and good government in Shiraz. Among them were Chawlī Saqaw, Qaracha, Mengü-Bars, and Boz-Aba. The first-named was assigned Fars by Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh in 502/1108–9 or 503/1109–10, and he went there with Chaghārī, Muḥammad's infant son, to whom he was Atabeg. Qaracha, who was Atabeg to Saljuq Shāh b. Muḥammad, built and endowed a *madrasa* in Shiraz, which was still one of the great *madrasas* of the city in the 8th/14th century.

Mengü-Bars also built a *madrasa* in Shiraz, and during his government Abū Naṣr Lāla founded a *madrasa* near the Iṣṭakhr Gate, which was in excellent condition when Zarkūb was writing his local history, the *Shīrāz-nama*. After the death of Mengü-Bars, Boz-Aba took possession of Fars in 532/1137–8. He was turned out by Qara Sunqur, but retook the province in 534/1139–40. He died in 542/1147. His wife Zāhida Khātūn is reputed by Zarkūb to have governed Shiraz for twenty-one years (this must have been both during Boz-Aba's life-time, when he was presumably often absent from the city on campaigns, and thereafter). She built a magnificent *madrasa* in the city and constituted numerous *awqāf* for it. Sixty *fuqahā'* received allowances daily and many pious and learned men dwelt there. It had a high minaret but this, Zarkūb states, was in ruins when he was writing.

The Salghurids established themselves in possession of Fars by the middle of the 6th/12th century. Under their rule, Shiraz flourished. They and their ministers made many charitable foundations in the city. Sunqur b. Mawdūd (d. 558/1162–3), the founder of the dynasty, built the Sunquriyya *madrasa* and a mosque, and a minaret near the latter and a *siqāya* near the former. His tomb was in the Sunquriyya mosque, and 208 years after his death the people of Shiraz were still seeking fulfilment of their vows at it and the *shar'ī* judge accepted oaths invoking the name of his tomb. Zangī b. Mawdūd (d. 570 or 571/1175–6) constituted several large villages and pieces of land into *waqf* for the shrine of Ibn Khaffī. He also built a *ribāt* in Shiraz. Amīn al-Dīn Kāzarūnī (d. 567/1171–2), the *wazīr* of Tekle b. Zangī, who

succeeded Zangī b. Mawdūd, built a *madrasa* close to the 'Atīq mosque and a *ribāʿ*. After a period of internecine strife, during which agriculture was ruined and famine and pestilence broke out, Sa'd b. Zangī (591–623/1195–1226) established his supremacy, and prosperity was restored in the early years of the 7th/13th century. According to the historian Waṣṣāf, Sa'd's tax administration was lenient. He built a wall round the city, a splendid new *jāmi'* and the Atābakī Bazaar. His *wazīr* 'Amīd al-Dīn Abū Naṣr As'ad also built a *madrasa* in the quarter of the Iṣṭakhr Gate. Sa'd, who had extended his rule to include Kirman, made an expedition into Iraq in 613/1216–17 but was defeated by the Khwārazm Shāh Muḥammad. On his return to Shiraz, his son Abū Bakr, displeased with the terms he had made with the Khwārazm Shāh, refused him entry into the city. In the fighting which ensued, Sa'd was wounded, but the people of Shiraz let him into the city by night. He seized and imprisoned Abū Bakr. However, on Sa'd's death in 628/1230–1, Abū Bakr succeeded him.

The Mongols were meanwhile advancing on Persia, and so Abū Bakr sent his nephew Tahamtam to Ögedey offering submission and agreeing to pay tribute. Shiraz was thus spared devastation by the Mongols, though Mongol *shihnas* or military governors came to Shiraz and lived outside the city. However, the favourable tax situation which had prevailed under Sa'd b. Zangī did not continue. The demands of the Mongol commanders, and the establishments of the Mongol princesses, together with the needs of Abū Bakr's army and administration, increased. A new settlement, the *mīrāthī* settlement, was drawn up by 'Imād Dīn Mīrāthī, the head of Abū Bakr's *diwān al-inshā'*. Under it, new and higher taxes were imposed on Shiraz, including house taxes (*dārūt*), *ṭayyārāt* (the meaning of this term is uncertain; it may have meant in this context water taxes), imposts upon the import of cloth, taxes on horses, mules, camels, cattle and sheep, and *tamgha* taxes on foodstuffs apart from wheat and barley. Despite higher taxation, Abū Bakr is well spoken of by the sources. He made many charitable bequests. He built a hospital in Shiraz and a *siqāya* at the 'Atīq mosque, and constituted many *awqāf* for them. Two of his ministers, Amīr Muqarrab al-Dīn (d. 665/1266–7) and Fakhr al-Dīn Abū Bakr, emulated him; the former built a *madrasa* in the Shiraz bazaar and a *ribāʿ* adjoining the 'Atīq mosque, a *dār al-ḥadīth* and hospital and a *siqāya* by the

'Atīq mosque, and constituted many *awqāf* for them, while the latter built a *jāmi'*, *dār al-ḥadīth*, hospital and *siqāya*. The *jāmi'* was in good repair when Zarkūb was writing and the Friday prayers were held in it.

On Abū Bakr's death in 659/1261, Fars fell into a state of disorder. Finally, the Mongol Il-Khan Hülegü sent an army to Shiraz to avenge the murder by Saljuq Shāh b. Salghur Shāh of two *basqaqs* whom Hülegü had sent to Shiraz. He was defeated and killed in 662/1263–4. The last of the Salghurids was Abish bt. Sa'd (d. 685/1286–7). She was married to Tash Möngke, Hülegü's son, and was given estates in Shiraz and a grant on the taxes of the city as her marriage portion (*mahr wa shūr bahā*). At the beginning of 665/1266, two Mongol officials were sent to Shiraz to take what was in the provincial treasury and to collect the annual taxes, a task which they were unable to carry out. The next few years were troubled by much disorder. In 680/1281 Abaqa died. Tegüder appointed Tash Möngke as governor of Shiraz with orders to dismiss Bulughan, Abaqa's *basqaq*. Bulughan fled, and Fars submitted to Tash Möngke. When Tash Möngke returned to the *ordo* in 682/1283–4, his wife Abish was made governor of Shiraz by Tegüder. Her appointment coincided with the outbreak of three years of drought and famine in 683–5/1284–7, during which, Waṣṣāf alleges, over 100,000 persons died. After the death of Abish in 685/1286–7, disorders broke out in the city. Jo'ī, who was sent by Arghun to restore order, made heavy exactions on the people.

Under the Il-Khanids, repeated demands for alleged arrears of taxation by *ilchis* and others were made on the province of Fars and there is no reason to suppose that Shiraz was exempt from these demands (Lambton, *Mongol fiscal administration in Persia*, II, in *SI*, lxx [1987], 104–15). The situation was further worsened by natural disasters. Spring rains failed again in 698/1299; pestilence broke out and an epidemic of measles (*surkhaja*), from which, Waṣṣāf alleges, 50,000 people died in Shiraz and the surrounding districts. Under Ghazan, various steps were taken to reform the administration of the province, but according to Waṣṣāf these measures were not successful. Mustawfī mentions the absence of justice in Shiraz in his time. He states that the taxes of the city were levied as *tamgha* and farmed for 450,000 *dīnārs*. There were 500 charitable foundations (*buq'ā*) in Shiraz, which had been made by wealthy people

in the past and which had innumerable *awqāf*, but, he continues, “few of these reach their proper purpose: for the most part they are in the hands of those who devour them”. He states that the city had 9 gates and 17 quarters (114). Ghazan made a *dār al-siyāda* in Shiraz and in 702/1302–3 a *yarligh* was issued for a high wall and deep moat to be made round the city. Five *tumans* of gold from the taxes, presumably of Shiraz, for that year were allocated to this purpose, and when this proved insufficient, the order was given for the revenue for the whole year to be allocated. Whether the work was ever completed is not stated.

Kürdünjin, the daughter of Abish Khātūn and the eldest of Tash Möngke’s many daughters, was given a permanent contract (*muqāla‘a-i abadī*) on the taxes of Fars by Abū Sa‘īd, the last of the Il-Khans, in 719/1319–20. Waṣṣāf praises her care for the people. He records that she paid particular attention to the upkeep of the buildings made by her forbears, including the ‘Aḡudī *madrassa* in Shiraz. This *madrassa* was built by Terken Khātūn, the wife of Sa‘d b. Abī Bakr, and possibly named after her son Muḥammad, who had the *laqab* or honorific title of ‘Aḡud al-Dīn. Waṣṣāf states that the revenues of the *awqāf* of the *madrassa* amounted to over 200,000 *dīnārs* when he was writing (i.e. in 727/1326) and that Kürdünjin expended them on their proper purposes and increased them.

During the reign of Abū Sa‘īd, Maḥmūd Shāh, the son of Muḥammad Shāh Injū, who had been sent to Fars by Öljeytū to administer the royal estates, succeeded in making himself practically independent in Shiraz and Fars. He was succeeded by his son Maṣ‘ūd, who surrendered Shiraz to Pīr Ḥusayn, grandson of ‘Oban, in 740/1339. He was driven out two years later by his nephew Malik Ashraf. On the latter’s withdrawal in 744/1342–3, Abū Ishāq, the youngest son of Maḥmūd Shāh, established his rule. It was during his reign that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Shiraz for the second time in July 1347. In spite of the extortion and financial disorders there under the Il-Khanids described by Mustawfī and Waṣṣāf, there seems to have been a revival under the Injūids. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa states that the revenue yield was high (ii, 65–6, tr. ii, 307). He speaks highly of the bazaars of Shiraz. He describes how Abū Ishāq conceived the ambition to build a vaulted palace like the Aywān Kisrā at Ctesiphon and ordered the inhabitants to

dig its foundations. When he saw this edifice, it had reached about 30 cubits from the ground. Among the sanctuaries of Shiraz, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa mentions especially that of Aḥmad b. Mūsā, which was highly venerated by the Shirazis. Tash Khātūn, the mother of Abū Ishāq, built at his tomb a large college and hospice, in which food was supplied to all comers and Qur’ān readers continually recited the Qur’ān over the tomb. The traveller states that the Khātūn made a practice of going to the sanctuary on the eve of every Monday, and on that night the *qāḍīs*, the doctors of the law and *sharīfs* would assemble there. He was told by trustworthy persons that over 1,400 *sharīfs* (children and adults) were in receipt of stipends. The tomb-mosque of Aḥmad b. Mūsā was known locally as Shāh Chirāgh. It was rebuilt in 1506 and again later, but by then the *madrassa* and hospice no longer existed. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa also mentions the mausoleum of Rūzbihān Baqlī (316) and the tomb of Zarkūb.

In 754/1353 the Muḥaffarid Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad captured Shiraz. Abū Ishāq fled, but was captured and executed in 758/1357. Tīmūr invaded southern Persia in 789/1387 and placed the Muḥaffarid Shāh Yaḥyā in control of Shiraz, but after Tīmūr’s withdrawal, Shāh Maṣṣūr wrested the city from him. In 795/1393 Shāh Maṣṣūr was killed in an encounter with Timurid forces outside Shiraz. There appears to have been a cultural revival under the Timurids. Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh (r. 812–17/1409–14), made a number of new buildings (J. Aubin, *Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz*, in *SI*, viii [1957] 75–6), and during his government and that of Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh, who was appointed governor of Fars in 817/1414, a new style of painting flourished in Shiraz.

The later Timurids disputed possession of Fars with the Qara Qoyunlu and the Aq Qoyunlu. During the reign of Uzun Ḥasan, who eventually defeated Jahān Shāh, the last of the Qara Qoyunlu in 872/1467, and the Timurid Abū Sa‘īd in the following year, Shiraz once more became a thriving city. Josafa Barbaro, the Venetian, whose travels spanned the years 1436–51, states that it was a great city, full of people and merchants, with a population of 200,000, and that it had a prosperous transit trade. Large quantities of jewels, silks and spices were to be found there. The city had high mud walls, deep ditches and a number of excellent mosques and

good houses. Security prevailed in the city (*Travels to Tana and Persia by Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini*, London 1873, 74). Ludovico di Varthema (who set out for the east in 1502) also states that large quantities of jewels were to be found in Shiraz (*Travels... A.D. 1503–1508*, tr. J.W. Jones and ed. G.P. Badger, London 1863, p. iii).

In 909/1503 Shiraz fell to the Safavids. Under the early Safavids, it was ruled by Dhu 'l-Qadr governors. However, 'Abbās I appointed the *qullar aqasi* Allāhwirdī Khān (d. 1022/1613) governor in 1004/1595–6. He was succeeded by his son Imām Qulī Khān. Under their rule, Fars enjoyed a considerable degree of independence, and Shiraz prospered. Allāhwirdī Khān built the Khān Madrasa for the philosopher and theologian Mullā Šadrā, who returned to Shiraz and taught there during the last thirty years or so of his life. Imām Qulī Khān built a palace in the *maydān* and walls round the city and planted cypress trees on both sides of the Isfahan road in imitation of the Chahār Bāgh of Isfahan. He entertained the English envoy Sir Dodmore Cotton at Shiraz in 1628. He was suspected by Shāh Šaftī (1038–52/1629–42) of harbouring rebellious intentions, and was murdered on the latter's orders in 1042/1632. The administration of the city was then placed under the control of the central *dīvān* under a *wazīr*, Mu'in Dīn Muḥammad.

Many European travellers passed through Shiraz, which was on the direct line of communications from the Persian Gulf to Isfahan, the Safavid capital, and recorded their impressions of the city. Among them were Della Valle (1612–21), Thomas Herbert (1628), Tavernier (1632–68), Thévenot (1663), Chardin (1666–9, 1672–7), Fryer (1676–8), Kaempfer (1683), and Cornelius de Bruin (1702–4). When Herbert passed through the city, part of the old walls were still standing, but they had disappeared by the time Tavernier and Chardin visited the city. In 1617 the English East India Company set up a factory there, but by the middle of the century trade had been much reduced as a result of the rivalry of the Dutch East India Company. A Carmelite house was established in Shiraz in 1623. It was temporarily closed in 1631 and reopened in 1634 (*A chronicle of the Carmelites in Persia*, London 1939, i, 322, ii, 1056–7).

In 1630 and 1668 the city was partially destroyed by floods, which on the latter occasion were followed by pestilence, but when Fryer visited Shiraz in 1676 the town had largely recovered. Several European vis-

itors mention ceramic manufactures in the 11th/17th century. Some wine was exported to Portugal. It was made mainly by Jews, of whom there were some 600 families in Shiraz according to Tavernier (*Voyages en Perse*, repr. Geneva 1970, 309–10).

After the fall of the Safavids in 1722, Shiraz suffered in the fighting between the Ghalzay Afghans and Nādir Qulī (later Nādir Shāh). In 1723 an Afghan force marched on the city. The governor refused to yield. The city held out for nine months before famine compelled its defenders to surrender in 1136/1723. Nearly 100,000 persons are said to have perished during the siege see L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Šafavī dynasty and the Afghan occupation of Persia*, Cambridge 1958, 203). In 1729 Nādir, who had driven the Afghans out of Isfahan, defeated an Afghan force near Shiraz, which then fell into his hands. He gave orders for the city to be restored, part of the city and practically all of the gardens having been destroyed in the course of the final struggle with the Afghans. He contributed 1,500 *tūmāns* for the restoration of the Shāh Chirāgh mosque (Lockhart, *Nadir Shah*, London 1938, 46). In 1733–4 Muḥammad Khān Balū' rebelled in Fars, declaring in favour of the Safavid pretender Ṭahmāsp. He was defeated by Nādir and escaped to Shiraz and thence to Qays Island. Nādir reoccupied Shiraz and appointed Mīrzā Taqī Khān Shīrāzī b. Hājji Muḥammad, *mustawfi* of Shiraz, as deputy governor of Fars. His family had held in their possession from generation to generation the office of *mīrāb* of Qumisha and Shiraz. In January 1744 Taqī Khān rebelled. A force sent by Nādir laid siege to Shiraz, which fell after four months. The city was then sacked and many of the population put to the sword. Two towers of human heads were erected and the gardens round the town devastated. Plague broke out after the siege and allegedly carried off 1,400 people.

Nādir Shāh died in 1747. Between his death and the rise of Karīm Khān Zand, Shiraz was repeatedly plundered by the contending parties. By 1179/1765 Karīm Khān had emerged as the undisputed ruler of Persia apart from Khurasan (see J.R. Perry, *Karim Khan Zand*, Chicago 1979). In 1180/1766–7 he made Shiraz his capital, which thus became the capital not simply of a province but of the kingdom, a position which it had not held since the death of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Under Karīm Khān's rule, security, by all accounts, prevailed there. The city was repopulated and prosperity returned. Commerce and foreign

trade were encouraged. Customs dues were paid on all goods coming into the city. Provisions were cheap and their price regulated by the *dārūgha*. Glass was made in Shiraz and great quantities exported to other parts of Persia. Wine was also made, chiefly by Jews and Armenians, and exported to the Persian Gulf for the Indian market.

Prosperity was temporarily interrupted by famine which affected southern Persia in 1775, and after Karīm Khān's death decay set in. According to Muḥammad Hāshim Rustam al-Ḥukamā', the price of wheat bread in Shiraz rose during the famine to 250 *dīnārs* per Tabriz *man*. The state granaries were not opened there because it was thought wise to keep the stores for the army, but grain was brought to Shiraz from *dūwān* granaries elsewhere. Although the cost of this is alleged by Rustam al-Ḥukamā' to have worked out at 1,400 *dīnārs* per Tabriz *man*, Karīm ordered the wheat to be sold for 200 *dīnārs* per Tabriz *man* and barley for 100 *dīnārs*. All livestock were sent to Ray, Qazvin and Azerbaijan because of lack of fodder.

Karīm Khān undertook a massive building programme in his capital, to take part in which craftsmen and workmen came from all over Persia. He built a new wall and a dry ditch round the city. William Francklin, who was in Shiraz in 1786–7, shortly after Karīm Khān's death, states that the wall was 25 ft. high and 10 ft. thick with round towers at a distance of 80 paces from each other and that there were six gates. According to Rustam al-Ḥukamā', 12,000 labourers were employed in digging the ditch. Karīm Khān also built, or repaired, the fortress (*qal'a*) of the city and built a citadel (*arg*), in which his successor Ja'far Khān resided, a *dūwān-khāna*, artillery park (*tūp-khāna*) and a magnificent brick-built covered bazaar, known as the Wakīl Bazaar, the shops of which were rented to merchants by the Khān at a monthly rent. The foundations for a splendid mosque and associated buildings were laid but not finished before Karīm Khān died. Karīm Khān also built several thousand houses for the Lurs and Laks who belonged to his army. The city had eleven quarters, five of which were Ḥaydarī quarters and five Nī'matī. The eleventh quarter was inhabited by the Jews, who had grown in number. The Armenians, who were mainly engaged in the wine trade, had also increased in number.

On the death of Karīm Khān, Āghā Muḥammad Khān Qājār, who had been held hostage in Shiraz, escaped. In 1204/1789–90 he made an expedition to

the south. Luṭf 'Alī Khān Zand, who had succeeded Ja'far Khān in 1203/1789, fled to Shiraz, where he was besieged. After three months, Āghā Muḥammad Khān raised the siege, his attention being required to deal with disorders by the Yomut and Goklan Türkmens. In 1205/1791 Luṭf 'Alī Khān made an abortive attempt to recover Isfahan, leaving Ḥājji Ibrāhīm, the *kalāntar*, in charge of Shiraz. During Luṭf 'Alī Khān's absence, Ḥājji Ibrāhīm seized the city and entered into negotiations with Āqā Muḥammad Khān to surrender the city to him.

The government of Fars under the Qajars, as that of other major provinces, was for much of the time in the hands of Qajar princes. Shiraz remained the provincial capital, but the governors were frequently absent on military expeditions or visits to the court. The administration was largely in the hands of the *wazīrs* of Fars (see appendix in H. Busse, *History of Persia under Qajar rule translated from the Persian of Hasan-e Fasā'ī's Farsnāma-ye Nāserī*, New York 1972, 422–5, for a list of governors and *wazīrs* of the province of Fars under the Qajars). The distance from Tehran made control by the central government precarious and intermittent. In Jumādā II 1209/December 1794–January 1795, Faṭḥ 'Alī Mīrzā (Bābā Khān) was appointed governor of Fars, Kirman and Yazd by Āqā Muḥammad Khān. He proceeded to Shiraz. On the murder of Āqā Muḥammad Khān in 1797, he returned to Tehran. Having established himself as Shāh, he appointed his brother Ḥusayn Qulī Mīrzā governor of Fars. The latter arrived in Shiraz in Rabī' I 1212/September 1797. In the following year he rebelled, but submitted almost immediately. The governorship of Fars was then conferred upon Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Qājār Qoyunlu. He was succeeded in 1214/1709 by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh's son Ḥusayn 'Alī Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, who was accompanied to Fars by 800 musketeers (*tufangchīs*) from Nūr in Māzandarān. They were joined two years later by their families and took up residence in the Murdistān district of Shiraz (which had been inhabited by Laks in the time of Karīm Khān and then destroyed by Āghā Muḥammad Khān). They were unpopular and committed many disorders, and in 1244/1828–9 were ordered to return to Tehran.

Scott Waring, who was in Shiraz in 1802, states that at least a fourth part of the city was in ruins (*A tour to Sheeraz by the route of Kazroon and Feerozabad*, London 1807, 33); Sir William Gore Ouseley, who passed through the city in 1811 on his way to Tehran,



also notes its apparent decay (*Travels in various countries of the East, more particularly Persia*, etc., London 1819, ii, 17). James Morier estimated, with reservation, the population of Shiraz in 1810 to have been not more than 19,000 (*A second journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816*, London 1818, 110–11).

Ḥusayn ‘Alī Mīrzā’s governorship of Fars, and the 19th century in general, were marked by natural disasters, the spread of family and tribal rivalries and financial maladministration. Pestilence (*wabā*) broke out in 1237/1822, and Fasā’ī alleges that, in the space of five or six days, 6,000 people died in Shiraz. Outbreaks of cholera were frequent. In 1247/1830–1 the city suffered famine as a result of locusts, which ravaged southern Persia, and plague (*ṭā’ūn*). Severe famine again set in 1860 and continued until 1871–2 (see C.J. Wills, *In the land of the Lion and the Sun, or Modern Persia*, London 1893, 251–5). On this occasion, Muḥammad Qāsim Khān, who was appointed governor of Fars in 1288/1871, prepared a number of workhouses (*gadā-khāna*) in Shiraz, each with a capacity of 50–60 persons. He undertook responsibility for six of these himself and made several others the responsibility of the great men of the city.

Farhād Mīrzā Mu’tamid al-Dawla, who was appointed governor of Fars for the second time in 1293/1876, made an attempt to regulate the building trade in Shiraz. At the beginning of the year the brickmakers, stucco workers and cement workers were assembled, and the number of bricks, their cost and the amount of cement needed, and the due of the master bricklayer (*ustād*), were fixed. In 1299/1881–2, on the orders of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Ṣāḥib Dīwān, *wazīr* of Fars, the streets of the city were stone-paved, and on the orders of Qawām al-Mulk, a brick roof was made for the coppersmiths’ bazaar and the shops from the Isfahan gate to the Wakīl Bazaar.

By the beginning of the Qajar period, Ḥājji Ibrāhīm had become the leading man of Shiraz. He became Āghā Muḥammad Khān’s first minister. When he was seized and put to death with many of his family by Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh in 1215/1801, the family suffered a temporary setback. However, in 1226/1811–12, his son Mīrzā ‘Alī Akbar was made *kalāntar* of Fars and in 1245/1829–30 given the *laqab* Qawām al-Mulk. He and his descendants, who became the leaders of the Khamsa tribal federation, played a major role in provincial and city politics.

Their main rivals were the *ilbegis* and chiefs of the Turkish Qashqā’ī tribe. The ‘ulamā’ also played an important part in city politics.

Morier mentions that there was great discontent in Shiraz in *ca.* 1811 over the price of bread, which had risen because of the cornering of grain by an official believed to have been acting together with the prince governor’s mother. The populace had recourse to the Shaykh al-Islām and expressed their grievances in a tumultuous way. The price of bread was lowered for a few days and the bakers were publicly bastinadoed.

A variety of tolls and dues was levied in the city by different officials. Scott Waring states that the commander of the citadel (*kutwāl*) levied a toll on every beast of burden which entered the city carrying a load. R.M. Binning, who was in Shiraz in the middle of the century, states that each craft and trade paid a lump sum in taxation to the government, which sum was apportioned among the members of the craft by mutual agreement (*A journal of two years’ travel in Persia, Ceylon, etc.*, London 1857, i, 278–9). He also gives a list of prices of commodities in Shiraz *ca.* 1857. Consul Abbott, writing in the middle of the 19th century, states that the bazaars there contained about 1,200 shops. A few articles of hardware and cutlery guns, swords, daggers and knives, and *khātām* work were produced (*Cities and trade. Consul Abbott on the economy and society of Iran, 1847–1866*, ed. A. Amanat, London 1983, 88).

Irregularity in the collection of the provincial taxes gave rise to frequent disputes with the central government. In 1244/1828–9 Faṭḥ ‘Alī came to Shiraz to look into the question of arrears. He accepted 200,000 *tūmāns* from Ḥusayn ‘Alī Mīrzā in settlement. In 1247/1831–2 a remission of taxes was given on account of ravages by locusts and plague. Failure to remit the provincial taxes, however, continued and in 1834 Faṭḥ ‘Alī again set out for Shiraz to collect arrears. He fell ill in Isfahan and died there on 23 October 1834. Ḥusayn ‘Alī Mīrzā thereupon read the *khutba* in his own name in Shiraz and marched on Isfahan. His forces were defeated near Qumisha. Rioting broke out in Shiraz. Ḥusayn ‘Alī Mīrzā surrendered and later died. Muḥammad Shāh meanwhile appointed his brother Fīrūz Mīrzā governor of Fars.

During the 19th century, there were frequent outbreaks of disorder in Shiraz. An insurrection,

provoked in part by the conduct of the Azerbaijani Turkish soldiers in the city and fomented by Shaykh Abū Ṭurāb, took place in 1254–5/1839 and led to the dismissal of Farīdūn Mīrzā Farmān-Farmā, who had been appointed governor in 1252/1836. In 1261/1845 Sayyid ‘Alī Muḥammad declared himself to be the messianic figure of the Bāb. He was arrested and expelled from the city. Consul Abbott remarks on the unruly nature of the population of Shiraz, and states that during the government of Bahrām Mīrzā (1264–6/1848–9) the city was often the scene of riot and bloodshed. He also notes that the Ḥaydarīs and Nī’matīs indulged in frequent factional strife. In 1853 there were reports that the venality and oppression of the local authorities were alienating the sympathy of the people from the Shāh and his government. Communications with the capital were improved when the Indo-European telegraph line from Tehran to Bushire, which passed through Shiraz, became operational in March 1865.

The Qajar prince, Zill al-Sultan, who had been made governor of Isfahan in 1874, was given the government of Fars in 1881 also, and until he was deprived of all his governments except Isfahan in 1887, most of southern Persia, including Fars, was virtually independent of the central government. He continued to have his seat in Isfahan and governed Fars and Shiraz through subordinate officials. According to the census made in 1301/1883–4, there were 6,327 houses in Shiraz, and the population of the eleven quarters numbered 25,284 men and boys and 28,323 women and girls. In 1891, at the time of the Tobacco Régie, there was violent opposition to the Régie in Shiraz (see Lambton, *The Tobacco Régie, a prelude to revolution*, in *SI*, xxii [1965], 127, 131–2, also in *eadem*, *Qājār Persia*, London 1987, 230–1, 234).

The movement for constitutional reform at the beginning of the 20th century spread to Shiraz as to many other cities, though it did not become one of the major centres of the movement. There were disturbances there in 1906 and riots in March 1907. Much of Fars was in a state of turmoil, and during the First World War disorders continued. The officers of the Swedish gendarmerie were favourably disposed towards the Central Powers; and in the autumn of 1915 the Qashqā’ī and mutinous gendarmerie seized the British consulate, the offices of the Imperial Bank of Persia (which had been opened in May 1891) and

the Indo-European Telegraph Company in Shiraz, and took members of the British community prisoner (Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*<sup>3</sup>, London 1969, ii, 445–7, Sir Clarmont Skrine, *World War in Iran*, London 1962, pp. xx–xxi). In 1916 and 1917 order was to some extent restored in Fars, and the Southern Persian Rifles were formed and officially recognised by the Persian Government in March 1917. By May 1918 the situation had again deteriorated, and in the summer of that year the Qashqā’īs invested Shiraz but were defeated in October. In the influenza epidemic of 1918 10,000 persons in Shiraz lost their lives. In the 1920s the tribal areas in Fars were in a state of turmoil until Riḍā Shāh reduced them. During his reign, Shiraz did not have a major share in the industrial developments which took place in some parts of Persia, but in the years after the Second World War there was considerable development. By 1961–2 the population of the city had risen to 129,023 and to *ca.* 325,000 by 1972; the latest census figure (2006) is 1,271,000.

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**SOKOTO**, in Hausa Sakkawato, and in Arabic, Sakata, a city of northwestern Nigeria and the administrative centre of an emirate and of a province of the same name in modern Nigeria. The city is situated in lat. 13° 02' N., lat. 5° 15' E., and has a population of 563,860 (recent estimate), most of these being from Fulani or Hausa tribes.

It was established first as a camp in 1223/1808, then the following autumn as a *ribāt*, by Muḥammad Bello, the son of the Shaykh 'Uthmān b. Fūdī/Usumanu dan Fodio, in the fourth and final year of their *jihād* against Gobir. In 1230/1815, the Shaykh, now ill, moved to Sokoto from Sifawa. On his death in 1232/1817 and with the election of Muḥammad Bello as *Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, the city became the headquarters of the "Sokoto Caliphate". The Shaykh was buried in the garden of his house in Sokoto and his tomb became a place of pilgrimage (*ziyāra*); at the instigation of his daughter Asmā', it became a focal point for organising pious women, who became known as *yan taru*. Although the city remained the most important town in the area, Wurno, 20 miles to the northeast, was also used by several caliphs as a *ribāt* and capital instead of Sokoto; it is where Muḥammad Bello is buried.

The city of Sokoto stands high on a bluff overlooking the Sokoto or Kebbi river, a tributary of the Niger, at its confluence with the Rima river. Nearby are springs, the discovery of which was one of the *karāmāt* of the Shaykh. The city was mud-walled, with eight gates (like Paradise, people said); the walls were extended ca. 1230/1815 towards the west so as to accommodate the Shaykh and his companions. The core of the city originally centred on Muḥammad Bello's house closing the eastern end of a wide ceremonial avenue; the palace therefore faced west in the traditional manner with, at the rear, an eastern doorway for slaves. The open space in front of the palace had the mosque on the south side and, further away to the north, the market place (and place of execution); Muḥammad Bello's officials – the vizier and the *magajin gari* – had their houses on his right (north), while the two others, the *galadima* and the *magajin rafi*, were on his left. The Shaykh had his own mosque beside his house in the new quarter on the west side of the town.

"Sokoto Caliphate" is the term used since ca. 1965 to denote the state set up by Shaykh 'Uthmān following the successful *jihād* of 1218–23/1804–8 which

overthrew both Muslim rulers (who were accused of condoning non-Islamic practices) and some non-Muslim chiefs. The state was made up of a series of emirates, often separated by forested no-man's-land; it would have taken a 19th-century traveller four months to traverse the state west to east, and two months from north to south. It was the largest autonomous state in 19th-century sub-Saharan Africa and (by the second half of the century) home to a sophisticated commercial network that traded throughout western and northern Africa. In 1227/1812 the state, already large, was divided into four quadrants, the north and east coming under Muḥammad Bello, the west and south under the Shaykh's brother 'Abd Allāh; under them, the Ubandoma and the army commander 'Alī Jedo governed the northern segment, and Abubakar and Bukhari (both sons of the Shaykh) the southern segment. 'Abd Allāh b. Fūdī and his descendants ruled their half of the state from the small city of Gwandu, some 95 km/60 miles southwest of Sokoto. The hinterlands of the two capitals abutted on each other, together forming the spiritual core of a far-flung Muslim community.

The city of Sokoto was surrounded by a closely settled hinterland only about 40 km/25 miles wide and 70 km/40 miles long; the whole territory was defended against raids by a line of *ribāts* and frontier towns (*thaghr*). No taxes apart from *zakāt* were paid by residents of this hinterland; the population was supported by farm-work and herding carried out by slaves and by taxes sent in twice a year by the emirates. The area never specialised (as did the emirates of Kano or Zaria) in trade or craft production, nor was it noted for its military strength and captives for export (as was Adamawa). It was only after ca. 1850 that the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* had a small standing army of his own. Instead, the area was famous for its scholarship and poetry; over three hundred books were written by the leaders of the *jihād*, while other '*ulamā*' focused on the practice of Sufism. The Qādiriyya was the official *ṭarīqa*; the Tijāniyya was introduced by al-Ḥājj 'Umar al-Fūtī when he was in Sokoto (ca. 1246–54/1830–8), but only after ca. 1261/1845 did it win public acceptance in emirates outside Sokoto. Expectation that the end of the world was imminent, and that the Mahdī was soon to appear, was widespread throughout the hundred years of the caliphate's history; in the political and intellectual turbulence of the decade 1261–71/1845–55 many tried

to migrate eastwards in anticipation; many more left at the end of the century as European imperialism put pressure on Muslim states, with the result that over a million of their descendants ("Fellata") are today in the Sudan, many of them originally from the Sokoto area.

On 15 March 1903, Lt.-Col. Thomas Morland led a force of some 700 Hausa soldiers to open ground outside the southern walls of Sokoto and there defeated the army of the *Amīr al-Mu'minīn* Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir. The British colonial Commissioner, Frederick Lugard, then proclaimed British sovereignty over Sokoto and its emirates and appointed another Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir as the new "Sultan". Sokoto became just a provincial capital within colonial Nigeria, rather isolated with neither railway nor tarred road. In 1956, with the attainment of self-rule, and in 1960 with full independence,

the Sardauna of Sokoto became Premier of the Northern Region of Nigeria. Under him, the notion of a modern "Sokoto Caliphate" was born; through it he and his party sought to foster both a sense of unity and the ideals of good government, based on a common Islamic morality yet tolerant and forward-looking. With his assassination on 15 January 1966, the dream of a revived "Sokoto Caliphate" faded, but under its long-serving Sultan Abubakar (1938–88), Sokoto remained a source of political and spiritual leadership out of all proportion to its economic role in the Nigerian state.

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# T

**TABRIZ**, in Arabic script *Tabrīz*, a city of north-western Persia and the historic capital of the province of Azerbaijan. It is situated in lat. 38° 05' N., long. 46° 18' E. at an altitude of 1,367 m/4,485 feet.

## I. GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

1. *Geographical position.* The city lies in the eastern corner of the alluvial plain sloping slightly towards the north-east bank of Lake Urmiya. The plain is watered by several streams, the chief of which is the Aji Chay (“bitter river”) which, rising in the south-west face of Mount Sawalān, runs along the Qaraja dagh which forms a barrier on the south and entering the plain runs around on the north-west suburbs of the city. The left bank tributary of the Aji Chay, Mihrān rūd (now the Maydān Chay), runs through the city. Immediately to the north-east of the city rise the heights of ‘Aynali-Zaynali (the *ziyārat* of ‘Awn b. ‘Alī and Zayd b. ‘Alī) which (6,000 feet) form a link between the mountain system of the Qaraja Dagħ (in the north and north-east) and the outer spurs of the Sahand whose peaks (about 48 km/30 miles south of the city) reach a height of 11,500 feet. As the Qaraja Dagħ is a very wild and mountainous region and the great massif of Sahand fills the whole area between Tabriz and Marāgha, the site of Tabriz is the only suitable pass for communications between east and north. Lastly, as the outer spurs of the Sahand leave a rather narrow couloir along the east bank of Lake Urmiya, communication between north (Transcaucasia, Qaraja Dagħ) and the south (Marāgha, Kurdistan) must also take place via Tabriz.

This fortunate position predestined Tabriz to become the centre of the vast and rich province lying between Turkey and the former Russian Transcaucasia and in general one of the most important cities between Istanbul and India (only Tiflis, Tehran, Isfahan and Baghdad fall into the same category).

The climate of Tabriz is very severe in winter with heavy snowfalls. In summer, the heat is tempered by the proximity of the Sahand and by the presence of numerous gardens about the town. The climate is on the whole healthy.

One feature of Tabriz is the frequent earthquakes. The most formidable took place in 244/858, in 434/1042 (mentioned by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his *Safar-nāma* and predicted by the astronomer Abū Tāḥir Shīrāzī), in 1641, in 1727, in 1780, etc. Seismic shocks are of everyday occurrence at Tabriz; they may be due to the volcanic activity of the Sahand. See further, N.N. Ambraseys and C.P. Melville, *A history of Persian earthquakes*, Cambridge 1982, 37 ff., 57, 62.

The fortifications of the town were razed to the ground in the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The part of the city called the *qal‘a* is therefore no longer separated from the former part *extra muros*. The city has also incorporated the former suburbs to the west of the city and the south-east. The tendency of the city is to extend to the west and south-west

2. *The name.* According to Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 822, the name of the town is pronounced *Tabrīz*. Yāqūt gives as his authority Abū Zakariyyā’ al-Tabrīzī (a pupil of Abū ‘l-‘Alā’ al-Ma‘arrī, of whom we know that he spoke the local Persian dialect. The pronunciation *Tibrīz* must be one of the peculiarities of this

dialect which is related to those called “Caspian”, or, more probably, Arabic purism assimilating it to the *fiʿl* form of the noun. The modern pronunciation is exclusively *Tabrīz* (or with a metathesis typical of the Turkish dialect, now predominant throughout Azerbaijan: *Tārbīz*). The Armenian sources confirm the pronunciation with *a*. The popular Persian etymology explains *Tabrīz* as “making fever run” (= disappear) (Ewliyā Chelebi: *sitma döküjü*), but it is possible that the name rather means “that which makes the heat disappear”, in some connection with the volcanic activities of the Sahand. The Armenian orthography reflects the peculiarities of Northern Pahlavi *Tʿavrēzh* and this suggests the origin of the name may go back to a very early period, pre-Sasanid and perhaps pre-Arsacid.

3. *Early history*. The identification of Tabriz with some ancient city of Media has given rise to much discussion. According to the Armenian historian Vardan (14th century), Tabriz was founded on Persian territory by the Arshakid Armenian Khusraw (217–33) as an act of revenge against the first Sasanid king Ardashīr (224–41), who had killed the last Parthian king Artabanus; this story is not found in any ancient source and is probably to be explained by popular etymology.

4. *Arab rule*. During the conquest of Azerbaijan by the Arabs (ca. 22/642) the principal efforts of the latter were directed against Ardabil. Tabriz is not mentioned among the towns from which the Persian Marzubān had levied his troops. After the devastation mentioned by Faustus of Byzantium (4th century), Tabriz must have become a mere village. The later legend of the “building” of Tabriz in 175/791 by Zubayda, wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd, is perhaps based on the fact that after the sequestration of the Umayyad estates Zubayda had received Warthān (in Azerbaijan on the Araxes). According to al-Balādhurī and Ibn al-Faqīh, the rebuilding of Tabriz was the work of the family of al-Rawwād al-Azdī and particularly of the latter’s sons, al-Wajnā’ and others who built the walls round the town. Al-Ṭabarī, speaking of the rebellion of Bābak (201–20/816–35) mentions among his conquerors a certain Muḥammad b. Baʿīth, owner of two castles: Shāhī, which he had taken from al-Wajnā’, and Tabriz (no details given).

When Ibn Khurradādhbih wrote (232/840), Tabriz belonged to Muḥammad b. al-Rawwād. In

244 the town was destroyed by an earthquake but rebuilt before the end of the reign of al-Mutawakkil (232–47/847–61). Tabriz seems then to have changed hands several times, for, according to al-Iṣṭakhrī (ca. 340/951), 181, the strip of territory which included Tabriz, Jabrawān (or Dihkharraqān?) and Ushnūh bore the name of the ruling tribe Banū Rudaynī, which had already disappeared by the time of Ibn Ḥawqal (ca. 367/978), 289. These owners seem to have ruled in practical independence, for the history of the Sājids (lords of Azerbaijan 276–317/889–929) contains no reference to their intervention in the affairs of Tabriz.

After the disappearance of the Sājids, Azerbaijan became the arena of numerous struggles. A former governor for the Ziyārid Mardāwīj, Lashkarī b. Mardī, had seized the province in 326/938. He was driven out by the Kurd Daysam, who soon came into conflict with the Daylamī Musāfirids. The people of Tabriz invited Daysam into their town, which was at once besieged by the Musāfirid al-Marzubān. Daysam left Tabriz, and the rule of al-Marzubān was proclaimed in all the towns of Azerbaijan (ca. 330/942).

The end of the Musāfirid dynasty is not quite clear, but their successors the Rawwādids can be traced at Tabriz down to 446/1054. The following events are connected with these Rawwādids: in 420/1029, Wahsūdān b. Mamlān (Mamlān?) had a large number of Ghuzz chiefs massacred at Tabriz; in 434/1043 an earthquake destroyed Tabriz, and the *amīr* (probably the same one) went to his other strongholds for fear of *al-Ghuzz al-Saljuqiyya*; in 438/1046–7 Nāṣir-i Khusraw found in Tabriz a king Sayf al-Dawla wa-Sharaf al-Milla Abū Maṣṣūr Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad (Mamlān?) Mawlā Amīr al-Muʾminīn; in 446/1054 the Saljuq Toghrīl Beg received the submission of the lord of Tabriz, al-Amīr Abū Maṣṣūr b. Muḥammad al-Rawwādī.

5. *The geographers and travellers*. While Ibn Khurradādhbih, al-Balādhurī, al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Faqīh, and even al-Iṣṭakhrī, simply mention Tabriz among the little towns of Azerbaijan, al-Maqdisī already sings the praises of Tabriz, and his contemporary Ibn Ḥawqal (ca. 367/978) considers it the most prosperous town in Azerbaijan, with a busy trade. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030) calls Tabriz a “noble city with a strong wall, surrounded by woods and gardens”, and its inhabitants “brave, martial and rich”. According to Nāṣir-i Khusraw, the area occupied by the town

in 438/1046–7 was  $1,400 \times 1,400$  paces, which is only about a third of a square mile.

6. *The Saljuq period.* Tabriz is very rarely mentioned in the history of the Great Saljuqs. In the vicinity of the town, Toghriġ celebrated his marriage with the caliph's daughter. During his struggle with his brother Muġammad, Berk-yaruq retired in 494/1101 to the mountainous region to the south of Tabriz, but at the reconciliation of the brothers, Tabriz fell to Muġammad, who appointed Sa'd al-Mulk as *wazġr* there (498/1104–5). In 505/1111–12 we find Amġr Suqmġn al-Quġbġ mentioned as lord of Tabriz, i.e. the founder of the dynasty of Shġhs of Armenia (Shġh-i Arman), which ruled at Akhlġt 493–604/1100–1207.

Under the branch of the Saljuqs of Iraq, whose capital was at Hamadan, Azerbaijan played a more important part. In 514/1120 Sultan Maġmud spent some time at Tabriz to calm the inhabitants, who were alarmed at the inroads of the Georgians. The name of the Atabeg of Azerbaijan at this period was Kġn-toghdġ. After his death (515/1121), the Amġr of Marġgha Aq-Sunqur Aġmadġlġ endeavoured to get Tabriz out of the hands of Toghriġ (brother of the sultan), but these intrigues came to nought. Maġmud appointed to Azerbaijan the Amġr al-Juyush of Mosul, who was killed at the gate of Tabriz in 516/1122. After the death of Maġmud (525/1131), his brother Mas'ud occupied Tabriz and was besieged there by Dġwud, son of Maġmud. Finally, Dġwud established himself in Tabriz and from this town ruled (526–33/1132–9) a great fief composed of Azerbaijan, Arrġn and Armenia. Azerbaijan and Arrġn were later entrusted to Toghriġ I's old slave, the Atabeg Qara Sunqur, whose capital seems to have been at Ardabil. After his death in 535/1140–1, the Amġr Chawli al-Toghriġlġ succeeded him, but we soon find Ildegġz, the founder of the dynasty of Atabegs which ruled the province till 622/1225, established in Azerbaijan. The centre of Ildegġzid power was at first to the north-west of Azerbaijan, while Tabriz became part of the possessions of the Aġmadġlġ Amġrs of Marġgha, for it was not till 570/1174–5 that the Atabeg Pahlawġn b. Ildegġz took Tabriz from Falak al-Dġn, grandson of Aq Sunqur b. Aġmadġlġ, and gave it to his brother Qġzġl Arslan. It was during the period that Qġzġl Arslan was Atabeg (582–87/1186–91) that Tabriz definitely took its place as the capital of Azerbaijan.

In 602/1205–6 the Amġr Qara Sunqur 'Alġ al-Dġn Aġmadġlġ, in alliance with the Atabeg of Ardabil, made an attempt to retake Tabriz from Qġzġl Arslan's successor, the bon-vivant Abġ Bakr. The attempt failed, and Qara Sunqur lost Marġgha.

The Ildegġzids lived in great style, as we may judge from the odes addressed to them by poets like Nġzġmġ and Khġqġnġ, but of their buildings we only know the remains at Nakhchiwġn.

7. *The Mongols.* The Mongols made their appearance before the walls of Tabriz in the winter of 617/1220–1. The incapable Ildegġzid Atabeg Ėzbek b. Pahlawġn obtained their departure by paying a heavy ransom. Next year, the Mongols came back again. The Atabeg fled to Nakhchiwġn, but a resistance was organised by the valiant Shams Dġm al-Tuġhrġġ and the Mongols departed with a new ransom, after which Ėzbek returned to Tabriz. In 621/1224 a new horde arrived from Mongolia and demanded from Ėzbek the surrender of all the Khwġrazmians in Tabriz. Ėzbek hastened to yield to this demand.

8. *Jalġl al-Dġn.* The Khwġrazm Shġh soon arrived from Marġgha and on 27 Rajab 622/15 July 1225 gained admittance to the town, which Ėzbek had again abandoned. The inhabitants were glad to find a valiant defender, especially as Jalġl al-Dġn was soon to show his energy by an expedition against Tiflis and by the punishment of the marauding Tġrkmen of the tribe of Aywġ (al-Aywġ'iyya). Jalġl al-Dġn having married the *malġka*, the former wife of Ėzbek, held Tabriz for six years, but towards the close of this period, his position was seriously compromised by his failures as well as by his personal conduct. As early as 627/1230, a Tġrkmen chief of the tribe of Qush-yalwa (?), a chief of Rġyġndiz (near Marġgha), dared to plunder the environs of Tabriz. In 628/1231 Jalġl al-Dġn left Azerbaijan and the Mongols conquered the whole province, including the town of "Tabriz which is the very heart (*aql*) of the country [for] every one is dependent on it and on those who live there" (Ibn al-Athġr). The *malġk* of the Mongols (Chormaghun noyin) sent for the notables, levied a heavy indemnity, ordered the weavers to make *khatġġ* stuffs for the use of the great king (Ėgedey) and fixed the amount of the annual tribute. From the time of Gġyġk, the effective rule of Arrġn and Azerbaijan was in the hands of Malik Šadr al-Dġn, a Persian ally of the Mongols (see Juwaynġ-Boyle, ii, 518).

9. *The Mongol Il-Khanids*. After the taking of Baghdad in 654/1256, Hülegü went to Azerbaijan and settled at Marāgha [q.v.]. In 661/1263, after the defeat inflicted on him in the northern Caucasus by Berke's troops, Hülegü returned to Tabriz and massacred the merchants there of Qipchaq origin. In 662/1264, at the re-distribution of the fiefs, Hülegü confirmed Malik Ṣadr al-Dīn in the governorship of the province of Tabriz.

Tabriz became the official capital under Abaqā (663–80/1265–82) and kept this position under his successors till the coming of Öljeytū. In 688/1289 under Arghun, the Jewish vizier Sa'd al-Dawla appointed his cousin Abū Maṣṣūr to Tabriz. Under Gaykhatu, the revenues of the province of Tabriz were estimated at 80 *tūmāns*. In 693/1294 Tabriz was the scene of a rebellion as a result of the introduction of a paper currency (*chao*). It was in the reign of Ghazan Khān that Tabriz attained its greatest splendour. This monarch entered Tabriz in 694/1295 and took up his abode in the palace built by Arghun in the village of Shām to the west of the town, on the left bank of the Aji Chay. Orders were at once given to destroy the temples of idols, churches and synagogues, and fire-altars. These orders are said to have been revoked in the next year on the appeal of the Armenian king Hethum. In 699/1299 on his return from the Syrian campaign, Ghazan began a whole series of buildings. He intended Shām, already mentioned, as the site of his eternal rest. A building was erected there higher than the *gunbad* of Sultan Sanjar at Merv, which was then considered the highest building in the Muslim world. Besides this mausoleum, which was crowned by a dome, there was a mosque, two *madrasas* (one Shāfi'ī and the other Ḥanafī), a hostel for Sayyids (*dār al-siyāda*), a hospital, an observatory like that at Marāgha, a library, archives, a building for the officers of these establishments, a cistern for drinking-water and baths with hot water. *Waqfs*, the revenues from which amounted to 100 *tūmāns* of gold (*Waṣṣāf*), were set aside for the maintenance of these foundations. At each of the gates of the new town was built a caravanserai, a market and baths. Fruit trees were brought from distant lands.

In the town of Tabriz itself, great improvements were also made. Hitherto its wall (*bārū*) was only 6,000 *gām* ("paces"). Ghazan gave it a new wall 25,000 *gāms* in length (4 1/2 *farsakhs*). All the gardens and the Kūh-i Waliyān and Sanjarān quarters were

incorporated in the town. Within the wall, on the slopes of the Kūh-i Waliyān (now Kūh-i Surkhāb or 'Aynali-Zaynali), a series of fine buildings was erected by the famous vizier Rashīd al-Dīn, and the quarter was therefore known as the Rab'-i Rashīdī. We have a letter from Rashīd al-Dīn in which he asks his son to send him from Rūm 40 young men and women to people one of the villages in the new quarter; cf. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, iii, 82.

As if to emphasise the fact that Tabriz was the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt, the gold and silver coins and the measures (*kīla*, *gaz*) were standardised according to the standards of Tabriz.

Tabriz was also at this time an important focus of Muslim literature, spirituality and mysticism, eulogised by Rūmī in his *Mathnawī*, Book VI, vv. 3106–5, tr. Nicholson, vi, 429–30. The Sufi poet Maḥmūd Shabistārī (d. ca. 718–20/1317–20) came from a small town near Lake Urmiya and lived and worked at Tabriz amongst other places (see L. Lewisohn, *The political milieu of Mongol Persia*, in *Beyond faith and infidelity: The Sufi poetry and teachings of Mahmud Shabistari*, London 1995, 55–103), and another notable Sufi master of Tabriz was Khwāja Muḥammad b. Ṣadiq Kujujī (d. 677/1279), whose descendants were later *shaykh al-Islāms* in Tabriz under the early Jalāyirids, the Timurids and the early Safavids (see J. Aubin, *Études safavides. I. Shāh Ismā'īl et les notables de l'Iraq persan*, in *JESHO*, ii [1959], 60–3, and Lewisohn, *Palāsi's memoir of Shaykh Kujujī, a Persian Sufi of the thirteenth century*, in *JRAS*, 3rd ser., vi [1996], 345–66).

In 703/1304 Ghazan Khān was buried with great ceremony in the mausoleum of Shām. In 705/1307 his successor Öljeytū conceived the idea of creating a new capital at Sulṭāniyya. It was, however, not easy to move the inhabitants, as in 715/1315 we still find the ambassador from the Özbegs of Qipchaq following the route by Tabriz instead of the shorter Mughān-Ardabīl-Sulṭāniyya. It is also noteworthy that Taj al-Dīn 'Alī Shāh (vizier from 711/1312) had begun the construction of a magnificent mosque at Tabriz (outside the Mihād-Mihīn quarter).

In 717/1317 under Abū Sa'īd, the retiring vizier Rashīd al-Dīn went to Tabriz and only left it the following year to meet his fate. His property was confiscated and Rab'-i Rashīdī sacked (Browne, *LHP*, iii, 71). His son Ghiyāth al-Dīn, who was called to power by Abū Sa'īd himself, continued to



enlarge Rabʿ-i Rashīdī. The capital continued to be Sulṭāniyya, judging from the fact that Abū Saʿīd was buried there in a mausoleum which he himself had ordered to be built.

When in 736/1336 his successor Arpa lost the battle of Taghatu (this to be read for Baghatu), his vizier Ghiyāth al-Dīn was killed by the conqueror ʿAlī Pādshāh Oyrat. The property of the family of Rashīd al-Dīn was plundered by the people of Tabriz, and valuable collections and precious books disappeared on this occasion.

10. *The Jalāyirs and the Chobanids.* In the midst of the anarchy which followed these events we have the rise of the Jalāyir dynasty, whose fortunes were closely associated with Tabriz. In 736/1336 Ḥasan Buzurg Jalāyir established on the throne of Tabriz his candidate Sultan Muḥammad. In spite of its temporary nature, this episode marks the restoration of its primacy to the old capital. The Chobanid Ḥasan Kūchik soon appeared on the scene with his own candidates. Ḥasan Buzurg retired to Baghdad and Ḥasan Kūchik (740/1340) put on the throne Sulaymān Khān with rule over ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam, Azerbaijan, Arrān, Mughān and Georgia. The successor of Ḥasan Kūchik, his brother Ashraf, in 744/1344 proclaimed a new puppet, Anūshirwān, whom he relegated to Sulṭāniyya while he himself remained in Tabriz as the real ruler and extended his authority as far as Fārs. His cruelty and exactions provoked an “intervention in the cause of humanity” by Jānī Beg Khān of the Blue Horde (Eastern Qipchaq). Ashraf was defeated at Khoy and Marand and his head suspended over the door of a mosque in Tabriz (756/1355). The vizier Akhijūq whom Jānī Beg had left in Azerbaijan found his authority disputed on several sides. Tabriz was temporarily occupied by the Jalāyir Uways b. Ḥasan Buzurg who came from Baghdad. Hardly had he been driven out by Akhijūq than the Muẓaffarid of Fars, Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad, quarrelling with Jānī Beg, who had called upon him to recognise his suzerainty, arrived from Shiraz, defeated Akhijūq at Miyāna and seized Tabriz in 758/1357. After two years he retired before Uways, who soon afterwards reoccupied Tabriz and slew Akhijūq.

When the news of the death of Uways (776/1377) reached Fars, the Muẓaffarid Shāh Shujāʿ, who had succeeded Mubārīz al-Dīn, set out from Shiraz to take Tabriz. Ḥusayn, son of Uways, was defeated and Tabriz occupied, but after a few months, a rebel-

lion having broken out at Ūjān, forced Shāh Shujāʿ to evacuate the town which Ḥusayn reoccupied without striking a blow. Sulṭāniyya seems to have marked the limits of the lands of the Muẓaffarids in the north-west. In 784/1382 Ḥusayn Jalāyir was slain at Tabriz, and his brother Aḥmad succeeded him in Azerbaijan, but his rule was to be brief, for Tīmūr soon after appeared on the scene.

In spite of all the vicissitudes of their intermittent rule, the Jalāyirs were able to gain the sympathy of the people of Tabriz. Their rights were implicitly recognised by the lords of Shīrwān and the Qara Qoyunlu. Among their buildings in Tabriz are recorded their mausoleum Dimishqiyya and a large building by Sultan Uways, which, according to Clavijo contained 20,000 chambers (“camaras apartadas é apartamentos”) and was called Dawlat-khāna (“Tolbatgana... la casa de la ventura”).

11. *The period of Tīmūr.* During his first invasion of Persia (786/1384), Tīmūr returned to Samarqand after taking Sulṭāniyya. His great rival Toqtamish Khān of the Golden Horde at once sent an expedition against Azerbaijan via Darband in 787/1385. The invaders took Tabriz, which was badly defended by Amīr Walī (the former lord of Jurjān driven out by Tīmūr) and the Khān of Khalkhāl, plundered the inhabitants, carried off prisoners (including the poet Kamāl Khujandī) and returned to Darband.

Hardly had Sultan Aḥmad Jalāyir recovered Tabriz than he was driven out again by Tīmūr (788/1386), who came on the pretext of protecting the Muslims. Tīmūr encamped at Shām-Āzān and levied an indemnity (*māl-i amān*) on the people of Tabriz.

In 795/1392 the “fief of Hülegü” (*takht-i Hülāgū*), consisting of Azerbaijan, Rayy, Gīlān, Shīrwān, Darband and the lands of Asia Minor, was granted to Mīrān Shāh and Tabriz became the capital of this territory. Three years later, this prince became insane and committed a series of insensate actions (execution of innocent people, destruction of buildings). Tīmūr immediately on his return from India set out for Azerbaijan in 802/1399–1400 and executed those who had shared in Mīrān Shāh’s debauches.

In 806/1403–4, Mīrzā ʿUmar, son of Mīrān Shāh, was placed at the head of the “fief of Hülegü” and the lands conquered by Tīmūr in the west. His father Mīrān Shāh (in Arrān) and his brother Abū Bakr (in Iraq) were placed under the authority of Mīrzā ʿUmar. After the death of Tīmūr, a long struggle

began between ʿUmar and Abū Bakr. In 808/1405–6, Abū Bakr succeeded in levying on Tabriz a tribute of 200 Iraqi *tūmāns*. ʿUmar returned to Tabriz, but his Türkmens harassed the people and Abū Bakr regained the town. Hardly had he left Tabriz than the Türkmen rebel Bistām Jāgīr entered it but hurriedly retreated on the approach of Shaykh Ibrāhīm of Shīrwān. In 809/1406–7 the latter handed over Tabriz to Aḥmad Jalāyir as to its true sovereign and the inhabitants showed great joy on this occasion. On 8 Rabīʿ I, Abū Bakr was again at Shām-Āzān, but did not dare go into the city where the plague was raging.

A short time before these latter happenings, the Ambassador of Henry III of Castile, Clavijo, spent some time in Tabriz (in 1404 and with intervals 1405, i.e. from the end of 806 to the beginning of 808 A.H.). In spite of the trials it had undergone, the town was very busy and conducted considerable trade. Clavijo speaks highly of the streets, markets and buildings of Tabriz.

12. *The Qara Qoyunlu*. On 1 Jumādā I 809/14 October 1406, Qara Yūsuf, the Qara Qoyunlu Türkmens, inflicted a defeat on Abū Bakr, who in his retreat handed Tabriz over to plunder, and nothing escaped the rapacity of his army. Qara Yūsuf advanced as far as Sulṭāniyya and carried off the population of this town to Tabriz, Ardabīl and Marāgha. Abū Bakr soon returned to Azerbaijan, but Qara Yūsuf assisted by Bistām defeated him at Sardarūd (9 km/5 miles south of Tabriz). Mīrān Shāh fell in this battle and was buried at Tabriz in the cemetery of Surkhāb.

Qara Yūsuf, remembering the agreements on the redistribution of the territory made with Sultan Aḥmad Jalāyir at the time when both were in exile in Egypt, had recourse to a stratagem. With great ceremony, he put on the throne of Tabriz his son Pīr Budāq who was regarded as Aḥmad's adopted son (according to the *Maṭlaʿ al-saʿdayn*, Qara Yūsuf did not give the title of Khān to Pīr Budāq till 814/1411–12). Aḥmad to outward appearance resigned himself to this arrangement but, when Qara Yūsuf was absent in Armenia, he occupied Tabriz. Aḥmad was finally defeated in battle (28 Rabīʿ II 813/30 August 1410). He was executed by Qara Yūsuf and buried in the Dimishqiyya beside his father and mother. Once more the sympathies of the people of Tabriz were with the last Jalāyir king; cf. Cl. Huart, *La fin de la dynastie des Ilkhanians*, in *JJA* [1876], 316–62.

Tabriz is regularly mentioned as the centre from

which Qara Yūsuf sent out his expeditions. The Timurid Shāh Rukh, fearing the influence of Qara Yūsuf in 817/1414, undertook his first expedition against him but did not advance beyond Rayy. When in 823/1420 he was renewing his attempt, news reached him of the death of Qara Yūsuf (on 7 Dhu ʿl-Qaʿda 823/12 November 1420). Anarchy broke out in the Türkmen camp, and a week later Mīrzā Baysunghūr occupied Tabriz. Shāh Rukh arrived there in the summer of 824/1421 after defeating in Armenia the sons of Qara Yūsuf. In 832/1429 Iskandar, son of Qara Yūsuf, seized Sulṭāniyya. Shāh Rukh again arrived at Shām-Āzān at the head of an army and inflicted a defeat on the Qara Qoyunlu at Salmās. In the winter of 833/1429–30 Azerbaijan was given to Abū Saʿīd b. Qara Yūsuf, who had come to pay homage to Shāh Rukh. In the following year he was slain by his brother Iskandar. In the winter of 838/1434, Shāh Rukh came to Azerbaijan for the third time. Iskandar thought it wiser to retire before him, but his brother Jahān Shāh hastened to join Shāh Rukh. The latter spent the summer of 839/1436 in Tabriz, and on the approach of winter gave investiture to Jahān Shāh.

Thus began the career of the prince who made Tabriz the capital of a kingdom stretching from Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf and to Herat. The most remarkable building in Tabriz, “the Blue Mosque” (*Gök Masjid*) is the work of Jahān Shāh (according to Berezin, of his wife Begum Khātūn). It is possible that the presence in Tabriz in the Surkhāb and Charandāb quarters of members of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect dates from the time of Jahān Shāh.

13. *The Aq Qoyunlu*. On 12 Rabīʿ II 872/10 November 1467 Jahān Shāh was surprised in Armenia and slain by Uzun Ḥasan Bayandurī, chief of the Aq Qoyunlu Türkmens. The two daughters of Iskandar proclaimed at Tabriz their dervish brother Ḥusayn ʿAlī, but Begum Khātūn, widow of Jahān Shāh, put a stop to this plan. Tabriz was, however, occupied by Ḥusayn ʿAlī, the mad son of Jahān Shāh (by another wife), who put to death Begum Khātūn and her relatives.

In spite of the assistance which he had received from the Timurid Abū Saʿīd, Ḥasan ʿAlī was defeated at Marand. Subsequent events led up to the death of Abū Saʿīd himself. In 873/1468 Uzun Ḥasan seized Tabriz, which he made his capital (he announced this decision in a letter to the Ottoman sultan).

The Venetian sources are of considerable value for the period of Uzun Ḥasan. Giosafa Barbaro, sent by the Republic in 1474, describes the animated life of Tabriz, to which embassies came from all parts. Barbaro was received in a pavilion of the magnificent palace which he calls “Aptisti” (*Haft* + ?). The anonymous Venetian merchant who visited Tabriz as late as 1514 (?) still speaks of the splendour of the reign of Uzun Ḥasan “who has so far not yet had an equal in Persia”. Uzun Ḥasan died in 882/1478 and was buried in the Naṣriyya Madrasa which he had built and which was later to be used for the burial of his son Ya‘qūb. During the twelve years of his comparatively peaceful reign (883–96/1478–90), the latter attracted to his court many men of letters (the Kurdish historian Idrīs Bidlīsī was his secretary) and in 888/1483 built in the garden of Šāhibābād the Hasht Bihisht palace. This palace (*Astibisti*) was also described by the Venetian merchant; on the ceiling of the great hall were represented all the great battles of Persia, embassies, etc. Beside the Hasht Bihisht there was a harem in which 1,000 women could be housed, a vast *maydān*, a mosque and a hospital to hold 1,000 patients.

14. *The Safavids and the Turco-Persian wars.* Ismā‘īl I occupied Tabriz in 906/1500 after his victory at Sharūr over Mīrzā Alwand Aq Qoyunlu. Of the 200–300,000 inhabitants of the town, two-thirds were reported to be Sunni but the new ruler was not long in imposing Shi‘ism upon them and took rigorous measures against those who objected. In his hatred of the Aq Qoyunlu, Ismā‘īl had the remains of his predecessors exhumed and burned (G.M. Angiolello). The Venetian merchant speaks of the despair into which the debauches of the young prince had plunged several noble families. When Ismā‘īl set out for Arzinjān after Alwand, the latter succeeded in returning to Tabriz and during his brief stay there “oppressed the rich”.

The battle of Chaldīrān (2 Rajab 920/23 August 1514) opened to the Ottomans the road to Tabriz. Nine days later the city was occupied by the vizier Dukagin-oghlu and the *defterdār* Pūrī, and on 6 September Sultan Selīm made his triumphal entry into it. In the town, the Turks conducted themselves with moderation but seized the treasures amassed by the Persian sovereigns and carried off to Istanbul 1,000 skilled artisans. The sultan only stayed a week in Tabriz, as he had to return to his own lands in con-

sequence of the refusal of the Janissaries to continue the campaign (von Hammer, *GOR*<sup>2</sup>, i, 720).

The events of 920/1514 were a grave warning to the Persians, and under Ṭahmāsp I, the capital was transferred much farther east to Qazwīn. According to the Venetian Ambassador Alessandri, Ṭahmāsp, as a result of his avarice, was not popular in the old capital of the Aq Qoyunlu.

At the suggestion of the renegade Ulāma (of the Türkmen tribe of Tekke), the troops of Süleymān I, under the command of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, occupied Tabriz in 941/13 July 1534 and went to the summer camp at Asadābād (Sa‘īdābād?). Ibrāhīm Pasha began to build a fortress at Shām-Āzān. The government of Azerbaijan was entrusted to Ulāma, who had held the same post under Ṭahmāsp. On 27 September, Süleymān himself arrived in Tabriz. A little later, he made a thrust as far as Sulṭāniyya and occupied Baghdad. On his return to Tabriz, he spent 14 days engaged in administrative business. The cold forced the Turkish army to retreat and the Persian troops at once advanced as far as Van. Again in 955/28 July 1548, at the instigation of Alqāš Mīrzā, brother of Shāh Ṭahmāsp, Süleymān occupied Tabriz but only stayed five days there. The sultan refused Alqāš Mīrzā’s proposal that the inhabitants should all be massacred or carried off into captivity. M. d’Aramon, ambassador of Francis I, was an eye-witness of the occupation of Tabriz and testifies to Süleymān’s efforts to protect the town. In 962/29 May 1555 there was signed at Amasiya the first treaty of peace between Turkey and Persia which lasted about 30 years.

In 993/1585 the Grand Vizier of Murād III, Özdemiş-zāde ‘Othmān Pasha, with 40,000 men undertook the recapture of Tabriz. The governor of Van, Chighala-zāde, joined him with 6,000 men. Going via Chaldīrān and Šofiyān, the Turks arrived before Shām-Āzān. The Persian governor ‘Alī Qulī Khān, after a bold sortie which cost Chighala-zāde 3,000 men, retired during the night. In September the Turks occupied the town. As a punishment for the murder of several soldiers, the Turks sacked the town and massacred its inhabitants for three days. The Persian chief minister Ḥamza Mīrzā operating around the city on several occasions inflicted heavy losses on the Ottoman troops. To defend Tabriz, ‘Othmān Pasha built a square citadel, the walls of which were 12,700 ells long (Ewliyā Chelebi,

*mi'mār-i mekki arshun*)). This citadel, which was erected in 36 days, was inside the town. It was held by a garrison of 45,000 men. The eunuch Ja'fer Pasha was appointed governor of Tabriz. On 29 October 1585, 'Othmān Pasha died. Chighala-zāde, whom he had appointed on his deathbed to command the Ottoman troops, succeeded in defeating the Persians, but soon the latter were able to besiege the Turks within the town. Forty-eight encounters took place before Ferhād Pashā definitely relieved the garrison. By the disastrous peace of 998/1590, Shāh 'Abbās I had to cede to the Ottomans their conquests in Transcaucasia and the west of Persia. Henceforth, the Turks took their occupation of Tabriz seriously. Their many buildings, especially those of Ja'fer Pasha, are mentioned by Ewliyā in Tabriz and its vicinity. But the Persians were keeping a watchful eye on their old capital.

The troubles with the *sipāhīs* or feudal cavalymen at the beginning of 1603 showed the weakness of Sultan Mehmed III. In the autumn, Shāh 'Abbās left Isfahan unexpectedly and entered Tabriz 12 days later. 'Alī Pasha was defeated at Hājīr Hārāmī (two farsakhs from the town), after which the citadel surrendered. Shāh 'Abbās treated the defeated foe with generosity, but in a revival of Shi'ite fanaticism, the inhabitants killed a large number of Turks in the town and neighbourhood without heed for any bonds of kinship or friendship that had been formed during the 20 years of Ottoman occupation. 'Abbās I invited the people to do away with all traces of Turkish rule and "in a few days they had left no vestige of the citadel nor of any of [their] houses, buildings, dwellings, caravanserais, shops, baths etc." (Iskandar Munshī).

In 1019/1610, in the reign of the weak Sultan Aḥmed III, the Turks again tried to resume the offensive. The Grand Vizier Murād Pasha unexpectedly appeared with an army in front of Tabriz, but 'Abbās I had had time to make his preparations. The town was defended by the governor Pīr Budaq Khān. No fighting took place, but the Turks suffered greatly from want of provisions in the country which the Persians had laid waste. Five days later, the Turkish army was retracing its steps, while Shāh 'Abbās and Murād Pasha continued to exchange embassies. This Turkish invasion hastened the building of a new fortress at Tabriz, which was built under the shadow of Surkhāb in the Rab'ī Rashīdī quarter. The materials

were taken from old ruins, particularly at Shām-Āzān. On the other hand, the unsuccessful invasion by Murād Pasha led to the conclusion of a new treaty in 1022/1612 by which the Persians succeeded in restoring the status quo as it had existed in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp and Sultan Süleymān.

In 1027/1618, at the instigation of some Tatar Khāns of the Crimea, the Ottoman troops (60,000 men) of Van suddenly invaded Azerbaijan. The Persians evacuated Tabriz and Ardabil. The Turks, who were short of supplies, revictualled at Tabriz and advanced to Sarāb, where Qarchqay Khān, *sipāhsālār* of Tabriz, won a brilliant victory over them. A new treaty was made confirming the conditions of that of 1022.

After the death of 'Abbās I, the struggle between Turk and Persian was resumed on a great scale. In the reign of his successor Shāh Šafī, Sultan Murād IV invaded Azerbaijan in 1045/1635 and entered Tabriz on 12 September 1635. The aim of this campaign was plunder rather than conquest. Murād ordered his soldiers to destroy the town. Having in this way "knocked down Tabriz" (Ewliyā, *eyiye örseleyip*), Murād, in view of the advance of the season, hastened to return to Vān. In the following spring, the Persians reoccupied their possessions as far as Erivān and by the treaty of 1049/1639 secured for themselves the frontier which has survived in its main lines to the present day.

Hājīr Khalīfa, who was an eye-witness of the campaign of 1045/1635, says that after the devastation wrought by Murād IV the old ramparts had completely disappeared and "only here and there could traces of old buildings be seen". Even Shām-Āzān was not spared; the mosque of Uzun Ḥasan alone was left intact.

Such then was the state of the town, but a series of travellers who visited it a few years later say that it had undergone a splendid revival. The interesting story of Ewliyā Chelebi (in the reign of 'Abbās II in 1057/1647) gives detailed statistics of Tabriz, its *madrasas*, schools, caravanserais, houses of notables, dervish *tekiyyes*, gardens and animated public promenades. In the same period, Tavernier says that, in spite of the damage done by Murād IV, "the town is almost completely rebuilt". According to Chardin (ii, 328), in 1673 under Shāh Sulaymān I, there were in Tabriz 550,000 inhabitants (the figure seems exaggerated), 15,000 houses and 15,000 shops. It was "really

a large and important town... There is plenty of all the necessities of life and one can live very well and cheaply in it". There was a hospice of Capuchins at Tabriz on which the authorities cast a kindly eye. The *beglerbegi* of Tabriz had under his authority the Khāns of Kars, Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabil and 20 *sulṭāns* (= local chiefs).

15. *The end of the Safavids and Nādir Shāh*. The Afghan invasion of Persia resulted in a state of complete anarchy. The heir to the throne, Tahmāsp (II), who had fled from Isfahan, arrived in Tabriz where he was proclaimed king in 1135/1722. When by the treaty of 12 September 1723, Tahmāsp II ceded the Caspian provinces to Russia, Turkey announced that as a precautionary measure she would be forced to occupy the frontier districts between Tabriz and Erivān. After the fall of Erivān, Nakhchivān and Marand, the Turks under the *ser'asker* 'Abd Allāh Pasha Köprülü arrived before Tabriz in the autumn of 1137/1724. The Persians, who made Shām-Āzān their base, held out. The Turks had some success, but the advanced season of the year forced them to retreat before the end of the month. In the following spring, Köprülü returned at the head of 70,000 men. The siege only lasted four days, but the fighting in the seven fortified quarters was very desperate. The Persians lost 30,000 men and the Turks 20,000. The survivors of the Persian garrison, to the number of 7,000, withdrew without hindrance to Ardabil (Jonas Hanway, *The revolutions of Persia*, London 1754, ii, 229).

The treaty of 1140/1727 concluded with the Afghan Ashraf confirmed to the Ottomans the possession of northwestern Persia as far as Sulṭāniyya and Abhar. Two years later, Nādir defeated Muṣṭafā Pasha's army at Suhaylān (*vulgo* Sawalān or Sīnikh köprü) near Tabriz. He entered this city on 8 Muḥarram 1142/3 August 1729 and made prisoner Rüstem Pasha, governor of Hashtarūd.

Anxious to take advantage of the domestic troubles of Turkey, Shāh Tahmāsp resumed the offensive but lost the battle of Qurijān (near Hamadan), and the *ser'asker* 'Alī Pasha returned to Tabriz in the winter of 1144/1731 and even built a mosque and *madrasa* there. By the treaty concluded a little later (16 January 1732), the Persians ceded to the Porte the lands north of the Araxes but kept Tabriz and the western provinces. As Tabriz had actually been occupied by 'Alī Pasha, the Porte very reluctantly agreed to its restoration to Persia and the signing of the treaty

resulted in the dismissal of the Grand Vizier. On the other hand, the cession of the Transcaucasian provinces to Turkey gave Nādir an excuse for deposing Tahmāsp II. After checking Nādir near Baghdad, the governor of Van, Rüstem Pasha, re-occupied Tabriz. In 1146/1734, Nādir set out for Tabriz, and as a result of his victories in Transcaucasia, the treaty of 1149/1736 re-established the status quo of 1049/1639.

Towards the end of the reign of Nādir, when anarchy was again beginning, the people of Tabriz declared in favour of an obscure pretender who claimed to be Sām Mīrzā. The death of Nādir in 1160/1747 might have given the Porte an opportunity to intervene in Persian affairs, especially as Riḍā Khān, son of Fath 'Alī Khān, *dūwān begi* of Tabriz, had come to Erzerüm to beg Turkish support for one of the candidates for the throne, a Nādirid, but Turkey maintained complete neutrality.

Nādir Shāh had entrusted Azerbaijan to his valiant cousin Amīr Arslān Khān, who had 30,000 men under him. After Nādir's death, this general aided Nādir's nephew Ibrāhīm Khān to defeat his brother 'Ādil Shāh (Sulṭān 'Alī Shāh), but Ibrāhīm at once turned on his ally, slew him and after collecting 120,000 men spent six months in Tabriz where he had himself proclaimed king. He was soon killed by Shāh Rukh, grandson of Nādir.

The history of Azerbaijan during the rule of the dynasty of Karīm Khān Zand is still little known. The Afghan Āzād Khān was at first lord of the province. In 1170/1756 it was taken from him by Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān Qājār. Next year, Karīm Khān defeated Fath 'Alī Khān Afshar of Urmiya and conquered the greater part of Azerbaijan. In 1194/1780 an earthquake did great damage in Tabriz (see Ambraseys and Melville, *op. cit.*, 54–5).

16. *The Qajars*. Towards the end of 1205/1790, Āghā Muḥammad, founder of the Qajar dynasty, set out to occupy Azerbaijan. Among the governors who came to meet him was the hereditary lord of Khoy, Ḥusayn Khān Dumbulī. Āghā Muḥammad added Tabriz to his fief. After the assassination in 1211/1796 of the first Qajar Shāh, troubles broke out in Azerbaijan. Ṣādiq Khān of the Shiqāqī tribe attempted to seize the supreme power, and appointed his brother Muḥammad 'Alī Sulṭān to Tabriz. The Dumbulī Khāns took an active part in suppressing the rising, and in return, Fath 'Alī Shāh confirmed Ja'far

Qulī Khān Dumbulī in the governorship of Tabriz. The latter as soon as he arrived there in 1213/1798, formed a coalition with Šādiq Khān, who had re-established himself in Sarāb, and the Afshār Khān of Urmiya, and shaking off “the dependence which was so slight that it really was absolute independence” drove out the Shāh’s representatives. Troops were sent against Ja‘far Khān who, with the help of the Kurds, held out for some time in Khoi; cf. Sir Harford Brydges, *The dynasty of the Kajars*, London 1833, 50, 84, etc. In 1214/1799 the heir to the throne of Persia, ‘Abbās Mīrzā, established himself in Tabriz with Aḥmad Khān Muqaddam (of Marāgha) as his *beglerbegi*. Ja‘far Khān sought refuge in Russia, but for some time other members of the Dumbulī family continued to rule in Tabriz.

After the incorporation of Georgia into Russia (1801), complications between Russia and Persia gradually increased and Tabriz became the principal centre of Persian activities. ‘Abbās Mīrzā set himself the task of Europeanising the Persian army. An important English mission, including a number of very notable explorers of Persia, made its headquarters in Tabriz. The English and Russian diplomatic missions (the secretary and later head of the latter was the famous writer Griboyedov, later assassinated) also came to the court of ‘Abbās Mīrzā. The energetic heir to the throne built arsenals, cannon foundries, depots and workshops. After the trials it had undergone the town was, however, but a shadow of the splendid city of the time of Chardin. Tancoigne (1807) estimated its population at 50–60,000 including several Armenian families; Dupré (1809) at 40,000 with 50 Armenian families. Kinneir gives Tabriz (“one of the most wretched cities”) only 30,000 inhabitants. Morier, who in the account of his first journey (1809) had given the exaggerated figure of 50,000 houses with 250,000 inhabitants, in his second journey confines himself to saying that Tabriz had only a tenth of its pristine magnificence and that it had no public buildings of note.

The Russo-Persian wars filled the period to 1828. During the operations of 1827, the General Prince Eristov, with the help of certain discontented Khāns, entered Tabriz with 3,000 soldiers on 3 Rabī‘ II 1243/24 October 1827. ‘Abbās Mīrzā was away and opinions in the town were divided. Allāhyār Khān Āṣaf al-Dawla was for continuing the struggle, but an important cleric, the Imām Mīrzā Fattāḥ, insisted

on surrender and opened the gates of the town to the Russians. (After the peace, Mīrzā Fattāḥ had to leave Persia and take refuge in Transcaucasia.) The commander-in-chief Count Paskevich then came to Tabriz and met ‘Abbās Mīrzā at Dih-Kharraqān. An armistice was signed, but the court of Tehran did not approve of the terms. The Russians resumed the offensive and occupied Urmiya, Marāgha and Ardabīl. The peace of Turkmanchay (5 Sha‘bān 1243, 22 February 1828), which fixed the frontier on the Araxes, finally put an end to the Russian occupation.

After the time of ‘Abbās Mīrzā, Tabriz became the official residence of the heir to the Persian throne. Down to the accession of Muḥammad Shāh in 1250/1834, the British and Russian diplomatic missions spent most of their time in Tabriz (J.B. Fraser, *Travels in Koordistan*, ii, 247). Their transfer to Tehran marked the definite transference by the Qajars of the political capital to that city. Down to the end of the 19th century, little of general importance marked the life of Tabriz. On 27 Sha‘bān 1286/8 July 1850, the Bāb was executed in Tabriz at the entrance to the arsenal (*jaba-khāna*) (see Abbas Amanat, *Resurrection and renewal. The making of the Babi movement in Iran, 1844–1850*, Ithaca and London 1989, 372–416). In 1880, the approach of the Kurds under Shaykh ‘Ubayd Allāh greatly disturbed the people of Tabriz. Gates were put up between the quarters to isolate them if necessary, but the Kurds did not go beyond the Bināb.

The consolidation of Qajar power secured peace for Azerbaijan, and Tabriz gradually recovered. In spite of the terrible ravages of cholera and plague in 1830–1, the census made in Tabriz in 1842 recorded 9,000 families or 100–120,000 people (Berezin). In 1895 the number of inhabitants was estimated at 150–200,000, of whom 3,000 were Armenians (S.G. Wilson, *Persian life and customs*, London 1896, 53). Twenty years later, the population was certainly over 200,000 and, in spite of the rudimentary nature of the municipal organisation, the city showed every sign of prosperity. The trade of Tabriz, after a period of stagnation developed, especially between 1833 and 1836, but the too great excess of imports from Russia over exports from Persia produced a great crisis in 1837. The opening of the route by Transcaucasia (Poti-Baku) meant considerable competition for the parallel route Trebizond-Tabriz.

17. *The twentieth century.* The history of Tabriz in the opening years of the century was very stirring.

The Turks of Tabriz (who are the result of intermarriage of Persians with Oghuz, Mongols, Türkmens, etc.), played a very important part in the Persian nationalist and revolutionary movement. Open rebellion broke out in Tabriz on 23 June 1908, the day of the bombardment of the Parliament in Tehran. The names of Saṭṭār Khān, a former horse-dealer who became chief of the Amīr Khīz quarter, and his companion Bāqir Khān, are closely associated with the brave defence of the city, but darker sides of their activity were noted by E.G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909*, 491–2. The government troops under Prince ‘Ayn al-Dawla surrounded the city, and at the beginning of February 1909 blockaded it completely. On 20 April the Cabinets of London and St. Petersburg agreed to send to Tabriz a Russian force “to facilitate the entrance into the town of the necessary provisions, to protect the consulates and foreign subjects, and to help those who so desired to leave the town”. The Russian troops led by General Snarski entered Tabriz on 30 April 1909. The negotiations for their withdrawal lasted till 1911, when the Russian ultimatum presented at Tehran on 29 November provoked a new agitation in the country. On 21 December the *fidā’īs* of Tabriz attacked the weak Russian detachment, distributed about the town, and inflicted considerable losses on them. This had the immediate result of the despatch to Tabriz of a Russian brigade under Voropanov, which arrived on the eve of the new year. The Russian military tribunal pronounced several death sentences (including one on the Thiḡat al-Islām, an important member of the Shaykhī sect. In October 1912 the Turkish detachments who occupied the “disputed” districts west of Azerbaijan were recalled, but the question of the Russo-Turkish frontier remained still undecided. The Russian troops therefore remained in Azerbaijan till 1914, when the First World War broke out.

At the beginning of December, the Kurdish irregulars commanded by Ottoman officers began a movement from Sawj-bulāq towards Marāgha and Tabriz. At the same time, Enwer Pasha’s raid on Sarī-qamīsh (south of Kars) threatened the whole Russian army in the Caucasus. Orders were given to evacuate Azerbaijan. Between 17 December 1914 and 6 January 1915, the Russian troops and, following them, the bulk of the local Christian population, had left Tabriz. On 8 January Aḥmad Mukhtār Bey Shamkhal, at the head of a body of Kurds, entered

the town. The situation changed suddenly, and on 31 January the Russians, returning in force, re-occupied Tabriz (see the details in the book by the former German consul in Tabriz, W. Litten, *Persische Flitterwochen*, Berlin 1925, 8–127).

Since 1906, a paved road connecting Tabriz with the Russian frontier (Julfā, terminus of the Russian railway) had been constructed by the Russian government company, which had obtained the concession from the Persian government. The work of changing this road into a railway was now actively hurried on, and it was opened to traffic at the beginning of May 1916. The railway (130 km/80 miles long, with a branch line from Sofiyan to Lake Urmīya 40 km/25 miles long) was the first to be built on Persian territory.

The Russian army on the Persian frontier had become disorganised on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. Azerbaijan was evacuated at the beginning of 1918. The representatives of the Persian central government, and even the Crown Prince, had remained all this time at their places, but when the last Russian detachment left Tabriz on 28 February 1918, the actual power passed into the hands of the local committee of the Democratic Party and its head Ismā’īl Nawbarī.

Meanwhile, the Turks emerging from their inactivity, quickly occupied the frontiers abandoned by the Russians. On 18 June 1918, the Ottoman advance guard entered Tabriz. On 8 July General ‘Alī Iḥsān Pasha arrived, and on 25 August Kāzīm Qara Bekir Pasha, who commanded the army corps. The Ottoman authorities banished Nawbarī and supported the appointment of Majd al-Salṭana as governor of Azerbaijan. This troubled situation lasted for a year, and only with the arrival in Tabriz of the new Governor-General *sipāhsālār* (June 1910) did affairs begin to resume their normal course. Complete order was only established under Riḡā Khān, who became first of all Minister of War and later ruler of Persia.

By the treaty of 26 February 1921, the Soviet government renounced all the old concessions in Persia, and the railway from Tabriz to Julfā built at the expense of the Russian government thus became the property of the Persian state.

Tabriz suffered after the Constitutional period from the decline of the transit trade from Turkey and Russia, and from a lack of favour by the Pahlavis, suspicious of Azeri political and linguistic separatist

feelings. From being in the 19th century the second city of Persia, in 1980 it was now the fourth one. After the Second World War, however, streets were widened and public gardens laid out. Local industries include the traditional one of carpet-weaving, plus textile manufacturing, leatherworking, agriculture and food processing, etc. A railway links Tabriz via Zanjān and Qazvin with the Trans-Persian line at Tehran, whilst a westwards extension to Van in eastern Turkey has been constructed.

With the abdication of Riḍā Shāh in September 1941, Russian troops occupied Tabriz and north-western Persia for military and strategic reasons. Their control there enabled the Soviets to encourage and train pro-Communist elements there, so that, although British troops withdrew from southern Persia in March 1946, Russian troops remained. Tabriz had meanwhile become the capital, proclaimed there on 10 December 1945, of an autonomous, potentially secessionist, régime of the Democrat Party in Azerbaijan under a veteran Bolshevik leader, Ja'far Pīshawarī. The régime was not wholly kept in power by Soviet manipulation, but expressed some genuine local grievances against Riḍā Shāh's centralisation policies and discrimination against the use of Azeri Turkish. It made a start on land reform and nationalisation of the larger banks, and a University of Tabriz was inaugurated, but there was a real danger of complete secession and possible union with the Azerbaijan S.S.R. In fact, the diplomatic skills of the Prime Minister in Tehran, Aḥmad Qawām al-Saltāna, American pressure and unfavourable publicity for the Soviet Union in the United Nations Organisation, brought about a Soviet abandonment of their erstwhile protégés. The Imperial Persian army entered Tabriz on 12 December 1946, and a purge began of pro-Communist elements, with Pīshawarī fleeing to Baku. In the ensuing years, Tabriz and Azerbaijan in general suffered from the profound suspicions of the Tehran government regarding Azerbaijan secessionist sentiment, seen *inter alia* in a discouragement in schools, etc., of the majority Azeri Turkish language, an attitude which was only gradually relaxed somewhat by the 1970s.

Tabriz is now the administrative centre of the *ustān* or province of Eastern Azerbaijan. In terms of population, it is the fourth largest city of Persia, with a population of 1,700,000 (2005 estimate).

## II. MONUMENTS

In the early Islamic period, the city walls around Tabriz enclosed a small urban area less than half a mile square on the south bank of the Mihrān River. Twelve gates led to bazaars surrounding the congregational mosque. When the Il-Khanid ruler Ghazan made Tabriz his capital, the urban area was tripled within a perimeter wall 25,000 paces around. To judge from contemporary reports by historians and travellers, the city's bazaars were particularly flourishing at this time. The city also had two major suburbs. The one on the west known as Shām (or Shanb)-i Ghazan was centred on Ghazan's dodecagonal tomb and included institutions of learning, a library, a hospital, and a mosque. The suburb on the east known as the Rab'-i Rashīdī was centered on the tomb complex founded by the vizier Rashīd al-Dīn in 709/1309. Although almost totally destroyed, it can be reconstructed from the text of its endowment deed (S.S. Blair, *Ilkhanid architecture and society. An analysis of the endowment deed of the Rab'-i Rashīdī, in Iran JBIPS*, xxii [1984], 67–90). Surrounded by ramparts, the quarter had a monumental entrance leading to the founder's tomb complex, a hospice, a *khānaqāh*, a hospital and service buildings. The endowment provided upkeep for the buildings, support for more than 300 employees and slaves, and for the copying of luxury manuscripts of the Qur'ān, *ḥadīth* and Rashīd al-Dīn's own works (*eadem*, *Patterns of production and patronage in Ilkhanid Iran. The case of Rashid al-Dīn, in Oxford Studies in Islamic Art*, x, 1996).

The only monument to survive from Il-Khanid Tabriz is the congregational mosque founded *ca.* 710/1310 by the vizier Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh just outside the southern gate to the city. Now known as the Arg or fortress, it comprised a huge barrel-vaulted hall (30 × 65 m with walls 10 m thick), flanked by a *madrasa* and *zāwiya* and fronting on a large, lavishly-decorated courtyard with a pool (reconstruction in D. Wilber, *The architecture of Islamic Iran. The Il-Khānid period*, Princeton 1955, no. 51). The vault, meant to surpass the fabled Sasanid *Īwān* at Ctesiphon, fell soon after its construction.

Tabriz continued to be a major metropolis and artistic centre after the demise of the Il-Khanids. The Dawlat-khāna, the palace built by the Jalāyirid sultan Uways (r. 757–76/1356–74), for example, was reported to have had 20,000 rooms decorated with



paintings. After the Timurids took the city, several times, many of its public monuments were destroyed and its artisans carried off to Central Asia, but building was resumed under the Türkmen confederations of the Qara Qoyunlu and the Aq Qoyunlu, and the garden suburbs north of the river were developed. The most famous was the garden created by the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Ḥasan (r. 857–82/1453–78), known from a lengthy description by a Venetian merchant who visited the city in the 1460s (summarised in L. Golombek and D. Wilber, *The Timurid architecture of Iran and Turan*, Princeton 1988, 178–9). A vast area lined by poplars, the garden centred on a large octagonal palace called *Hasht Bihisht* (“Eight Paradises”). Set on a raised marble plinth, it measured some 63 to 72 m in circumference and had a central domed hall surrounded by 32 rooms. Other amenities included an adjacent pool, a guest house with many rooms to the east and a covered hall overlooking the garden.

The best surviving example of the rich architectural patronage left by the Türkmens is the Blue Mosque or *Masjid-i kabūd*, so-called because of the extraordinary blue tile revetment that covered both interior and exterior surfaces (F. Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin 1901–10, 27–32; Golombek and Wilber, no. 214). Located outside the south-east entrance to the city, it was part of the complex erected in 870/1465 by Khātūn Jān, wife of the Qara Qoyunlu sultan Jahānshāh. According to an endowment deed dating from the previous year, the complex included a hospice for Sufis with two pools fed by a canal and was intended as a mausoleum for the queen and her family. The mosque has an unusual plan, with a domed square hall (diameter 16 m) enclosed on three sides by a U-shaped corridor covered with nine domes. Behind the square hall on the axis of the main entrance is a smaller domed hall containing a *mihrāb*. The tile revetment is unequalled in variety and technical virtuosity and includes not only the standard floral and arabesque designs but also medallion-shaped panels set against a background of unglazed brick tiles. The hall with the *mihrāb* was particularly lavishly decorated, with a white marble dado surmounted by a revetment of small purple-glazed hexagonal tiles accented with designs in gold leaf.

Wars between the Safavids and Ottomans in the 16th century took their toll on the city’s monu-

ments, as did repeated earthquakes, but with the growing importance of the Russian frontier, Tabriz again became of special interest under the Qajars. New boulevards were cut through the city core, and mosques and caravanserais were erected after the devastating earthquake of 7 January 1780, the strongest ever to hit the city. Large gardens, such as the *Bagh-i Shimāl* on the north, were added and became the stage for intriguing among foreigners.

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**TASHKENT**, usually written *Tāshkend* or *Tashkend* in Arabic and Persian manuscripts, a large town in Central Asia, in the oasis of the Chirchik, watered by one of the right-bank tributaries of the Syr Darya or Jaxartes and now, since the break-up of the USSR, in the Uzbek Republic (lat. 41° 16' N., long. 69° 13' E.).

## I. HISTORY TILL 1865

Nothing is known of the origin of the settlement on the Chirchik. According to the Greek and Roman sources, there were only nomads on the other side of the Jaxartes. In the earliest Chinese sources (from the 2nd century B.C.), mention is made of a land of Yu-ni, later identified with the territory of Tashkent; this land is later called Chō-chi or Chō-shi or simply Shi. The corresponding Chinese character is used with the meaning of “stone”, and this is connected by E. Chavannes (*Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, St. Petersburg 1903, 140) with the later Turkish-Sogdian hybrid name (*tash* “stone” and *kend* “town with a moat and rampart” = “stone town”). The Chinese transcription must certainly correspond to the native name Chāch, known in the Islamic period; the Arabs here, somewhat unusually (since *ch* is usually rendered by *ṣ*) rendered the sound *ch* by *sh*. The Arabic form al-Shāsh gradually drove the original name out of use in the written as well as the spoken language. Whether and how the modern Turkish name, first found in the 5th/11th century, is connected with Chāch or Shāsh, is still doubtful. The etymology (Tāzhkent = town of the Tāzhik, i.e. the Arabs) proposed by E. Polivanov (*Iqd al-jumān, Festschrift for W. Barthold*, Tashkent 1927, 395) will hardly find favour.

Details of the land of Chāch and its capital, the circumference of which was about 10 *li* (less than 5 km/3 miles), are first found in Chinese sources of the 3rd century A.D. In the time of Hiuen-Tsang (*Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, tr. St. Julien, i, Paris 1857, 16), there was no ruler in Chāch to whom the whole country was subject, as in other countries. The separate towns were under the suzerainty of the Turks. In the history of the wars of conquest of the Arabs in the 2nd/8th century, there is frequent reference to a “king (*malik*) of Shāsh”; his capital is given by al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, and al-Ṭabarī, as the town of Ṭārband, not otherwise mentioned in the Arabic geographical literature; that we have here, as the editor D.H. Müller assumed, a contracted form of Ṭūrārband is more than doubtful. The ruling family was presumably of Turkish origin. The suzerainty of the Turkish Qaghans was at times replaced by that of the Chinese. In 133/751 the Chinese governor of Qucha, the Korean general Kao Sien-chih, executed the prince of al-Shāsh, and his son appealed for assistance to the Arabs. Ziyād b. Ṣāliḥ, sent by Abū

Muslim, inflicted a severe defeat on the Chinese in Dhu 'l-Hijja 133/July 751 on the Talas river, and Kao Sien-chih was killed in the battle. This battle established the political supremacy of Islam in Central Asia, and no further attempts were made by the Chinese to dispute it.

Under the 'Abbasid caliphs, the territory of al-Shāsh was regarded as the frontier of Islam against the Turks; the settled lands were protected from the raids of the nomads by a wall, remains of which still exist (see below). Nevertheless the land was conquered by the Turks, probably for a short period only, in 191/806–7. A “prince (*ṣāḥib*) of al-Shāsh with his Turks” is mentioned as an ally of the rebel Rāfi' b. Layth. Under al-Ma'mūn, al-Shāsh again belonged to caliphal empire; when in 204/819, members of the Samanid family became governors of various districts in Ma warā' al-Nahr, one of them, Yaḥyā b. Asad (d. 241/855), was granted al-Shāsh. In 225/840 the eldest of the brothers, Nūḥ b. Asad, the senior governor of the lands entrusted to the Samanids, by conquering Isfijāb (the modern Sayrām) succeeded in advancing the frontier further north. About the same time, a canal in al-Shāsh, which had become silted up in the early days of Islam, was restored. The caliph al-Mu'taṣim (218–27/833–42) contributed 2,000,000 dirhams towards the work on these canals.

In the geographical sources of the 4th/10th century, Chāch/al-Shāsh appears not as the name of a town but as that of a district, essentially the valley of the Parak river (the later Chirchik) which rose, according to the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, “from behind the mountain of the Khallukh/Qarluq” and flowed into the Syr Darya. From the proximity of the region to the great river, the Syr Darya is often called in the geographical literature “the river of Shāsh”. The region was closely linked with that of Īlāq, the district to the south, in the valley of another right-bank affluent of the Syr Darya, the Āhangarān river (modern Anguen), also flowing down from the mountains of Farghāna.

The same sources describe the district of Chāch/al-Shāsh as extensive and prosperous, full of enthusiastic fighters for the Muslim faith, the local speciality being bows and arrows of *khadang* (probably birch) wood. The main urban centre was Binkath, which had at this time many walls and gates, with these walls protecting a *madīna/shahrastān* with a citadel (*gal'a, arg*), and inner and outer suburbs

(*rabad*, *bīrūn*) with gardens and orchards. Water was plentifully supplied by canals, and the whole area protected by a wall, built by the ‘Abbasid commander ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥumayd (b. Qaṭṭaba, governor of Khurasan in 159/776) to protect the town from the pagan Turks (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 480–3; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 172–3). Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Qānūn al-Mas‘ūdī*, says that Binkath was called in Turkish and Greek “stone tower” (*burj al-hijāra*), apparently alluding to the popular Turkish etymology and to the Ptolemaic *lithinos pyrgos* (for another “stone tower”, *burj-i sangīn*, in Central Asia, but further east on the borders of China, see the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*). From an examination of the distances between settlements in the district given by the geographers, Barthold thought that the subsequent Tashkent is quite possibly on the site of the ancient Binkath. Coins were minted at Binkath from early ‘Abbasid times onwards, but normally have the regional designation “al-Shāsh”, only rarely with the addition of “Binkath” (see E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 80, 156–7). The tomb of a celebrated *faqīh*, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 365/975–6), called by al-Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī Ibn al-Bayyī‘ the greatest Shāfi‘ī scholar of his age in Transoxania, is mentioned by Kāshgharī as a well-known feature of Tashkent (where his tomb was still visible in the early 20th century, according to Barthold).

Whether the name Tashkent was in use before the Turkish conquest (before the final collapse of the Samanid dynasty, the whole Syr Darya territory had been ceded to the Turks in 386/996) is doubtful. So far as we know, the name “Tāshkend” is first found in al-Bīrūnī; from the etymology of the name, al-Bīrūnī wrongly identifies it with the λιθινὸς πύργος of Ptolemy (see above, and J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, Berlin 1901, 155). Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, tr. Atalay, i, 443, iii, 150, mentions “Terken” (otherwise unknown) as a “name of Shāsh” in addition to Tāshkend. The name Tashkent first appears on coins in the Mongol period. In the second half of the 5th/11th and in the 6th/12th century, coins were struck in Banākath, Fanākath or Banākit, which lies quite close to it on the right bank of the Syr Darya; it is possible that this town at this time was of greater importance than Tashkent. In Juwaynī’s account of the Mongol campaign against Fanākath and Khujand, Tashkent

is not mentioned; only the taking of Banākath is recorded. Under Mongol rule, Tashkent, for reasons unknown to us, had a better fate than Banākath. Tashkent continued to exist as a town and was occasionally visited by the Khāns; on the other hand, Banākath, although it had not offered resistance to the Mongols, was in ruins at this date, and it was not till 794/1392 that Tīmūr rebuilt it under the new name of Shāhrukhiyya.

After the decline of the Chaghatayids, Tashkent belonged to the empire of Tīmūr and the Timurids; in 890/1485 the town with the lands belonging to it was ceded to the Turco-Mongol Khān Yūnus, who died there in 892/1487 (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Ross, 114–15). His tomb is in the mosque of Shaykh Khāwand-i Ṭuhūr (popularly Shaykhantawr), a local saint. Khān Yūnus was succeeded by his son Maḥmūd Khān; after 908/1503, Tashkent belonged to the kingdom of the Özbegs, who had, however, to give it up only a short time after the death of the founder of this kingdom, Shībānī Khān. During the centuries following, Tashkent was sometimes under the rule of Özbegs, sometimes under the Qazaqs, and in 1135/1723 it was conquered by the Kalmucks, but not at once occupied by them; the town continued to be governed by a prince of Qazaq descent who was now a vassal of the rulers of the Kalmucks. Sometimes its rule passed into the hands of the Khojas, the descendants of the local saint (see e.g. F. Teufel, *Quellenstudien zur neueren Geschichte der Chānate*, in *ZDMG*, xxxviii [1884], 311).

During these centuries, the possession of Tashkent was frequently the cause of heavy fighting. Some of the accounts of these battles are of importance for the understanding of the topographical conditions of the period. The records of the battles of Tashkent in the time of the Shībānīd ‘Abd Allāh Khān b. Iskandar clearly show that the town of Tashkent had not yet assumed its present form. It is not till the 12th/18th century that the division of the town into four quarters (Kukcha, Shaykhantawr, Sibzar and Besh Aghach), with a common bazaar, is mentioned. Occasionally, each quarter had a chief (*hākīm*) of its own; each quarter formed an entity by itself and was very often at war with the others.

About 1780, Yūnus Khoja, the chief of the Shaykhantawr quarter, succeeded in combining the whole town under his rule. Yūnus Khoja fought successfully against the Qazaqs, but suffered a severe

reverse at the hands of the Özbegs of Khoqand under Ālim Khān; after his death, in the time of his son and successor Sultān Khoja, in 1809, Tashkent had to submit to the rule of the Khāns of Khoqand, who used it as a springboard for expansion into the Qazaq steppes.

## II. FROM 1865 TO THE PRESENT

Situated at the heart of a huge cotton-growing oasis, a regional and international communications centre, the city of Tashkent experienced a considerable demographic and economic development at the end of the 19th century and became the most important urban centre in Central Asia. The major turning-point in the town's history was its submission to Russian rule, achieved in June 1865 by General Cherniaev, one of the major protagonists of Tsarist expansion towards India. Following the conquest, the colonial town was constructed to the east of the original city, made up of traditional quarters (*mahalla* and *daha*) and outside the walls of the latter – an illustration of the concern of the Tsarist authorities to avoid direct confrontation with local populations. Two years later, the Governorship-General of Turkestan was constituted, with Tashkent as the seat of power and General von Kaufmann (1867–81) as the first Governor. Henceforward, there was a surge in political, economic and cultural activity (appearance in 1902 of the first clandestine Marxist circles, uniting Muslim reformists and nationalists fleeing the repression to which they had been subjected in Bukhara, publication of the first newspaper in the Uzbek language, *Turkistan Viloyatining Gazeti*, and the first Russo-indigenous secular establishment). Its population increased from 56,000 inhabitants in 1868 to 156,000 in 1897. The Transcaspian railway reached Tashkent in 1898, and in 1901 work began on the Trans-Aral line which would connect it to Orenburg. Numerous enterprises, banks and scientific institutions were established by the civilian and military Russian colonists who, in spite of strong reservations on the part of the colonial authorities, preoccupied with threats of a *jihād*, also obtained permission to build Orthodox churches. However, it was not until 1912, at a time of general internal unrest, that the first, and ephemeral, so-called “anti-Muslim” mission was opened in Tashkent; its results in terms of proselytism were to be insignificant. Besides the popular

demonstrations of 1892 against sanitary measures taken by the Russians during a cholera epidemic, reckoned as contrary to Islam, the mutiny of Tsarist officers in 1905 and the 1916 anti-labour conscription revolt, also affecting the capital of Russian Turkestan, were the principal events preceding the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917.

The revolutionary activities witnessed in Tashkent corresponded to those unfolding in Moscow and Petrograd, with some specifically local features. The town lost its status as capital to the benefit of Samarqand; June 1917 saw the overthrow of the Turkestan Committee of the Provisional Government created on 7 April and, in parallel, the appearance of a counter-revolutionary front formed by the Military Organisation of Tashkent and the “Association of interpreters of the Shar‘a”, the latter created in the old city by the leaders of the nationalist bourgeoisie. On 20 October (10 November) 1917, the Bolsheviks established the REVKOM or Soviet of Tashkent, with the unexpected support of Russian colonists perturbed by Muslim pretensions to sovereignty. From 19 to 22 February 1918, the army of this Soviet bombarded the “Autonomous state of Khokand”, an ephemeral Muslim counter-power founded in the Farghāna valley. This event marked the beginning of civil war in Turkestan (1918–22), which saw the whole of this zone cut off from the central regions by General Dutov's White Army and the population decimated by famine. It was also the arena for years of warfare between the Red Army on the one hand and Basmachi rebels and foreign interventionists on the other. Besides the armed insurrection of 9 January 1919 led by Ossipov, a former officer of the Tsarist army, 6 April 1919 saw the constitution of the Musbyuro, specifically designed for ideological propaganda in Muslim circles on behalf of the Russian Communist Party, directed by T. Ryskulov, J. Aliev, J. Ibragimov, A. Muhitdinov and N. Khodyaev, reformist leaders who had opted for the Bolsheviks. This organisation having proposed the formation of a Turkish Republic and of a Turkish Communist Party, and faced by the extortions perpetrated by the Tashkent Soviet on the Muslim population, Lenin decided to re-establish his control, sending in the Turkkomissiya led by Frunze. In 1924, Tashkent entered the Soviet Socialist Republic of Uzbekistan, of which it once again in 1930 became the capital at the expense of Samarqand, regaining its central

position in politics and culture. There are currently 105 scholastic establishments, for 20,000 pupils (in 1917, the town possessed 19 schools for 8,000 pupils).

As the face of Tashkent has undergone profound changes during the decades of Soviet domination, the history of its urban development cannot be dissociated from the political events of which it was the theatre. From the beginnings of nascent Bolshevik power, the principle of division between traditional town and new town was rejected. The task of Soviet urban architects was defined as twofold: on the one hand, reconstruction of the ancient quarters, damaged by the civil war and the destruction that had accompanied the imposition of the Soviet régime; on the other, the realisation of officially-sanctioned ideological objectives in the form of social buildings: construction of a network of cultural centres, libraries, theatres, educational, recreational, medical and social infrastructures. Several phases may be identified in this evolution.

#### 1. 1917–41

As elsewhere in the USSR, this period belongs under the heading of electrification (first central system in 1923) and industrialisation. The end of the 1920s marks a phase of intensive construction of public and residential buildings in eclectic styles, neo-classical or constructivist (House of the Supreme Soviet, and that of Economic Affairs). The 1930s witnessed an acceleration in industrial construction, also residential quarters (*sochgorod*), parks and gardens. The overall scheme for the urbanisation of Tashkent, adopted in 1938, was inspired by that adopted for Moscow in 1935. It left the centre unchanged, built around the enormous Lenin Square (currently Independence Square), to allow extended construction as far to the east as to the west of the old city, which remained of only marginal interest to the planners. However, numerous religious buildings which were a feature of the *maḥallas* were destroyed or converted for other purposes such as factories, warehouses and printing presses.

#### 2. 1941–54

The entry of the USSR into the Second World War caused substantial upheavals in the capital of Uzbekistan, to which numerous factories, offices, universities and whole populations were evacuated from the western front (50 business enterprises,

300,000 persons in all, including 100,000 children and several thousand Ashkenazi Jews). The population doubled, rising to a million inhabitants. On 20 October 1943, the Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan was established in Tashkent (after the independence of Uzbekistan it took the name of Spiritual Board of the Muslims of Mawarannahr). Architecture became monumental and pompous.

#### 3. 1955–65

This was a decade of intense urbanisation, corresponding to the introduction of new technologies in construction (foundations in reinforced concrete). Entire quarters of the old city gave way to modern multi-storey constructions, surrounding communal green spaces. Efforts were made to accommodate residents of the same *maḥalla* together in the new apartment blocks, so as to preserve familial solidarity and traditional social habits. The area of the city increased considerably.

#### 4. 1966–91

In the aftermath of the earthquake of 26 April 1966, which claimed nearly 400,000 victims (a third of the total population) and destroyed 95,000 homes, with lethal after-shocks continuing for a whole year, the reconstruction of the town took place according to a new plan which favoured the creation of peripheral residential quarters (*mikroraiion*) and the principle of asymmetrical development. Architectural trends were a blend of modern techniques of construction and “Uzbek national styles” (arcades, galleries, open verandahs, mosaics and panelling). In addition to the opening of the Imām Bukhara Higher Islamic Institute in 1971 (the second in the USSR after that of Bukhara), 7 November 1977 saw the inauguration of the first underground railway line.

The Brezhnev period (1964–83) was marked by intense diplomatic activity directed towards the Muslim countries with which the USSR was seeking reconciliation. In its role as showcase of socialism in Asia, Tashkent was the site of numerous peace conferences, at least until 1979, the date of the Iranian revolution and of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

In the course of a *perestroika* instigated by various nationalist or religious demonstrations (new nationalist parties, Birlik, Erk, Party of the Islamic Renais-

sance and Tatars of the Crimea, between 1987 and 1991), Mikhail Gorbachev attempted one last anti-Muslim campaign which did not, however, succeed in stemming the ever more visible manifestations of religious renewal (in 1989, the Spiritual Board of Tashkent retrieved the “Qur’ān of ‘Uthmān” which had been kept in the Ermitage Museum for its own library, and numerous mosques were renovated or restored to their congregations) combined with a campaign against the “cotton mafia” which aggravated rancour towards Moscow and induced the ruling élite to assume an independence which had not been envisaged at the outset. On 1 September 1991 Tashkent became the capital of the independent Republic of Uzbekistan which took its seat at the United Nations on 2 March 1992.

A new era began, marked by the changing of hundreds of street names, in spite of a perceptible continuity in the management of the administrative, economic and social problems, imposed by the post-Soviet transition, on the part of the rehabilitated élites of the former régime. Tashkent today has an estimated population (2005) of 2,205,000.

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**TEHRAN**, in Arabic script Tīhrān, Tīhrān, a city of northern Persia. It was a town of only moderate size and fame in earlier Islamic times, but since the later 18th century has been the capital city of Persia, modern Iran, now the Islamic Republic of Iran. For speculations on the etymology of the name (none of

them convincing), see Minorsky’s *EL*<sup>1</sup> art. *Téheran*, at the beginning.

#### I. GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION

It lies in lat. 35° 40' N., long. 51° 26' E. at an altitude of 1,158 m/3,800 feet, in a depression (*gawd*) to the south of the outer, southern spurs of the Elburz range, with the fertile Warāmīn plain, traditionally the granary of Tehran, stretching southwards from the town’s centre. To the east of the plain, a southern spur of the Elburz chain, the *Sih pāya* “tripod”, forms a low barrier, and at the southern end of this lies the little town of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm. The ruins of the great pre-Islamic and mediaeval Islamic city of Rhages or Rayy lie between Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm and the historic centre of Tehran. The villages on the Elburz slopes to the north of Tehran, such as Qulhak (Golhak), Tajrīsh and Shamirān, have traditionally provided summer retreats for the people of Tehran, avoiding the summer heat which forms part of the town’s continental climate; and in the 19th century Shamirān also provided Tehran’s water supply (and supplies much of it today), by means of subterranean channels (*qanāts*, *kārīz*). All these settlements, once separate, are now however within the vast urban sprawl of contemporary Tehran (see below, section 3b).

For all its undeniable strategic position in the corridor connecting western Persia with Khurasan, Tehran’s geographical position is not obviously one for a capital city; other cities of Persia, in the western highland region and south of the great central deserts, have had much more significant roles in political and military affairs and in the economic and commercial life of the country. Certainly, the choice of the hitherto undistinguished town of Tehran by Āghā Muḥammad Khān in 1200/1786 as his capital (see below, section II.), in order that he might be in close touch with the Qajars’ Türkmen tribal followers in the Māzandarān-Gurgān plains region, did not immediately improve either the status or the amenities of the town. All early Western travellers describe early Qajar Tehran as mean and insignificant, lacking in public buildings, with a poor water supply, and extreme climate and an eccentric position in regard to the main roads crossing northern Persia. In any cases, centrifugal forces in the country, and the ancient traditions of provincial autonomy, were

still strong at this time. Only towards the middle of the 19th century did Tehran's position improve. With regard to communications, for connections with Māzandarān and the Caspian coast a road passable only by horses and mules was built by the Austrian engineer Gasteiger Khan in 1875. Between 1883 and 1892 a carriage road was begun by the Persians and finally finished by the English company of Lynch Brothers (150 km/95 miles). Communication with Russia used to be by Qazvin-Tabriz-Julfa-Tiflis. In 1850 a regular line by Russian steamers began to run between Bākū and Anzālī. Although, as the crow flies, the distance between Tehran and the Caspian is only 110 km/70 miles, the passage of the Alburz was always very difficult. In 1893 the Russians obtained the concession to build a carriage road from Rasht to the capital (it was opened as far as Manjil on 1 January 1890 and to Tehran on 15 September 1899). Henceforth, the great majority of travellers took this route, which also became of considerable commercial importance. Only in the 20th century did Tehran acquire the usual modern transport services by means of motor roads, airlines and railways (see below, section III.2).

## II. HISTORY TO 1926

1. *Early history.* It is uncertain when the name Tehran first appears in geographical and historical literature. The earliest reference to Tehran is provisionally that of Ibn al-Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*, ed. Le Strange, 134 (written before 510/1116); its author talks highly of the pomegranates of Tehran, also mentioned by al-Sam'ānī (in 555/1160). But independently of these references, the village of Tehran must have existed before the time of Iṣṭakhrī (in 340/951–2), for al-Sam'ānī mentions his ancestor Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥammād al-Ṭihrānī al-Rāzī, who died at 'Asqalān in Palestine in 261/874. According to Rāwandī's *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr* (written in 599/1202), the mother of the Saljuq Sultan Arslān, who was on her way from Rayy to Nakhchiwān, made the first stop (the regular *naql-i maqām* of the Persians) "near Tehran". The sultan himself occasionally stayed near Dūlāb (the name of a place to the south-east of Tehran, where the Russian cemetery now is). Ibn Isfandiyyār in his history of Ṭabaristān (written in 613/1216, narrating the wars of the kings of the Persian epic, says that Afrasiyāb's camp was pitched

at the place where "Dūlāb and Tehran" now are. Eight years later, Yāqūt gave a brief note on Tehran which he had visited just before the Mongol invasion. It was a considerable town, with 12 quarters. As the dwelling houses in Tehran were built underground, and the gardens around the town had very dense vegetation, the town was well protected and the government in its dealings with the inhabitants preferred to be tactful with them. Civil discord raged to such an extent in Tehran that the inhabitants tilled their fields with the spade out of fear lest their neighbours should steal their animals. Zakariyyā' al-Qazwīnī (674/1275) compares the dwelling houses in Tehran to the holes of jerboas, and confirms Yāqūt's account of the character of the inhabitants.

All later writers note the subterranean dwellings, but only Ker Porter (*Travels*, i, 312) says in this connection that 200–300 yards from the Qazvin gate he saw inside the town "an open space full of wide and deep excavations or rather pits", which served as shelters for the poor and stables for the beasts of burden. This must be a reference to the old *darwāza-yi naw* (*pā-qāpuk*), to the south of which the quarter is called Ghār ("caves"). This name was also applied to the whole district stretching to the south of Tehran. As to the troglodyte life in the vicinity of Tehran, see Eastwick, *Journal*, i, 294: a village to the east of the bridge of Karaj, and Crawshaw-Williams, *Rock-dwellings at Rainah*, in *JRAS* (1904), 551, (1906), 217.

The growth of Tehran was the result of the disappearance of other large centres in the neighbourhood. The decline of Ray dates from its destruction by the Mongols in 617/1220. In the Mongol period, Tehran is occasionally mentioned in the *Jāmi' al-tawārīkh*: in 683/1284, Arghūn, after the victory gained near Aq-Khwāja (= Sūmīqān) over al-Yanaq, Aḥmad Tegüder's general, arrived at "Ṭihrān of Rayy". In 694/1294 Ghazan, coming from Fīrūzkūh, stopped at "Ṭihrān of Rayy". According to Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Tehran was a considerable town (*mu'tabir*), with a better climate than Ray. Formerly (*mā qabl*), the inhabitants of Tehran were very numerous.

In the Timurid period, the village of "Ṭihrān of Rayy" is mentioned in 806/1403 as the place where the Shāh-zāde Rustam spent 20 days to assemble the troops with whom he marched against Iskandar-Shaykh Chalāwī. About the same time (6 July 1404), Tehran (*ciudad que ha nombre Teheran*) was visited for

the first time by a European traveller, the Spanish Ambassador Clavijo (tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 166). At this time, the province of Ray was governed by Tīmūr's son-in-law, the Amīr Sulaymān-Shāh. He lived in Warāmin (Clavijo's Vatami). The town of Ray (*Xahariprey*) was not inhabited (*agora deshabitada*). In the tower of Tehran was a representative of the governor, and there was a house where the king stopped on his visits (*una posada onde el Señor suele estar quando allí venia*). Tehran had no walls.

2. *The Safavids*. Under the Safavids, the capital was moved in turn from Ardabīl to Tabriz and then to Qazvin and finally to Isfahan. The district of Ray was no longer of great importance. There were only two towns of note in it: Warāmin, which after a brief spell of glory under Shāh Rukh had rapidly declined, and Tehran. According to Riḍā Qulī Khān (*Rawḍat al-ṣafā-yi nāṣiri*), the first visits of the Safavids to Tehran were due to the fact that their ancestor Sayyid Ḥamza was buried there near Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm. The prosperity of the town dates from Ṭahmāsp I, who in 961/1554 built a bazaar in it and a wall (*bāra*) round it which, according to the *Ẓīnat al-majālis*, was a *farsakh* in length (Ṣanī' al-Dawla, *Mir'āt al-buldān*: 6,000 *gām* "paces"). The wall had four gates and 114 towers, the number of the sūras of the Qur'ān (on each of the towers a sūra was inscribed). The figure of 114 towers is still given in Berezin's plan (1842). The material for the construction of the citadel was procured from the quarries of Chāl-i Maydān and Chāl-i Ḥiṣār, which have given their names to two quarters. Aḥmad Rāḍī, himself belonging to the district of Ray, talks in laudatory terms of the incomparable abundance of the canals and gardens of Tehran and the delights of the plateau of Shamīrān, and of the neighbouring district of Kand and Sulaqān. According to the *Majālis al-mu'minīn* of Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, the village of Sulāghān was founded by the celebrated Sayyid Muḥammad Nūrbakhsh, founder of many religious movements, who died in 869/1464.

In 985/1577, Tehran was the scene of the execution of Prince Mīrzā, whose enemies had accused him to Shāh Ismā'il II of aiming at the throne. In 998/1589 Shāh 'Abbās I, marching against the Özbek 'Abd al-Mu'mīn Khān, fell severely ill at Tehran (Iskandar Munshī, *Ālam-ārā*, tr. R.M. Savory, *History of Shah 'Abbās the Great*, Boulder, Colo. 1978, ii, 589), which enabled the Özbeks to seize Mashhad. It

is said that this gave Shāh 'Abbās a great dislike for Tehran. It is, however, from his time that the building of the palace of Chahār Bāgh dates, the site of which was later occupied by the present citadel (*ark*). Pietro della Valle visited Tehran in 1618 and found the town larger in area but with a smaller population than Kāshān. He calls it the "town of plane trees". At this time, a *beglerbegi* ("gran capo di provincia") lived in Tehran; his jurisdiction extended as far as Fīrūzkūh. In 1627 Sir Thomas Herbert estimated the number of houses in Tehran at 3,000.

3. *The Afghans*. On the eve of the Afghan invasion, Shāh Ḥusayn Ṣafawī made a stay in Tehran and it was here that he received Dürri Efendi, the ambassador of the Ottoman Sultan Aḥmed III (at the beginning of 1720; *Relation de Dourri Efendi*, Paris 1810). Here also was dismissed and blinded the grand vizier Fath 'Alī Khān I'timād Dawla ("Athemat" of the Europeans), which precipitated the debacle. Shāh Ḥusayn only returned to Isfahan to lose his throne. Ṭahmāsp II made a stay in Tehran in August 1725, but, on the approach of the Afghans, he fled to Māzandarān. European writers say that Tehran resisted and Ashraf lost many men. Some time afterwards, Tehran fell in spite of the feeble attempt by Fath 'Alī Khān Qajar to relieve the town. According to one source, the *Darwāza-yi Dawla* and *Darwāza-yi Ark* gates date from this period, for the Afghans everywhere showed themselves careful to secure the ways of retreat. The reference is, of course, to the old gates of those names.

After the defeat of Ashraf at Mihmāndūst (6 Rabī' I 1141/20 September 1728), the Afghans in Tehran put to death the notables and left for Isfahan. The inhabitants fell upon the impedimenta which they had left and, through negligence, a powder magazine was exploded (*Histoire de Nadir Chah*, tr. Jones, London 1770, 78). Ashraf himself was soon driven out of Warāmin, and Shāh Ṭahmāsp II returned to Tehran.

4. *Nādir Shāh*. In 1154/1741, Nādir gave Tehran as a fief to his eldest son Riḍā Qulī Mīrzā, who had hitherto acted as ruler of all Persia. The nomination to Tehran was preliminary to the fall and blinding of the prince. During the fighting among the successors of Nādir, 'Alī Shāh 'Ādil (1160/1747) took refuge in Tehran but was seized and blinded by Ibrāhīm's supporters. After the fall of the Nādirids, the town passed into the sphere of influence of the Qajars, rivals of Karīm Khān Zand.



5. *Karīm Khān*. In 1171/1757–8, Sultan Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār, after an unsuccessful battle with Karīm Khān near Shiraz, retired to Tehran where his army was disbanded. Having learned that he had withdrawn from Tehran, Karīm Khān sent his best general Shaykh ‘Alī Khān there with an advance-guard. With the help of Muḥammad Khān Dawalū, Muḥammad Ḥasan Qājār was killed and Karīm Khān with his army (*ordu*) arrived at Tehran in 1172/1759. The head of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān was buried with all honour at Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm. The next year, the order was given to build at Tehran a seat of government (*imārat*) “which would rival the palace of Chosroes at Ctesiphon”, a *dūwān-khāna*, a *ḥaram* and quarters for the bodyguard. Šanī‘ al-Dawla added to these buildings the Jannat garden, and he says that Karīm Khān intended to make Tehran his capital. It was to there that Āghā Muḥammad Qājār, captured in Māzandarān, was taken to Karīm Khān, who treated him generously, for which he was very badly requited later. In 1176/1762–3, however, Karīm Khān decided on Shiraz, to which he moved the machinery of government. Ghafūr Khān was left as governor in Tehran.

6. *The rise of the Qajars*. Karīm Khān died on 13 Šafar 1193/2 March 1779. By 20 Šafar, Āghā Muḥammad was in Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm, and the next day he ascended the throne (*julūs*) in the vicinity of Tehran. Tehran, however, passed into the sphere of influence of ‘Alī Murād Khān, half-brother of Ja‘far Khān Zand. In 1197/1783, Āghā Muḥammad Khān made a first attempt to get possession of Tehran, but the governor Ghafūr Khān Ṭīhrānī managed to procrastinate, and an outbreak of plague forced Āghā Muḥammad to withdraw to Dāmghān. After the death of ‘Alī Murād Khān (1199/1785), the town was besieged by Āghā Muḥammad’s troops. The inhabitants did not wish to surrender the fortress (*qal‘a*) before Āghā Muḥammad had taken Iṣfahan. The news of the advance of Ja‘far Khān Zand from Fars caused Āghā Muḥammad’s troops to disperse. He was, however, received with open arms by the chiefs of Tehran (*ḥākīm wa ‘ummāl*) and henceforward the town was his capital (*maqarr-i salṭanat, dār al-salṭana* and later *dār al-khilāfa*), from which he led the expeditions which united all Persia under his rule. According to the *Ma‘āthir-i sulṭānī*, tr. Sir Harford Jones Brydges, *Dynasty of the Kajars*, 18, Tehran became the capital in 1200/1786 and the foundations of the palace were

laid then. After the capture of Shiraz, all the artillery and munitions of the Zands were taken to the new capital. The last Zand ruler, Luṭf ‘Alī Khān, blinded and kept prisoner in Tehran, was put to death there in 1209/1794–5 and buried in the sanctuary of the *imām-zāde* Zayd.

After the assassination of Āghā Muḥammad Shāh (21 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijja 1211/16 June 1797), his brother ‘Alī Qulī Khān appeared before the capital, but the chief minister Mīrzā Šaffī‘ would not allow him to enter. In the meanwhile, the heir to the throne Bābā Khān (= Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh) was able to reach Shiraz, and after the defeat of the second claimant Šādiq Khān Shaqaqī, was crowned in mid-1212/the beginning of 1798. The Shaqaqī prisoners were employed to dig the ditch of the capital (cf. Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shah und seine Thronrivalen*, in *Sitz. A.W. Wien* [1864] ii, 1–31).

During the period of Anglo-French rivalry, a series of ambassadors visited Tehran: on the one side Sir John Malcolm (1801 and 1810), Sir Harford Jones Brydges (1807), and Sir Gore Ouseley (1811), and on the French side, General Romieu (d. there in 1806), A. Jaubert (1806), and General Gardane (1807). The Russians concentrated their efforts on Tabriz, the residence of the Persian Crown Prince. It was only after the treaty of Turkmanchay in 1828 that the Russian minister A.S. Griboedov paid a short visit to the capital. Just before his return to Tabriz, Mīrzā Ya‘qūb, one of the Shāh’s chief eunuchs, an Armenian of Erivan forcibly converted to Islam, presented himself at the Russian legation and asked to be repatriated by virtue of article 13 of the treaty. This “apostasy” provoked an attack on the Russian embassy, and on 11 February 1829, 45 members of it were massacred (Griboedov, his secretaries, Cosacks and servants). The tragedy took place in the legation’s quarters (house of the *zambūrakchibashi* near the old Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm gate; now the street called Sar-pūlak in the Zargarābād quarter). On the death of Griboedov, celebrated in the annals of Russian literature, see D.P. Costello, *The murder of Griboedov*, in *Oxford Slavonic Papers*, viii (1958).

When the death of Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh (19 October 1834) became known in the capital, his son ‘Alī Mīrzā Zill-i Sulṭān proclaimed himself king under the name of ‘Ādil Shāh and struck coins. But the heir to the throne Muḥammad Mīrzā arrived from Tabriz, accompanied by representatives of Britain and Rus-

sia, and entered the capital without striking a blow on 2 January 1835. ʿĀdil Shāh only reigned for six weeks. The succession of the next three Shāhs took place without incident (even after the assassination of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh on 1 May 1896). The history of Tehran under these Shāhs is that of all Persia. The tranquillity of the town was only disturbed by epidemics and the periodical migrations caused by famine; cf. the rioting on 1 March 1861, described by Eastwick, and Ussher, *Journey from London to Persopolis*, London 1865, 625.

Among the more important events may be mentioned the persecution of the Bābīs, especially in 1850 after the attempt on Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's life. The movement against the concession of a tobacco monopoly to the Tobacco Monopoly Corporation in 1891 also started in Tehran; see E.G. Browne, *The Persian Revolution of 1905–1909*, Cambridge 1910, 46–57.

7. *The Constitutional Revolution.* After the Persian Revolution, the capital, previously somewhat isolated from the provinces, rapidly became the political and intellectual centre of this country. The chronology of the events of the period was as follows: The *bast* of the merchants in the *Maṣḥid-i Shāh*, December 1905. The *bast* of the constitutionalists at the British legation from 20 July to 5 August 1906. The opening of the Majlis in the palace of Bahāristān on 7 October 1906. The heir to the throne Muḥammad ʿAlī Mīrzā signs the constitution on 30 December 1906. Death of Muḥaffār al-Dīn Shāh on 8 January 1907. The assassination of the Atabeg Amīn al-Dawla on 31 August 1907. Counter-manifestations by the “absolutists” from 13–19 December 1907. Bombardment of the Majlis on 23 June 1908. Capture of Tehran by the nationalist troops commanded by the Sipahdār-i Aʿzam of Rasht and the Sardār-i Asʿad Bakhtiyārī on 13–15 July 1909. Abdication of Muḥammad ʿAlī Shāh on 16 July; accession of Sultan Aḥmad Shāh on 18 July 1909. See Browne, *The Persian Revolution*; D. Fraser, *Persia and Turkey in Revolt*, London 1910, 82–116; Vanessa A. Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian revolution of 1906*, London 1989. On the events of 12 May 1911 to 11 January 1912, information can be found in Morgan Shuster, *The strangling of Persia*, London 1912. In 1915, Tehran became involved in the First World War. The representatives of the Central Powers nearly carried Aḥmad Shāh off to Qum with them. The capital was outside of the zone of military operations proper, but on several occa-

sions movements of troops took place in its vicinity (skirmish on 10 December 1915 near Rabāṭ-Karīm between Russian Cossacks and the Amīr Hishmat's gendarmes, who were on the side of the Central Powers). Down to 1917, Russian troops controlled the region between the Caspian and Tehran. From 1918 British troops took their place; cf. L.C. Dunsterville, *The adventures of Dunsterforce*, London 1920. The division of Persian Cossacks commanded by the old Russian instructors was also employed to protect Persia against a possible offensive from the north. The Russian officers were dismissed on 30 October 1920. The greater part of the division was stationed at Qazvin, where a British force under General Ironside was still quartered. On 21 February 1921, 2,500 Persian Cossacks, who had come from Qazvin under the command of their general Riḍā Khān, occupied the capital. Sayyid Diyāʾ al-Dīn formed the new cabinet (24 February–24 May) and Riḍā Khān was appointed commander-in-chief (*Sardār Sipah*). Towards the end of 1923, Aḥmad Shāh left the country, at the same time as the prime minister Qawām al-Saltāna (from 4 June 1921), who was accused of intriguing against the Sardār Sipah. The latter remained master of the situation and was finally crowned on 25 April 1926.

### III. THE GROWTH OF TEHRAN

#### 1. *To ca. 1870*

Yāqūt's account of the houses of Tehran suggests that the oldest part of the town is in the south (the Ghār quarter) and that it developed from south to north (i.e. from the desert to the mountain and to the springs). There is little left in Tehran of the Zand period. The modern town has been entirely created under the Qajars. On its antecedents, see Chahriyar Adle, *Le jardin habité ou Téhéran de jadis, des origines aux Safavides*, in *idem* and B. Hourcade (eds.), *Téhéran capitale, bicentenaire*, 15–37.

Olivier, who visited Tehran in 1796, says that the town, which looked entirely new or rebuilt, was in the form of a square of a little more than 2 miles (?), but only half of this was built upon. The population did not exceed 15,000, of whom 3,000 were soldiers, and Olivier remarks with justice that “the gold scattered around the throne” did not fail to attract inhabitants. The palace in the citadel was built in the time of

Āghā Muḥammad Shāh. In the *Tālār-i takht-i marmar* were placed the pictures, glass and marble pillars taken from the palace of Karīm Khān in Shiraz. Under the threshold of a door were buried the bones of Nādir Shāh so that the Qajar prince could trample over them every day (Ouseley). On the accession of Riḍā Shāh, the bones were taken away.

According to General Gardane (1808), only the poor remained in Tehran in summer, but in winter the population reached 50,000.

Morier (1808–9) says that Tehran was 4½–5 miles in circumference. Kinneir, about the same time, put the summer population at 10,000 and the winter at 60,000. The town was surrounded by a strong wall and a great ditch with a glacis, but the defences were only of value in a country where “the art of war was unknown”.

Ouseley (1811) counted 6 gates in Tehran, 30 mosques and colleges and 300 baths; he put the population in winter at 40–60,000. Ker Porter (1817) mentions 8 (?) gates, before which large round towers were built (cf. his plan) to defend the approaches and control the exits. In winter, the population was from 60–70,000.

Fath ‘Alī Shāh had considerably improved the town, but towards the end of his reign it passed through a period of neglect. According to Fraser (1838), there was not another town in Persia so poor-looking; “not a dome” was to be seen in it. Under Muḥammad Shāh, things were improved a little.

Berezin has given a particularly detailed description of the palace (*darb-i dawlat-khāna*) with its four courts and numerous buildings (Dawlat-khāna, Daftar-khāna, Kulāh-i firangī [“pavilion”], Sandūq-khāna, Zargar-khāna, ‘Imārat-i Shīr-i Khurshīd, Sarwistān, Khalwat-i Shāh, Gulistān). The same traveller gives a plan of the palace and of the town, very important for the historical topography of Tehran. At this date (1842), the town within its walls measured about 3,800 Persian *arshīns* (roughly yards) from west to east and 1,900–2,450 from north to south, i.e. occupied an area of about 3 square miles. The citadel (*arg*) was in the shape of a parallelogram (600 *arshīns* west to east by 1,175 north to south, i.e. a fourth of the whole town). The north side of the *arg* touched the centre of the northern face of the outer wall. Gardens occupied the parts of the town next to the wall. The most animated quarter was that which lay to the south-east of the citadel in the

direction of the Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm gate. Only five gates are marked on this plan. The only open space, the Maydān-i Shāh close to the citadel on the south side, was not large. Among the mosques, that of the Shāh and the *imām-zāda* of Zayd and Yahyā alone are of any importance. Gardane had seen the *Masjid-i Shāh* being built in 1807. Its inscription, from the hand of the court calligrapher Muḥammad Mahdī, is dated 1224/ 1809, but according to Schindler, the mosque was not finished till 1840.

The plan by Krziž (publ. Tehran 1857) much resembles that of Berezin, but around the town he marks by dotted lines the bounds of a new extension of the town, which according to an explanatory note by Dr. Polak, had been begun considerably before 1857. Polak himself in 1853 had built a hospital to the north of the north gate of the town. These new buildings were few in number and not built under any regular scheme. In 1861 the town was still within the old square; the population was 80,000 in summer and 120,000 in winter (Brugsch).

## 2. *Urbanisation, monuments, cultural and socio-economic life until the time of the Pahlavīs*

### i. *Urban development*

Despite the political role evolved by the Qajars, Tehran retained the appearance of a traditional Persian Islamic township until the reign of Muḥammad Shāh (1834–48). Urban activity was centred *intra muros*, around the royal citadel of the Arg (or Ark) and the lanes of the Bāzār quarter, site of the ancient village of Tehran, as far as the Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm gate. Huge gardens were laid out in the very interior of the eastern quarters (‘Awdlājān, Chāla Maydān) and the western (Sangilāj). Besides the Arg, the town contained few large buildings. The only open public space was the small square, Maydān-i Shāh, between the Bāzār and the Arg, where the Russian legation was accommodated, while that of Great Britain was situated close to the Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm gate.

Until the mid-19th century, the majority of European observers considered the town a dismal place which, with its unhealthy climate, lack of water provision and dearth of prestigious monuments could never rival the ancient Persian capitals such as Tabriz, Isfahan and Shiraz, and could even be supplanted as capital by other sites of royal residence.

The real promotion of the city to the status

of capital was owed to the initiatives of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (1848–96). But transformation was very gradual. The Islamic town is still clearly visible in the plan drawn by Krziž, published in December 1858 (not in 1857) (partially inaccurate and incomplete document). This colour-coded map supplies abundant information on the nature of buildings (mosques, businesses, residences, gardens, etc.). It indicates a first step towards urbanisation, as is confirmed by the earliest register of houses (not a true census) made at the Shāh's behest by an anonymous individual in 1269/1852. The town is divided into five quarters (*maḥalla*): Arg, 'Awdlājān, Bāzār, Sangilaj and Chāla Maydān. This document gives information on the social, commercial and professional infrastructure of the quarters, especially regarding their socio-religious aspect. Buildings are divided between: houses (those of officials, *nawkars*, those of subjects, *ra'īyās*, commoners and minorities); official edifices (palace or house in the service of the crown or of the civil service, *madrasas*, numerous *takiyyas* (Persian *takyas*, communal places, primarily for the celebration of Shi'ite mourning rituals); commercial premises (those that are in operation, those that are closed or abandoned). Each quarter is divided into *pātuq* (primarily the place where Shi'ite funereal flags) and *gudhar* (passage). This register gives the names of the owners of buildings or of tenants, if the property is part of a *wagf*, etc. One section relates to zones in the process of urbanisation beyond the five gates of the city.

The first projects of urbanisation, in the years 1851–2, related to the quarters of the Arg and the Bāzār and included the renovation of the public square, the Sabza Maydān, formerly the Maydān-i Shāh. But the sovereign was still intent on the construction of prestigious buildings *extra muros*, as is illustrated in particular by the erection, in 1856, of the first state-run *takya/tekye*, the Takya Dawlatī of Niyāwarān which was to replace the *takya* of Muḥammad Shāh's vizier Ḥājī Mīrza Āqāsī. The Shāh, the court and the nobility continued to flee the unhealthy atmosphere of the town, especially in the summer and in particular during the cholera epidemics which had afflicted Tehran since 1823. The diplomat Arthur de Gobineau, who spent two periods of time in Tehran (1855–8 and 1862–3), reckoned that one-third of the inhabitants of the city died of cholera in 1856 (*Trois ans en Asie*, Paris 1859, repr. Paris 1922, ii, 234). He noted, however,

that in 1862, as a result of the Shāh's efforts, the city was embellished and "augmented by two substantial quarters"; the *bāzārs* were abolished and the majority of the ruins replaced by attractive buildings (A.D. Hytier, *Les dépêches diplomatiques du Comte de Gobineau en Perse*, Geneva-Paris 1959, letter dated 28 February 1862, 169).

However, during the 1850s, the city began to expand *extra muros*, as is shown by Polak's comments on another map of Tehran and its surroundings established by Krziž. This extension took place principally towards the north, mainly in the direction of the summer palaces. Garden suburbs (Bāgh-i Sardār and Nigāristān) flanked the road leading from the Shamirān Gate to the Qaṣr-i Qajar. From the Dawlat Gate, another road led to this palace via the garden-boulevard of Lālazār. Alongside another road were situated military installations, "proto-industrial" premises, a new hospital, etc. Affluent new buildings were located in these zones, as well as poorer ones to the south, near the clay quarries and the brickworks. As is also noted by Polak, the city itself was choked within its delapidated walls, some quarters, such as that of Chāla Maydān, becoming unwholesome places to live.

In the specific context of Qajar Persia, the modernisation of Tehran required at the very least expansion, to be achieved by the destruction of the ancient walls. While the motivation and procedure of the project remain obscure, the decision was taken in December 1867, when Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh had been in power for almost twenty years. Among the motives leading to this decision, the following have been evoked:

(a) Demographic changes. According to a critical study of European testimony, the population of Tehran, during the summer months, had increased from 15,000 inhabitants in the 1790s to 100,000 at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. Without supplying precise figures, the report of the census of 1269/1852–3 indicates urban development close to the gates: Muḥammadiyya and Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm to the south; Shamirān to the north, in the extra-mural zones of Bāgh-i Sardār, properties of the Kalāntar, the Takht-i Khān, the Maḥalla-yi Barbarihā and immigrants from Afghānistān.

Some fifteen years later, the report of the (incomplete) census of 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār (Najm al-Mulk, later

Najm al-Dawla) compiled at the very beginning of the changes, in February 1868, shows an expansion of the quarters of Chāla Maydān and Sangilaj, to the detriment of the gardens, and in particular a significant increase in the number of extra-mural houses, where some 15% of the population then lived, including numerous immigrants. It was also there, in the residential zones to the north of the ancient wall, that the Europeans and their embassies were to be installed.

(b) Security needs. The establishment of the new quarters, especially the affluent ones to the north, required protection, to be supplied by a ditch, a rampart and twelve new gates guarded day and night. This also provided the means to control the populace, in the event of threats of revolt, tribal raids and cholera epidemics, as well as facilitating the levying of taxes on merchandise.

(c) Flooding and its consequences. The new needs of urbanisation also required the development of carriageable roads and provision of water. This was problematic since, besides earthquakes and epidemics, this city, being situated on the plain at the foot of a mountain range, was subject to flooding. The catastrophic flood of May 1867 caused much damage in the north, affecting the access road to the palace, the new quarters, the gardens, the summer residence of the Russian legation, etc., as well as numerous quarters and roads extending as far as the sanctuaries of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm. The network of *qanāts* supplying the city with water having also been damaged, and with a cholera epidemic claiming numerous victims in August, the Shāh, who had been making the pilgrimage to Mashhad, delayed his return to the city until mid-October. By this time, the ravages of the flood had been repaired and new architectural projects partially realised (see below). But the warning had been drastic.

(d) Foreign influences. The introduction of new ideas and techniques, including photography, from the 1840s onward, the creation of the Dār al-Funūn (1851–2), where teaching was given by Europeans, the multiplication of contacts with Europe, especially through the creation of new embassies, were also factors of change. Besides the demolition of the ancient walls, the modernisation of Tehran was first imposed on the Arg quarter, to the north-east of which a large square was created, the Maydān-i Tūp-khāna, centre of the renovated capital. A new gate, Darwāza-yi

Nāširī or Shams al-Imāra, breaching the wall of the Arg, and a new avenue (the future Khiyābān-i Nāširī) linked the citadel to the Bāzār. Among architectural projects realised during the 1860s, the Shams al-Imāra palace shows a European influence, as does the Bāgh-i Gulistān garden, transformed by a French gardener. As for the new rampart, it was designed by the French polytechnic engineer Alexandre Buhler, a teacher at the Dār al-Funūn, on the model of the first system of fortifications of Vauban. The 1860s were the decade of modernisation of great capitals, including Istanbul and Cairo. Major architectural achievements were displayed at the prestigious universal exhibition held in Paris in 1867, where the moderniser of Egypt, Ismā‘īl Pasha, was able to visit renovated Paris, guided by Baron Haussmann. This exhibition and the renovation of Paris influenced the urbanisation of Cairo, Istanbul and, indirectly, that of Tehran. The reformist Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Mushīr al-Dawla, ambassador of Persia in Istanbul, attempted to persuade Nāšir al-Dīn Shāh to participate. Some Persians, including courtiers, had seen Paris and the exhibition. Photographs, paintings, engravings and other documents, sent to Tehran, showed the changes being undertaken in the major capitals. These diverse factors may have influenced the decision of the Shāh.

Solemnly proclaimed, the decision of December 1867 was not implemented by the reformer Mushīr al-Dawla and his supporters, who came to power in December 1870. Begun before and at the time of the floods of 1867 with the renovation of the Arg, the modernisation of the city (and dealing with the related problems of property ownership) was entrusted to conservative officials already in office: Mustawfī al-Mamālik, minister of finance, and Mīrzā ‘Isā, vizier of Tehran. Projects of expansion, the construction of a rampart (which had no military or defensive function) and of the twelve gates, lasted some four years, until 1288/1871–2. As is shown by the plan of ‘Abd al-Ghaffār (published in 1892), the initial intention was to mark out the new quarters with rectilinear avenues flanked by trees and streams. The most prosperous quarter was the Maḥalla-yi Darwāza Dawlat, also called Dawlat, although it was never to become the quarter occupied specifically by administrative agencies of the state nor a European or foreign enclave. In fact, the northern residential zone predominantly remained the afflu-

ent quarter, the site of diplomatic winter residences. Examination of the 1892 map, in conjunction with the registrations of 1900 to 1902–3, shows that in the new quarters, of initially modern aspect, there were created sub-quarters of traditional structure, most of them centred around the palaces of princes and of dignitaries. At the end of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, these new quarters were still property mostly held by the descendants of Mustawfī al-Mamālik and of Mīrzā Īsā, thus illustrating the traditional social inequalities which were intensified with the growth of financial speculation.

In spite of governmental and private initiatives, modernisation remained limited. Always problematical, the supply of water was still operated by means of *qanāts* and water drawn from the Karaj river, transported by a promenade-canal to the north of the city (from the 1840s onward). Public facilities appeared gradually: horse-tramways and street-lighting, with oil or gas (1880); carriages for hire (1891); steam railway, Tehran to Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm (1888–93); electrification, in the palace (1887) then in the city (1908; eight years after Mashhad!). The creation of a modern police-force (1879) was followed by the promulgation of the first rules regulating urban policy and utilisation of public highways (1896). The first motor cars appeared *ca.* 1900 (initially in the service of the Shāh). Lorry transport, organised by the Russians, began to reach Tehran in 1910. It was also after the tumult of the Constitutional Revolution (1905–6) that, to alleviate the congestion of Tehran, regulations were enacted for the operation of carriages. With the intensification of carriage and then of motorised traffic, during and after the First World War, other measures were taken. Public lighting remained poor, on account of deficiencies in the gas-works installed in 1880. In spite of the introduction of electricity (1908), until 1926 lighting was predominantly supplied by oil-lamps rather than by electric bulbs. The chief of the new police force (1879), the Austrian “Count Monteforte”, established an office for the control of prices and a section entrusted with maintenance of the highways and the removal of horse-dung. However, the condition of the streets remained deplorable; strewn with excrement and generally unpaved, they were muddy in winter and dusty in summer. Funds allocated to paving, raised by a tax on vehicles, effected little improvement. But despite their limited effects, the initiatives taken

under the Qajar government in respect of urbanisation, traffic management and public hygiene, laid the foundations of an urban infrastructure worthy of a modern city.

Although its appearance had changed little under the successors of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, it seems that Tehran experienced a relatively slow growth in population until the time of the Pahlavīs. But the figures are unreliable, particularly on account of seasonal migrations, fluctuating numbers of immigrants, temporary residents, etc. According to testimonies and the interpretation of reports, estimates vary. From the first “census” (‘Abd al-Ghaffār, 1868), a population of 155,736 inhabitants has been estimated. ‘Abd al-Ghaffār’s estimate (in 1890–2) of 250,000 inhabitants, half of them living *extra muros*, is exaggerated. A recent study has supplied more reliable numbers: 106,482 in 1883; 160,000 in 1891; 210,000 in 1922; and 310,000 in 1932. An increasing proportion of the population lived outside the walls or outside the administrative district of Tehran. The figure of one-and-a-half million was not exceeded until 1956 (H. Zanjani, *Téhéran et sa population: deux siècles d’histoire*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 251–66, 251–2).

## ii. *Built-up spaces and monuments*

Compared with that of prestigious former capitals of the Persian world, the architectural appearance of Tehran remains rather disappointing. On account of their lack of interest, through negligence or arbitrary decision, few ancient constructions have survived, as is shown by the chronology of architectural projects sketched below.

Although benefiting by the destruction of Rayy by the Mongols (1220), the decline of Warāmīn and the attention of certain potentates, this large agricultural village, “garden of troglodytes”, only became an important town under the last Il-Khanids in the 8th/14th century. According to Clavijo, in 1404, the “city” (*ciudad*) possessed one residential palace. There were also at least two other palaces and some mausolea. The mausolea were situated within or on the periphery of the Timurid town: Buq‘a-yi Sayyid Ismā‘īl, Imāmzāda Yaḥyā, Imāmzāda Zayd and Imāmzāda Sayyid Naṣr al-Dīn. Under the Šafavids, in 1554, Ṭahmāsp I was responsible for the construction of a Bāzār (partially covered) and a perimeter wall furnished with four gates and 114 towers (see above); frequently repaired, this wall

survived until its demolition in 1868. Despite his contempt for Tehran, Shāh ‘Abbās I had a Chahār Bāgh (garden-promenade) laid out, and constructed a palace-citadel (Arg). Shāh Sulaymān was responsible for the building of a *dīwān-khāna* where Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn received the Ottoman ambassador Dürri Efendi in 1722.

Despite these architectural projects, the proportion of open space broadly exceeded that of the buildings. In the 17th century, Tehran retained its appearance of an “inhabited garden”. The bone of contention between various potentates, the town and its inhabitants suffered during the Afghan interlude (1722–9), and also during the reigns of Nādir Shāh (1736–47) and of his successors, with the rivalry between the Qajar tribal chieftains and Karīm Khān Zand (see above). The latter took the city from Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār in 1759 and intended to make it his capital. In 1772 he had the walls restored and built structures (*haram*, *khilwat-khāna*, *dīwān-khāna*) in the Safavid Arg. It was probably he who first provided the Arg with a rampart and a ditch, apparently non-existent in the Safavid period. He entrusted this work to Ustād Ghulām Riḍā-yi Tabrīzī. Unable to maintain his position in the north, he established his capital at Shiraz in 1176/1762–3.

Āghā Muḥammad Khān was well acquainted with Tehran where, as a very young man, he had been sent, as a prisoner, to Karīm Khān (see above). Since his return to the north and his long struggle for power, he had organised the construction of palace-gardens at Māzandarān, at Astarābād (1791) and at Sārī, with a reception-hall opening on a *tālār* (monumental porch) with columns in the style of the Safavid palaces. When making Tehran his capital (1200/1786), he laid the foundations of the monumental complex of the imperial palace of the Arg, the Kākh-i Gulistān of Fath ‘Alī Shāh and his successors. He enlarged the Zand palace (Dīwān-i Dār al-Imārā), incorporating into it elements from the palace of the Wakīl (Karīm Khān), brought back from Shiraz, and had the Arg surrounded by a ditch. To the north-east of Tehran, beyond Damāvand, he had a garden-pavilion constructed. But the true founders of the metropolis of Tehran were Fath ‘Alī Shāh and his great-grandson Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, their way of life and manner of government being reflected in the style of their capital. Unlike his uncle Āghā Muḥammad, a traditional tribal khān, Fath ‘Alī

Shāh had a taste for luxury and ostentatious ceremonial and he maintained an extensive *haram*. To satisfy his peripatetic predilections, appropriate to the way of life and political interests of his tribal family, in relation to Tehran and its environs, he constructed and maintained extra-mural palatial gardens close to the northern fringes of the town (Nigāristān, 1810; Lāazar) or further afield (Sulaymāniyya, at Karāj, and in particular Qaṣr-i Qājār in the Shamirānāt, 1807, which survived until the 1950s). Through piety or the need for prestige, he also endowed Tehran with its first public buildings: the Maṣjid-i Shāh, built according to the principles of traditional Persian architecture, near the northern entrance of the Bāzār, between 1808 and 1813; North Gate of the Bāzār on the Sabza Maydān adjacent to the Maydān-i Shāh; and Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Gate, the southern entrance to the city. Also owed to him are other more modest religious edifices: Maṣjid Sayyid ‘Azīz Allāh (1824); and Madrasa-yi Khān-i Marwī (1830). As for the citadel of the Arg, it seems that, from 1806 onwards, Fath ‘Alī Shāh had set about transforming or renovating, with additions, the constructions of Karīm Khān and Āghā Muḥammad Khān. These changes were modified in their turn by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in the course of the modernisations commenced in 1867. Among these architectural projects, which borrowed especially from the *tālārs* with columns of Iṣfahan, notable are: the monumental gate called Darb-i Sa‘adat, also known as ‘Alī Qāpū or ‘Imarat-i Sardar, which opened on the garden of the throne room, Aywān-i Takht-i Marmar, a monumental *tālār* sheltering an impressive marble throne, also called Takht-i Sulaymāniyya or Dīwān-khāna, serving as a reception room, much influenced by the architecture of Shiraz under Karīm Khān; the ‘Imarat-i Bādgīr (palace with wind tower). Some of these constructions, as well as the Khilwat-i Karīm Khānī, were progressively incorporated into the palatial complex of the Kākh-i Gulistān, the biggest monumental structure of the Arg; the stages of the latter’s construction remain uncertain. The Gulistān served as an administrative and residential centre, in winter, for Fath ‘Alī Shāh, his extensive family and his allies.

Under Muḥammad Shāh, with the *extra muros* development, the vizier Ḥājī Mīrzā Āqāshad residences and gardens built in the north (Muḥammadiyya, ‘Abbāsābād). He had a 42 km-long canal dug to con-

vey to Tehran some of the waters of the Karaj river. In the Arg, he built an arsenal and a *takya*, near the Russian legation, for commemorations of Muḥarram and staging of *ta'ziyas* or passion plays. Religious buildings were also built in Tehran: Maṣjid Ḥājī Riqā 'Alī, Imāmzāda Ismā'il in the *bāzār*. Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥājī Mīrzā also founded the quarters of the New Gate (Maḥalla-yi Darwāza-yi naw/Darwāza Muḥammadiyya) and 'Abbāsābād, which would be populated by immigrants from Azerbaijan and from khānates which had fallen into Russian hands.

Like Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh, Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was an energetic builder. He maintained the Qajar custom of abandoning or adapting the constructions of his predecessors. His migrations to summer residences were less wide-ranging, being concentrated essentially in the Shamirānāt. The development of contacts with Europe and the travels of the Shāh, from 1873 onwards, led to innovations in the architectural projects undertaken, with the renovation of Tehran since 1867 (see above). The three-phase renovation was applied first of all to the constructions of the Arg and the Gulistān palace, which was redesigned between 1867 and 1892, according to a plan maintaining segregation between public and private zones. In the first phase (1867–73), he was responsible for the erection of the Shams al-Imāra, the first five-storey building seen in Persia. Commissioned at the same time, the Takya-yi Dawlat, a large circular edifice covered with a *velum* during religious or civil ceremonies, was built later (completed in 1873?). An *andarūn* was built behind the Takht-i Marmar. In the second phase (1873–82), he obliterated the constructions undertaken by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh to the north of the palace, with the exception of the Takht-i Marmar. In their stead, he had built the imposing two-storey façade of the Gulistān palace, the entrance hall of which, decorated with multiple mirrors, led to a large staircase of two flights, giving access to a massive rectangular chamber with alcoves. This Tālār-i Salām or Uṭāq-i Mūza (Museum) accommodated the Shāh's collections of heterogeneous objects. An orangery (Nāranjistān) was built and the walls of the palace decorated with ceramic tiles. In the third phase (1888–92), he ordered the construction of a new *andarūn*, the rooms of which opened on a courtyard, a private building in European style (Khwābgāh) and a small palace, Kākh-i Abyaḍ. In the Shamirānāt, above and below the Qaṣr-i Qājār,

he had built, in 1888, the palaces of 'Ishratābād (Khwābgāh) and Saṭanātābād, its architectural style resembling that of the Gulistān palace. Other summer palaces were built, the northern most being the Ṣāhibqirāniyya at Niyāwarān, after the obliteration of the palace constructed by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh and adapted by Muḥammad Shāh.

Despite the sometimes ostentatious piety of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (cf. his pilgrimages to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm where he was assassinated), his reign marks an overall decline in religious constructions. He seems to have confined himself to restoring or embellishing the constructions of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (Maṣjid-i Shāh, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm). He had two small *madrasas* built: Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥusayn (1862); the old Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār in the Bāzār-i Marwī (1866). But the most prestigious monument, the Maṣjid-Madrasa-yi Sipahsālār, was financed and constructed by two of his viziers, Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān and his brother Mīrzā Yaḥyā Khān, between 1879 and 1890. Erected to the north-east of the new town, it constitutes one of the most successful examples of the Persian architecture of the 19th century. Although it is of classical square design, with four *aywāns*, in a break with tradition its recessed main entrance, flanked by two minarets, opens on a vestibule giving access to a huge courtyard surrounded by arcaded loggias. The façade of the southern *aywān* is dominated by four imposing minarets. Although of classical crafting, the decoration with ceramic tiles shows European influences. Numerous secular buildings were also constructed in Tehran under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh by princes or members of the nobility. In 1878, his eldest son Mas'ūd Mīrzā Zill al-Sulṭān had a palace constructed close to the site of the Maṣjid-i Sipahsālār. Although this building has been converted to become the Ministry of Education, its entrance façade remains a fine example of Qajar style.

The summer palace of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh constitutes the apogée of civilian architecture under the Qajars. Among his successors, only Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh (1896–1907) also undertook architectural projects, and this to a very limited extent. Decorations with ceramic tiles representing Persian motifs in a Euro-Persian style were effected in the Gulistān palace (1899). A lover of Persian gardens, he had a garden-palace constructed to the east of Tehran, at Dushān Tepe, a country retreat especially favoured by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The Qajar style, influenced to an



increasing extent by Europe, recurs in numerous private or public buildings (*takyas*, in particular) erected at the expense of princes, dignitaries, merchants or other individuals or groups. Revived in public or private construction projects, these architectural vestiges have gradually disappeared, especially since the 1960s, the destruction of Qajar urbanism ultimately rendering the 19th-century city unrecognisable.

### iii. *Cultural and socio-economic life*

Like the city of Rayy on which it was dependent, Tehran must have accommodated, at a very early stage, a Shi'ite community. Its inhabitants were also renowned for their belligerent, quarrelsome and rapacious nature; rebellious towards political authority, they were particularly reluctant to pay taxes.

The earliest known inhabitant of Tehran is apparently, in the 3rd/9th century, the *muḥaddith* Muḥammad b. Hammād Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ṭīhrānī al-Rāzī, ancestor of al-Sam'ānī. Other *'ulamā'*, as well as numerous scholars, poets, politicians, etc., have been natives of Tehran, especially since the Safavid period and under the Qajars. Besides the *nisba* Ṭīhrānī or Ṭīhrānī Rāzī, they are often known by the names of the villages or quarters which ultimately constituted the extended area of Tehran: Jaybāynī, Dulābī, Durushtī/Turushtī, Kanī, Qaṣrānī, Nārmakī, etc. Since the Qajar period, increasing numbers of immigrants, especially from the Caspian provinces, have become Tehranis, but use of the *nisba*, including that of adoption, has generally disappeared.

Cultural life developed with the establishment of the political power and the court of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh in Tehran, at least during the winter period. Influenced by Europe since the mid-17th century, painting was in overall decline. But alongside the production of paintings in oil on canvas according to the European technique, a reversion to Safavid models is observed, especially in the miniature, painting on lacquered papier-mâché or on glass, the art of the book and ceramics. The most attractive Qajar paintings are those effected on lacquered or enamelled objects. In addition to traditional designs featuring flora and fauna, the art of the portrait – of the sovereign and of leading courtiers – occupies a significant position in this pictorial corpus, especially in the decorations of palaces. Interesting productions are supplied by architecture and its related décor, in secular as well as religious buildings, and by the arts of metalwork

and of textiles (produced in traditional centres, marketed and used to a certain extent in Tehran; see B.W. Robinson, *Persian painting under the Zand and Qajar dynasties*, in *CHIr*, vii, 870–89, at 874 ff.) But it was in particular the literary revival (*bāz gasht-i adabī*), beginning in Isfahan and Shiraz in the 18th century, and the neo-classical poetry of the court which gave the greatest lustre to the Qajar dynasty. However, the poets of the Qajar period were for the most part residents of towns and provinces where literary production continued to be highly prized, and Tehran lagged far behind Kāshān, Shiraz, Kirman, Tabriz, etc. The literary revival coincided with an upsurge in western influence in Persia, new ideas first penetrating the court of the prince 'Abbās Mīrẓā in Tabriz, defeated militarily by the Russians (1813, 1828). After the premature death of this reforming prince (1833), cultural life was concentrated rather in Tehran, which assumed a predominant role largely through the development of techniques of printing (typography, more aesthetic lithography, then return to typography) and modern methods of education, particularly following the creation in Tehran of the Dār al-Funūn, on the initiative of the vizier Mīrẓā Taqī Khān "Amīr Kabīr" in 1268/1851.

These modern methods were to facilitate access to numerous ancient and contemporary texts, including travel literature, memoirs, history, etc. which were at that time widely distributed. Also assisted by this development was to be the publication of translations of works into European languages which, undertaken under 'Abbās Mīrẓā in Tabriz, would be continued in Tehran on the initiative of the vizier Ḥājji Mīrẓā Āqāsī. Under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Thānī al-Dawla (later known as I'timād al-Salṭana), trained at the Dar al-Funūn and then in France, was to be responsible for a department of translations. It was also in Tehran in 1253/1837 that the first Persian newspaper appeared, the *Kāghaz-i akhbār*, published by Mīrẓā Ṣāliḥ. It lasted no more than a year or two. In 1851, Amīr Kabīr was responsible for the appearance of a kind of official periodical, published weekly, the *Waqāyi-i ittifāqiyya* which became, in 1860–1, the *Rūznāma-yi dawlat-i 'āliyya-yi Irān*, then the *Rūznāma-yi Irān* published by I'timād al-Salṭana.

Other titles followed and publishing houses proliferated in Tehran, as well as intellectual and educational activities, particularly for the benefit of

women and especially in the wake of the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–6. Under the Qajars, it was in Tehran that the greatest number of books and journals was published, Tabriz coming in second place. On literature and the press under the Qajars, see in particular B. Fragner, *Persische Memoiren-literatur als Quelle zur neueren Geschichte Irans*, Wiesbaden 1979; P. Avery, *Printing, the press and literature in modern Iran*, in *CHIr*, vii, 815–69; M. Edjtehadi, *Zerfall der Staatsmacht Persiens unter Nāṣir ad-Dīn Shah Qāğār (1848–1896)*, Berlin 1992.

Even before the appearance of the Persian opposition press (published abroad) criticising the autocratic power of the Qajars, poets and other scholars had used their writings for the cautious expression of discontent and of demand for reforms. Criticisms of the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh were formulated by a noted courtier, I'timād al-Saltāna, in his memoirs (*Rūznāma-yi khāṭirāt*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1345–50/1966–71), and in a more virulent form in his polemical work intitled *Khalsa* or *Khvāb-nāma* (ed. Tehran 1348/1969; B. Alavi, *Critical writing on the renewal of Iran*, in *Qajar Iran*, 243–54, at 249–50). Originating from all quarters, criticism intensified with the constitutional movement (see below).

In an effort aimed at the centralisation of secular and religious powers, Fath 'Alī Shāh attempted to attract certain important Imāmī *mujtahids* to Tehran. But it was Isfahan which remained a kind of religious capital until the beginning of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, numerous Imāmī 'ulamā' also residing in other religious centres in Persia and especially in the 'atabāt of Iraq. When Sayyid Ḥasan Wā'iz Shīrāzī established himself in Tehran, with the approval of Fath 'Alī Shāh, he had *takyas* converted into *madrasas*. However, it was with the development of popular religion, especially of Shī'ite rituals, and the spread of *takyas* designed for performances of *ta'ziya-khwānī* or *shabīh-khwānī* that the Tehranis, of diverse origins regained their social cohesion. With the taste for ceremonial and diverse spectacles (popular story-tellers, clowns, puppets, theatre of traditional comic improvisation, or that inspired by or based on European models, etc.), places of such entertainment increased in Tehran. But the *Takya-yi Dawlat*, which enjoyed great success from the 1870s onward, rapidly became a symbol of the ostentatious bad taste of the Qajars. Abandoned after the Constitutional Revolution, this site of religious and secular ceremonies was

destroyed in 1325/1946–7 (F. Gaffary, *Les lieux de spectacle à Téhéran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 141–52; P. Chelkowski, *Popular entertainment, media and social change in twentieth-century Iran*, in *CHIr*, vii, 765–814). With its composite character, the population of Tehran was the reflection of a Persian society that had been in crisis since the end of the Safavid period. Although the introduction of new ideas and competition for political or religious power often took place elsewhere, it was in Tehran that conflicts were resolved, and it was there that the often confused aspirations for change gained solid expression. Messianic themes, variously articulated among *uṣūlī* and *akhbārī* Imāmīs, among Shaykhīs and Sufīs, and in popular religion, found their full expression in the Bābism which was firmly repressed under the government of Amīr Kabīr (1848–51) and especially in Tehran, after the failed Bābī insurrection against Nāṣir al-Dīn (15 August 1852), followed by the schism between disciples of Ṣubḥ-i Azal, designated successor of the Bāb (the Bābī Azalī movement), and supporters of Bahā' Allāh (the Bahā'ī movement, with modernist and universalist themes); see D. MacEoin, *Elr*, arts. *Babism* and *Bahai faith or Bahaism*.

Despite the mistrustful attitude of Imāmism towards temporal power and reforms, certain Imāmī 'ulamā' collaborated with the Qajar administration. This was especially evident in regard to the attribution of the post of *Imām jum'a* of Tehran to a trusted ally of the monarchy. But in general, the Imāmī 'ulamā', who were then consolidating and politicising their leadership, were opposed to the politics of modernisation and objected in particular to the granting of concessions in the Persian economy to foreign firms, initially British ones, and then Russian or European ones after 1872. This struggle against foreign influence took concrete shape in the revolt against the granting of the monopoly on Persian tobacco to a British concessionaire after the Shāh's third visit to Europe (1889). Agitation began after the ruthless eviction of the reformist Asadābādī, known as Afghānī, from the sanctuary of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīm in January 1891. Promoted by discontented merchants and certain 'ulamā' at the 'atabāt, the general boycott of the consumption of tobacco, effective throughout Persia, including in the Shāh's *andarūn*, led to the cancellation of the concession in early 1892. Agitation was maintained in Tehran by the most respected chief of the 'ulamā', Ḥājji Mīrzā

Ḥasan Āshitiyānī, acting on behalf of the *marjaʿ-i taqlīd* Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, in his letter denouncing the monopoly (N.R. Keddie, *Religion and rebellion in Iran. The Iranian tobacco protest of 1881–1892*, London 1966, index, under “Tehran”).

Maintained in Tehran by certain ‘*ulamā*’ and reformist or radical elements grouped into various associations (see M. Bayat, *ELr*, art. *Anjoman. i. Political*), agitation culminated under Muẓaffār al-Dīn Shāh in the so-called Constitutional Revolution of 1905–6. In this huge socio-religious movement there were found in Tehran all the elements of the struggle against Qajar autocracy: conflicting attitudes of the pro- and anti-constitutionalist ‘*ulamā*’; activism blended with conservatism on the part of the merchants and the “petite bourgeoisie”; ambiguity of demands, ranging from an ‘*adālat-khāna*’ (“house of justice”) to a constitution (*mashrūṭiyyat*) and the establishment of an elected assembly, *majlis*; expanded role of the press, and of tracts (*shab-nāmas*); increasing presence of crowds; protests undertaken in the religious or diplomatic sanctuaries (*bast* and see also Calmard, *ELr*, art. *Bast*); etc. After the granting of a constitution and of a *majlis*, the efforts of the constitutionalists were countered by a reaction, as much royalist as religious, under Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh (1907–9). Two religious leaders, bearing the honorific title of Āyat Allāh supported the constitution: Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabāʾī, in favour of the reforms, and Sayyid ‘Abd Allāh Bihbahānī, allied to the leading merchants, opposed to customs and fiscal reform. Shaykh Faḍl Allāh Nūrī opposed the constitution. The stances adopted by political and religious leaders led to a virtual civil war between pro- and anti-constitutionalists (June 1908–July 1909, entry into Tehran of northern revolutionaries commanded by the *Sipahdār-i aʿẓam* and of Bakhtiārīs from Isfahan; and execution of Shaykh Faḍl Allāh). Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh had organised the suppression of the insurrection in Tehran by the Cossack Brigade and ordered the closure of the Majlis; this was reopened by his successor, the last Qajar Aḥmad Shāh (1909–25) in November 1909. This second legislature was marked by disagreements within the assembly, the continuation of the civil war, principally in the north but extending as far as Tehran, and attempts at reform (by American financial experts led by Morgan Shushter). The Russian military threat caused the departure of Shushter and the fall of the Second

Majlis (December 1911) and of the revolutionary movement, parliamentary functions passing henceforward into the hands of the bureaucracy and of landowners (see Vanessa Martin, *Islam and modernism. The Iranian Revolution of 1906*, London 1989; E. Abrahamian, *Iran between two revolutions*, Princeton 1982, 69 ff.).

The weakness of Persia was clearly evident during the First World War. Occupied by Russian and Turkish troops, the land was the object of rivalry between the major powers (Russia, Turkey, Germany and Great Britain) which fomented local seditions. The sovereignty of Tehran was much reduced. Russian revolutionary movements had more effect on Azerbaijan (Tabriz) or Gilān (the Jangālī movement) than on Tehran, where foreign domination, especially Russian and later British (Anglo-Persian Accord of 1919, never implemented) was strongly resented. The *coup d’état* of the Cossack colonel Riḍā Khān in Tehran (February 1921) was presented by the latter as intended to save the monarchy from revolution (Abrahamian, *ibid.*, 102 ff.). The too often fickle or opportunistic character of the Tehrani population, as revealed at the time of the dramatic events of the Constitutional Revolution and its aftermath, have sometimes been severely criticised by intellectuals. This was notably the case of the eminent poet, writer, journalist and professor Muḥammad Taqī Bahār (1886–1951). Scion of a family of wealthy merchants from Kāshān, established in Khurasan, he set out at a very early age for Tehran where he became both an activist and a critical observer of events. A fervent patriot, in numerous poems he expresses his hatred of Tehran (often called Rayy in poetry), the urban milieu and the Tehrani population, whom he accuses of weakness, immorality, inconsistency, perversity, lack of patriotism, etc.

Although promoted to the status of capital, in the 1840s Tehran occupied only the second or the third place in commercial activity, after Tabriz (report of the British consul Abbott, in Ch. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran, 1800–1914*, Chicago 1971, 118). However, although the city was then above all a distributive centre for merchandise, diverse factors were to facilitate the development of its economy. As had been the case with Isfahan or Shiraz, Tehran benefited by the centralisation common to the great Persian capitals: concentration of governmental revenues (“despotic capitalism”); population movements

(rural exodus); the attraction of élites, of landowners and of tribal chiefs. These factors were to enable it to emerge in the 20th century as a place of economic importance in world commerce (see E. Ehlers, *Capitals and spatial organization in Iran: Esfahan, Shiraz, Tehran*, in *Téhéran, capitale bicentenaire*, 155–72).

### 3. *Development since the advent of the Pahlavīs*

On the accession of Riḍā Shāh, in 1925, the structure of Tehran had not changed since the construction of new defensive walls during the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh. The development of the city proceeded to the detriment of gardens and the region outside the walls, particularly to the south of Darwāza Kār where an impoverished population lived in close proximity to the municipal brickworks. Despite the enlargement of certain streets, there were no modern buildings or avenues appropriate to the status of a capital city.

With the reign of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, the structures of the city were radically transformed and Tehran became in truth the capital of the country. In 1930, the Law of the Municipality (*qāmūn-i baladiyya*) led to the realisation of the first urbanisation plan with the construction of major avenues (Law of 1312/1933), crossing the ancient urban fabric or the line of the defensive walls. Iran was also endowed with a proper government (first national budget in 1933), which entailed the hasty construction of buildings for various ministries (Foreign Affairs, War, Finance and Justice) and public services (post, rail station and archaeological museum constructed by Godard, 1936) on the old parade ground (Maydān-i Mashq) and to the north of the quarter of Sangilaj which was completely demolished to be replaced later, in 1950, by the Pārک-i Shahr.

The city was henceforward organised on the basis of large rectilinear avenues, oriented north-south or east-west, fringed by trees. This chequer pattern definitively shattered the cultural and social logic of the quarters of the old Islamic town; henceforward, cultural and social differentiation was determined on the basis of sectors bordered by the major avenues, the more affluent living at a higher altitude, towards the north, and the poorer towards the south, at a level where the water of the numerous *jūbs* was polluted. The urban landscape was radically transformed by the creation of a new public space, around numerous squares (*maydān*) and along avenues flanked by services

(banks and administrative premises) and shops with display-windows open on the street.

For the first time, Tehran was endowed with modern buildings, constructed by foreign professional architects (André Godard, Maxime Siroux and Nicolai Marcoff) and especially by Iranians (Mohsen Forughi, Vartan Avasesian, Gabriel Guevrekian, Ali Sadegh and Iraj Moshiri). The new dominant architecture broke with tradition. It was characterised by a monumental European style, especially German (the station) combined with a “national style” of neo-Achaemenid inspiration (Ministry of Justice) and Qajar elements which remained dominant in individual houses. These urbanisation projects entailed the destruction of a vast quantity of ancient monuments, in particular most of the ancient royal palaces of the Arg (with the exception of that of Gulistān and of Shams al-Imāra), of the famous Dawlat *takiyya* and of the twelve monumental gates.

The city was then bordered to the south by the Shūsh avenue, the railway and the station (constructed in 1938), to the east by the Shāhbāz avenues (17 Shahrivār), to the west the Simetri avenue and to the north by the major Shāh Riḍā avenue (now called Khiyābān-i 17 Shahrivār, formerly Kh.-i Inqilāb) which today cuts the city in two and then marked the start of the modern quarters, notably including the University of Tehran, of which the foundation-stone was laid in 1935. Tehran was split into two parts, with a traditional centre around the bazaar, and a modern centre between Tūp Khāna square (Sipāh), Lālazar avenue and the new sector of embassies and banks to the north of Embassy avenue (Firdawst).

Riḍā Shāh abandoned the Gulistān palace for the Marble Palace, construction of which began in 1935. In summer he resided in the palaces of Sa‘dābād at Tājirish, thus contributing to the accelerated development of these aestival quarters (*yaylāq*) of Shamirān in the foothills of the Elburz mountains, where wealthy citizens of Tehran had long been accustomed to seeking refuge from the heat of summer. To the east of the old Shamirān road, the avenues of Kākh and Pahlavī (Filasṭīn and Walī ‘Aṣr) were constructed, fringed by plane-trees, to link these two palaces and the two parts of the city, some 10 km/6 miles apart. Towards the south, the sanctuary of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīm and the lower-class town of Rayy remained separated from Tehran by ancient clay quarries

and brickworks which had been relocated towards Warāmīn, at Qarchak and Qatūmābād.

Despite the opening of an international airline by the German company Junkers between 1927 and 1932, then by Lufthansa from 1938 onward, Tehran remained in 1941 an incomplete and still quite mediocre capital, poorly connected with the rest of the world. Despite the excavation in 1930 of a new canal 52 km/32 miles in length, diverting water from the Karaj river towards what is now the site of the Kishāvarz boulevard (its predecessor was constructed in 1845), the traditional areas of the town were still supplied with water by *qanāts* and the modern quarters by wells. Running water was not to be installed until after the inauguration of the barrages of Karaj in 1961 and of Latyān (Jāj Rūd) in 1967. The population of the city nevertheless increased rapidly, from 210,000 in 1922 to 540,000 in 1940, although the area of the city grew only marginally, from 24.7 ha (area enclosed within the defensive walls of Nāšir al-Dīn Shāh) to 32.2 ha.

Under the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Pahlavī, the Persian capital became a major international metropolis, with average annual growth in excess of 6%: 1.5 million inhabitants in 1956, 3 millions in 1966 (including Tājirish and Rayy), 6 in 1986 (Zandjani, 252). In 1996, Greater Tehran embraced some 10 million inhabitants including 7.5 for the city itself, henceforward surrounded by a massive suburban area. Since the 1960s, Karaj has developed very rapidly (15,000 inhabitants in 1956, 500,000 in 1991) with the influx of migrants seeking work in the new industrial zone (Bahrambeygui, 158). New towns have appeared like Islāmshahr (350,000 in 1991), Mihrshahr, Rajjā'ishahr and Gharchak, while ancient cities such as Warāmīn have expanded more slowly. The arrival in Tehran, since the Qajar period, of a substantial population originating from Azerbaijan has made Tehran the biggest Azeri-speaking town of Persia. Since the 1970s, the origin of migrants has been more diverse, with the influx of numerous Kurds, especially in Karadj.

In 1972, Tehran covered an area of 210 km<sup>2</sup>, with a continuation of urban space between Tājirish and Rayy, and was marked by a decisive social segregation between the affluent north and the impoverished south. Towards the south, where many migrants congregated, development was blocked by industrial zones and by prohibitions on construction imposed by

the urbanisation plan. Development of the city therefore took place towards the north, accelerated by the expansion of a new middle class and the installation of modern heating systems in houses, meaning that the summer quarters to the north of the city could be inhabited throughout the year. This movement engendered substantial property speculation which brought wealth to a new bourgeoisie. The bazaar quarter, inhabited by the many migrants from the provinces, rapidly became the centre of lower-class Tehran; at the same time, what had been the modern centre at the beginning of the century was gradually abandoned by the affluent classes, while retaining its administrative function. To the north of the modern centre of the Nādirī-Istanbul avenues there developed, from 1960 onward, an American-style centre between Takht-i Jamshīd avenue (Tāliqānī), site of the headquarters of the Iranian National Oil Company (NIOC) and Elizabeth II boulevard. A new modern centre was subsequently constructed between 'Abbāsābād avenue and Vanak square. By leaving the Marble Palace and transferring to the new palace of Niyavārān in 1962, the royal family reinforced this new social geography of the city which resulted in prodigious daily shifts of population between the residential north and the centre.

The first urbanisation plan, realised in 1969 by the Victor Gruen and Farmānfarmāyān partnership, set the limits of the city (*maḥdūda*) for a period of 25 years. To block the development of the capital towards the south, several urban clusters were envisaged in the direction of Karaj, along the piedmont. On the model of the Pārs quarter of Tehran built in 1956 with Parsi funds from Bombay, or the programme of popular habitation of *chahār šad dasṭgāh*, in 1947, numerous developments (*shahrak*) were constructed using public or cooperative funds: large hotels, museums, office buildings or luxury apartments, as well as more modest building projects near to the airport (Ektabān) and at Lavizān. Movement of transport within the city was guaranteed by a network of freeways, modelled on that of Los Angeles.

With the increase in oil prices in 1974, there was a new impetus to the expansion of the capital: a metro scheme was undertaken, and of particular importance was the sovereign's decision to construct the *Shāhistān-i Pahlavī*, a new administrative, cultural and political district of international status on 554 ha of

vacant, formerly military land between ‘Abbāsābād and Shamirān, according to plans drawn up by the British firm of surveyors Llewellyn Davis International. This very ambitious project threatened the development of other quarters of the city, abrogating the urbanisation plan of 1969 and exacerbating the housing crisis. In the south of the city illegal popular constructions proliferated for the accommodation of the huge numbers of new immigrants.

The Islamic Revolution, which began in provincial cities, reached Tehran on 4 September 1978 (the day of the *‘Īd al-fitr*) with the demonstration called by Āyatullāh Tāliqānī between the Qaytariyya park to the north of the city and the University of Tehran. Over more than three years, public demonstrations assembling on Shāh Riḍā Avenue (renamed Inqilāb “Revolution”) were much larger and more frequent than those which had accompanied the nationalisation of oil and the coup d’état against Muṣaddiq (Mosaddegh) in 1951–3, and contributed significantly to a change in the relationship between the city and its inhabitants. Although the north-south social segregation characterising the capital was not abolished, the population of the south became familiar for the first time with the modern centre and the northern quarters (visits to the residence of Āyatullāh Khumaynī at Jamārān) and changed the attitude towards public space which characterised the Islamic city. The relocation of the main political bodies and institutions (Directorate of the Islamic Republic, Presidency, Prime Ministry, Parliament and Justice) in the same quarter, around the Marble Palace, with Parliament (*Majlis-i shūrā-yi islāmī*) in the former Senate and the Prime Minister’s office in Pasteur Avenue, also revitalised the urban centre.

The Islamic Republic soon legalised the illegally constructed “revolutionary habitat” (1982), and demolished slums and shanties erected in former quarries (*gawd*) to the south of the city (Hourcade and Khosrokhavar), but major urbanisation projects, including the Shāhistān-i Pahlavī and the metro, were abandoned. The nationalisation of vacant urban land in 1981, then the introduction of a new urbanisation plan in 1992, marked the inception of a new urban policy. The construction of urban motorways was pursued, and a massive programme for the renovation of southern districts of the city was launched, with the construction of cultural centres (Bahman Centre in the former abattoirs) and sport facilities,

the improvement of public services and the opening in 1997 of the monumental Nawāb Avenue, giving access to the motorway leading to Qum and the new international airport. The destruction of old buildings in the ancient centre continues, while the creation of numerous parks and public gardens favours the development of new public space. In the north of the city (Ilāhiyya, Niyāwarān) the construction of large tower-blocks has revolutionised the urban landscape of quarters, the social composition of which has also changed with the departure of the old imperial bourgeoisie and the arrival of new Islamic cadres. Since 1980, private cars have been banned from the city centre, between the bazaar and ‘Abbāsābād. This situation has accelerated the departure of residents and their replacement by offices, businesses, administrative premises and government agencies. This new centre is the hub of the “Greater Tehran” as defined by the new urbanisation plan of 1992, which includes the new suburbs and extends over more than 120 km from Abyak to Rudehen, and 30 km from Tājirish to Ribāṭ Karīm; Qazvin and Qum may now be considered suburbs of the capital.

With 14% of the total population of the country (the city’s population being estimated in 2007 at approaching eight millions, with twenty millions in the metropolitan area), Tehran is not a city of inordinate size on the national scale, but its economic, administrative and cultural weight is excessive, since the capital accounts for a half of Iran’s students, administrators and doctors and three-quarters of all industrial production.

Tehran remains a capital poor in public monuments. The infrastructure has only been developed since the 1960s and in particular since 1970, with the development of the industrial zone of Karaj, the construction of the first major hotels, modern hospitals, auditoria (Rūdakī Opera [Waḥdat]) and public buildings such as the Millī University (Shāhid Bihishtī) to the north of the city. Their architecture, sometimes original (carpet museum by Ḥasan Fathī), rarely benefits from a good environment and despite numerous statues in public squares, decorative monuments are rare. Those representing the Pahlavī sovereigns were demolished in 1979, often being replaced by modern sculptures (Filastīn Square) or those representing major historical figures (such as the statue of Rāzī erected on Kārgār Avenue in 1995). The Shāhyād Tower, constructed in 1972 near Mihrābād airport to

mark the 2,500th anniversary of the foundation of the Persian Empire, has paradoxically become very popular as a symbol of Tehran under the name of Azādī ("freedom") Tower.

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**TIMBUKTU** or Tinbuktu, in earlier writings Timbuctoo (Fr. Tombouctou), a city of commerce and learning in West Africa, situated at lat. 16° 46' N., long. 3° 01' W., and now the administrative headquarters of the sixth region of the Republic of Mali. The earliest recorded form of the name is "Tunbuktū" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, iv, 430, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 969), or in European sources "Tenbuch" (Catalan Atlas of 1375). Al-Sa'dī (*Ta'rikh al-Sūdān*, 21), glosses the name with *al-ujra*, "protuberance" or "knot", and says that "in their language" (presumably Znaga) it was the name of the slave woman who was guardian of the first nomadic camp there; later writers have glossed this as "she of the enlarged navel". However, the name may more plausibly be derived from the Znaga root *b-k-t* meaning "to be distant or hidden" (R. Basset, *Mission au Sénégal*, Paris 1909, 198), and the feminine possessive particle *tīn*.

The city lies about 12 km/7 miles from the main bed of the river Niger, but only some 7 km/4 miles from the town of Kabara which is reached by the rising waters of the Niger between September and April, and was linked year round to a creek of the Niger by a canal in former times. During the years of greatest flood, water from the Niger reaches to the heart of Timbuktu through a meandering channel that begins a little east of Kabara. At the time of its occupation by the French in 1894, the area of permanent settlement was approximately half-a-mile from north to south and 700 yards from east to west at its widest point; the fixed population was estimated at 7–8,000, with a floating seasonal population. In 1853 Barth estimated the settled population at 13,000, and the seasonal influx at an average of 5,000. He estimated that, at its height in the 16th century, it was perhaps twice the size, but there is as yet no archaeological evidence to indicate its fullest extent. Late 18th and early 19th-century accounts speak of low walls and gates, but by Barth's day these had disappeared. Houses were (and still are) mainly made of adobe with flat roofs, often of two storeys. The population according to the 1998 census was 32,000, but this has shrunk over the last decade because of civil warfare in Mali, and in 2006 was estimated at only 20,000.

Historically, Timbuktu has been a point of exchange for caravan traffic of the Sahara and waterborne traffic that reaches downstream into present-day Nigeria, and upstream through the inland delta

of the Niger into the heart of Mali. Its population has always been mixed. Founded by Ṣanhāja Berbers, it was settled by Arabs from various Saharan oases (Walāta, Tuwāt, Ghadāmis), by Soninke and Dyula merchants and scholars, by Songhay initially as conquerors, and by Fulbe and Tuareg as temporary occupiers. In the early 16th century, Leo Africanus considered it a Songhay-speaking city, and Songhay is still the dominant tongue, though Arabic and Tamajaqare widely used.

Al-Sa'dī places the origins of the city at the end of the 5th century of the *Hijra*, or *ca.* 1100, but it was clearly of little importance during its first two and a half centuries of existence, as it earned no mention in the external Arabic sources until Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited it. He described it as mainly inhabited by Masūfa, one of the component groups of the Ṣanhāja of the veil (*al-mulaththamūn*). It was probably Masūfa who first settled the area, moving southwards and eastwards from their Saharan ranges at a time when others of their group moved northwards with the Almoravid movement into the Maghrib and Andalusia. Indeed, Masūfa moved farther east in the late 5th/11th century to intervene in the affairs of Kawkaw (Gao) and eventually migrated into the Takidda region.

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited Timbuktu, the city was under Malian domination, as it had been for probably half-a-century. In about 1325, the Malian ruler *mansā* Mūsā visited the city on his way back from the pilgrimage to Mecca, and had in his company an Andalusian notary and man of letters Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Sāḥilī, known as al-Ṭuwayjin. The latter, who was from Granada, had met *mansā* Mūsā in Mecca and was persuaded to accompany him back to Mali. Although his chief attraction to the *mansā* was no doubt his knowledge of Mālikī jurisprudence, he evidently had architectural skills, for he is credited with building for Mūsā a residence in Timbuktu, as well as the Jingere-Bēr (Great Mosque).

By the end of the 8th/14th century the power of Mali was in decline, and by 837/1433–4 the city had come under the domination of a group described as “Maghsharan” Tuareg (al-Sa'dī, 22), who installed a Ṣanhāja governor. In 877/1468 the Tuareg were driven out and the city was incorporated into the rising Songhay empire under Sunni 'Alī. Many of the Ṣanhāja *'ulamā'* of Timbuktu fled to Walāta, and harsh measures were taken against some of the non-Ṣanhāja *'ulamā'* who stayed behind. Timbuktu

remained part of the Songhay empire from this time until 1000/1591. From 899/1493 Songhay was ruled by Askiya ḥājī Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr and his descendants, and Timbuktu entered upon a period of prosperity and growth, its *'ulamā'* generally respected by the rulers and in some cases shown material marks of favour.

In 1000/1591 Timbuktu again changed masters when Songhay suffered defeat at the hands of a force sent by the Sa'dian ruler of Morocco, Mawlāy Aḥmad al-Manṣūr. In the preceding century it had enjoyed some measure of autonomy, since the capital of the *askiyas* was at Gao. Under the *bāshās* (the military title retained by the new rulers), the capital was Timbuktu, and again the *'ulamā'* suffered. Several members of the Masūfa Aqīt family, the leading jurists of the city, whose members had filled the office of *qāḍī* under the *askiyas*, were exiled to Marrakesh. Other scholars left voluntarily. Intellectually, and to a large extent economically, Timbuktu now entered into a long period of decline. Over a period of some forty years the military oligarchy gradually shook off its ties to the Sa'dians, who were themselves in political disarray after the death of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr in 1603. Thereafter and until the early 19th century, the *bāshās* maintained a weak state around the Niger river from Jenne to around Bamba (in the early days, to a little beyond Gao), with their headquarters at Timbuktu. Arabic sources refer to them as *rumāt* (“arquebusiers”), and with the passing of time, their descendants evolved into a distinct social class and their name passed into Songhay as *arma*.

The state they ruled over was weak and a prey to attack by Tuareg of the Sahara, and later, in the 18th century, by Bambara from the south-west and by Fulbe. Members of the Moroccan and Andalusian divisions that made up the *rumāt* quarrelled among themselves and there were frequent changes of *bāshā* and subordinate officers; between 1591 and 1832 there were no less than 242 holders of the office, some individuals having multiple tenures. The 18th century was marked by ecological stress producing famines and epidemics which spawned a scramble for scarce resources. Late in that century, the Bambara kingdom of Segou harassed the western reaches of the Bāshalik, but could not hold any part of its territory. Similarly, the Kel Tadmekkat Tuareg harassed Timbuktu on several occasions, most notably in 1770–1 when a siege of the town was only lifted after



the intervention of the Qādiriyya *shaykh* and scholar al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī.

In 1826 the rising Fulbe state of Masina under Shaykh Aḥmad Lobbo took control of the city, but in 1844 the Tuareg forced them out temporarily. Two years later, having used their power to deny grain imports to Timbuktu from the inland delta region, the Fulbe regained control, but the agreement brokered by Shaykh Aḥmad al-Bakkāʾī, grandson of al-Mukhtār al-Kuntī, while involving tribute, stopped short of military occupation. When the Tukulor Tijānī conqueror al-Ḥājj ʿUmar defeated the Fulbe of Masina in 1862, al-Bakkāʾī defended the independence of Timbuktu, and in 1864 he besieged Ḥamdullāhi together with Fulbe forces. His clan continued to dominate the affairs of Timbuktu for a while, but by the time of the French occupation in 1893–4 they had withdrawn to the Azawād, leaving various Tuareg groups in control of the city's hinterland, and the city itself an easy prey.

French rule lasted until Malian independence in 1960, and Timbuktu was the headquarters of a *cercle*. Though trans-Saharan trade atrophied, salt caravans (*azalai*) continued to come in from Taoudeni. Since 1960 the city has survived mainly as a tourist attraction, though drought and a long Tuareg rebellion, ended only in 1996, have taken their toll. An archive and research centre, the Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Ahmad Baba, was established there in the early 1970s and has collected over 6,000 Arabic manuscripts (see J.O. Hunwick in *Sudanica Africa*, iii [1992], 173–81).

In European writing, Timbuktu became a fabled city based on its role in the gold trade. While gold was an important item in trans-Saharan trade, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, the more prosaic staples of Timbuktu's prosperity were salt, cloth, grain and slaves, and in the 19th century, ostrich feathers. The principal desert routes led to Ghadāmis, Ghāt, Warghla, Tuwāt and the Dar'a valley. These in turn led on to North African cities such as Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, Tlemcen, Fez and Marrakesh, the first three of which were ports of entry for European manufactured goods such as paper, cloths, metalware and glassware. To the south, Timbuktu's principal trading partner was Jenne, whence routes led into central Mali and down to the savannah and forest lands of what are now Ivory Coast and Ghana. It was from these distant lands – the Bure region of

Mali and the Akan forests of Ghana – that gold dust (*tibr*) was obtained. Gold dust was the principal medium of exchange for external trade, while smaller local transactions were conducted in cowries (*wada*). Timbuktu's reputation made it the European explorer's prize in the early 19th century. The British officer Major Alexander Gordon Laing was the first to reach the city in 1826, but he was murdered in the Sahara while on his way back. The first traveller to survive the trip and bring back an account of the city was the Frenchman René Caillié in 1828. An earlier account of Timbuktu by the shipwrecked American sailor Robert Adams (published in London, 1816), though full of difficulties, is probably genuine.

Timbuktu was also, in the 10th–12th/15th–17th centuries, one of the major centres of Islamic learning in West Africa. The Sankore mosque and the quarter of that name in the north-east of the city were the focus of the teaching tradition, the older Jingere-Ber and the 9th/15th-century Sīdī Yahyā mosque being better known for devotional recitations. Two Ṣanhāja families who intermarried provided most of the imāms of Sankore and the *qāḍīs* of the city in the period 1450–1650: the descendants of Anda-Ag-Muḥammad (fl. 1450) and his contemporary ʿUmar b. Muḥammad Aqīt. From the latter family came the celebrated Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627), who gained wider fame during his exile in Marrakesh from 1002/1594 to 1016/1608, when he taught at the Jāmi' al-shurafā'. Other notable scholarly families of the period were the Dyula Baghayogho (Muḥammad Baghayogho (d. 1002/1594) was the principal teacher of Aḥmad Bābā), the descendants of the Fulbe scholars Muḥammad Gidado (d. ca. 1577) and of Muḥammad Gurdo (d. 1065/1655–6), and the descendants of Aḥmad Mughyā (d. 1002/1593). In the 13th/19th century, Arab scholars of the Kunta revived the city's scholarly tradition for a period, and in the 14th/20th century the families of Ḥaydara and Bu 'l-A'rāf have upheld it. The French also established a *madrasa* in Timbuktu in 1911 where Islamic sciences were taught in Arabic and select secular subjects were taught in French.

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**TREBIZOND**, older Turkish *Ṭarabzun*, modern Turkish Trabzon, a town in the Black Sea coastlands of northern Anatolia. It is situated in lat. 41° 00' N., long. 39° 43' E., some 200 km/125 miles from the frontier of Turkey with the Republic of Georgia, and on a wide bay with the Pontic range of mountains separating it from the Anatolian plateau. The modern Turkish town is the administrative centre of an *il* or province of the same name, one which is particularly densely populated.

Trebizond's forerunner in Antiquity was the Greek town of Trapezus, probably founded in 756 B.C. by colonists from Sinope further to the west, traditionally at the spot where in 401 B.C. Xenophon's Ten Thousand at last reached the sea on their march back from Persia. It prospered in Roman and Byzantine times, and was the seat of a bishopric said to have been founded by the Apostle St. Andrew.

At the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire after the Frankish-Venetian conquest of Byzantium in 600–01/1204, Trebizond, which had been occupied

briefly by the Saljuqs at the end of the 6th/11th century, became the centre of a principality governed by a branch of the Comnene dynasty. The latter continued to use the Byzantine imperial title, and the strong walls of the Citadel and Middle City (Orta Hışār), which go back to Roman times, were supplemented by a town wall constructed by Alexius II in 724/1324. For the 9th/15th century, Clavijo and Bessarion have left descriptions of the Comnene palace, which was located in the Citadel, and presumably was also used by Selīm I and Süleymān I, who resided in Trebizond as princes. Trebizond's walls withstood numerous sieges, and allowed the tiny principality to survive until 865/1461. Hostilities with the Saljuqs were probably caused by the commercial links of Trebizond with the Crimean ports (620/1223); in the course of this war, there was fighting around Sinop, and an attack against Trebizond itself. In 628/1231, after a lost battle against the Saljuqs, the remnants of the defeated Khwārazm Shāh's army sought refuge on Trapezuntine territory. The commercial importance of the town during the 7th/13th century was considerable, as caravans to or from Persia brought goods for trans-shipment. The Venetians having lost control over the Bosphorus following the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire with Genoese help (659/1261), the Genoese also traded in Trebizond, concentrating their attentions upon the exportation of alum. Both Genoese and Venetians lived in special town quarters. Piero Tafur, who visited Trebizond in 841/1437–8, thought that the town held 4,000 inhabitants (*Travels and adventures*, tr. M. Letts, New York and London 1926, 131; A. Bryer and D. Winfield, *The Byzantine monuments and topography of the Pontos*, 2 vols., Washington 1985, i, 178–249).

After the Ottoman takeover of Trebizond by Mehemmed II in 865/1461, the last Comnenus ruler of the city was banished from the area. Immediately following the conquest, soldiers who had participated in the fighting (*ghāziyān-i Ṭarabzun*) and some Christian lords who had joined the Ottomans were awarded *tīmārs*. By 821/1486, most of the Christian aristocracy and the original conquerors must have been obliged to leave the area, for a *mufaṣṣal* register from the reign of Bāyezīd II shows that of 207 *tīmārs* then existing in the area, only 21 were in the hands of Christian *sipāhīs*. Among the new *tīmār*-holders there were numerous Albanians, Janissaries recently Islamised and also some Christians, including the so-

called *gebrān-ī wilāyet-i Torul* (Ardasa). By 924/1515, *tīmār*-holding had become a Muslim occupation (Heath Lowry, *Privilege and property in Ottoman Maçuka in the opening decades of the Tourkokratia: 1461–1553*, in *Continuity and change in late Byzantine and early Ottoman Society*, ed. *idem* and A.A. Bryer, Birmingham and Washington 1986, 97–128). Ottoman military presence was further assured by an auxiliary cavalry consisting of *müsellems*, local Christians enjoying tax exemptions in exchange for military service. However, by 921/1515 these men had been reclassified as *reʿāyā*.

In addition, townsmen were brought into Trebizond proper from Amasya, and settled in a *maḥalle* named after their hometown. The Chrysokephalos church was transformed into a mosque by order of Meḥammed II, and subsequently was known as the ‘Atıq Jāmi’. Tradition also claimed that the St. Eugenios church was converted into a mosque at this time. But this probably only happened around 905–6/1500; the edifice was known first as the Yeñi Jāmi’ and later as the Yeñi Jum’a Jāmi’i. Trebizond third major church, known as the Aya Şofyā and located at a distance of 3 km/2 miles west of the city walls, was also converted into a mosque. After Byzantine frescoes had been uncovered there in Republican times, the building was turned into a museum in 1964.

Among the pious foundations established in Ottoman times, the most prominent was the Khātūniyye ʿImāreti, dedicated to the mother of Selīm I. An account book dated 1000–1/1591–2 lists mills and meadows in nearby Degirmenderesi, two *ḥammāms*, a sizeable number of olive trees, but also taxes such as *bād-i hawā* and tithes from various private properties, which normally should have accrued to the state treasury. The foundation also collected customs duties from some smaller ports near Trebizond. The Khātūniyye ʿImāreti owned shops in the vicinity of the *bedestān* as well as the *bedestān* itself, in addition to the land on which the *sarāy-i ʿatıq* and the sultan’s stable were located. The *ʿimāret* disbursed food to large numbers of people: the officials in charge of the storehouse needed to account for 26,253 *ūqiyyes* of meat and 2,174 *kīles* of rice, while the same document mentions 1789 live sheep in the care of the *ʿimāret* kitchen. The foundation also lent out money, at times entering into partnerships with merchants (R. Jennings, *Pious foundations in the society and economy*

*of Ottoman Trabzon, 1565–1640*, in *JESHO*, xxxiii [1990], 313–34).

While the town of Trebizond was Islamised rapidly, nearby rural *qaḍās* such as Machuqa (Maçka) retained many features inherited from the Byzantine period. The *taḥrīr* register of 921/1515 shows 2,623 households headed by Christian adult males residing in Machuqa, in addition to 188 widow households. Tax-paying Muslims numbered 51. Between 865–6/1461 and 960/1553, the period covered by the *taḥrīrs* extant for this region, the Muslim population increased to 101 households, mostly local people who had converted. While many properties held by monasteries were converted into *tīmārs* following the Ottoman conquest, the three major monasteries located in the valley of Machuqa itself, namely, Vazelon, Soumela and the Peristera, retained much of their property down into the 20th century. On his visit to Trebizond in 1112–13/1701, Pitton de Tournafort put up in a convent building in the town proper, which was still owned by a local monastery.

For the 11th/17th century, our major source is Ewliyā Chelebi, who visited Trebizond at the very beginning of his travels. Based on the account of Meḥmed ʿĀshīq, himself a native of Trebizond, Ewliyā describes the (still surviving) fortifications along with their gates. He was especially impressed by the Khātūniyye and its food stores kept by the *ʿimāret*. There was a daily distribution of soup and bread to *medrese* students, while on Friday nights, pilav, *zerde* and meat stew were handed out. Ewliyā also was much interested in the ethnography of the area, and provides information on the goldsmiths, Trebizond’s most prestigious craft. He further devotes considerable space to the trade in and the preparation of anchovy, a local speciality to the present day. Kātib Chelebi’s *Ḥihān-nūmā* contains very similar information, including details on fruit and fish.

Well into the 10th/16th century, Trebizond owed much of its importance to seaborne trade; Italian merchants had visited the town frequently before the Ottoman conquest, and some of them elected to stay on as Ottoman subjects (Lowry, *The question of Trabzon’s Efrenciyan population, 1486–1583*, in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, ii, Ankara 1981, 1493–1501). The late 9th/15th century *taḥrīr* still separates them into Venetians and Genoese. Toward the end of the 10th/16th and the beginning of the 11th/17th century, the trade of Trebizond seems to have been

less than prosperous. While in 952/1545–6 customs duties were farmed out for 453,333 *aqches* a year, the same farm in 1036/1622–3 produced only 500,000 *aqches*. Yet in the middle of the 10th/16th century 60 *aqches* had been equivalent to an Ottoman gold piece, while in 1032/1622–23, the rate was 170–200 *aqches* for 1 gold coin. This crisis must have been in part due to the Ottoman-Persian wars, which closed off the city's major trade route, and to the Jelālī rebellions, which caused many people, particularly among the non-Muslims, to leave the area. Cossack raids were also troublesome. Commercial crisis may also explain the difficulties of the *bedestān*; in 1022/1613, the building (which survives, and may at least partly go back to pre-Ottoman times) had been lying in ruins for several years (K. Kreiser, *Bedestan-Bauten im Osmanischen Reich*, in *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, xxix [1979], 397–8). In order to finance repairs, the administration of the Khātūniyye *imāret* gave out a long lease and demanded rent in advance. By 1042/1632–3 the *bedestān* was again ruined in a Cossack raid; however, this time the building was repaired rather more rapidly than before, and Ewliyā claimed that much business was done here.

One of Trebizond's major export goods during the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries was wine; this came from the vineyards near the town, but also from other localities on the eastern Black Sea coast, particularly Giresun. Ewliyā Chelebi refers to the "delicately perfumed" grapes tended in the numerous vineyards around the town. The wine trade to the northern shores of the Black Sea had existed in Byzantine times, but expanded greatly when the Ottoman closure of the Black Sea largely eliminated the competition of Mediterranean wines. Both Christian Abaza and Russians purchased Trebizond wine in sizeable quantities, until the opening of the Black Sea to European navigation after 1188/1774 resulted in the decline of this trade. After the mid-13th/19th century, wine was only made for local use, and following the exodus of the Pontus Christians in the population exchange of 1923, vinification ceased entirely and vineyards contracted to the point of insignificance (X. de Planhol, *Grandeur et décadence du vignoble de Trébizonde*, in *JESHO*, xxii [1979], 314–29).

In the early 19th century, the Trebizond region suffered much from the tension between locally powerful families, particularly the Tuzju Oghullar), and the

governors appointed by Maḥmūd II; in August 1816 the entire town was occupied by Tuzjuoghlu Memish Agha. Sporadic unrest continued until 1834. In the 1820s, British diplomatic officials produced plans for the re-routing of British exports to and imports from Persia by way of Trebizond, and in 1826, the first goods destined for Erzurum and Tabriz appeared in the harbour. From 1836, transport was assured by British, French, Ottoman, Austrian and Russian steamers, and trade increased in the mid-19th century. In his report on the state of the Ottoman Empire in 1861, M.B.C. Collas claimed that, after Istanbul, this was the most commercially active Ottoman city. To Trieste and Britain both Persian silk and locally grown hazelnuts were despatched, while refined sugar and textiles were sent from Britain, in addition to Belgian arms and paper. The trade in livestock was also important, as animals sent to Istanbul from eastern Anatolia often passed through Trebizond. In 1900 trade had grown to the point that 487 steamers carrying 522,000 tons were employed, in addition to thousands of sailing ships. However, there were constant difficulties due to the state of the Trebizond-Erzurum land route, passable only for pack animals, and Russian customs policy aimed at diverting the trade to Transcaucasia. From the early 1880s, much of the trade between Persia and Britain passed again through the Persian Gulf ports. Trebizond traffic stagnated in absolute terms, while its market share decreased (C. Issawi, *The Tabriz-Trabzon trade, 1830–1900. Rise and decline of a route*, in *IJMES*, i [1970], 18–27). Cuinet, who described the state of Trebizond in 1890, mentions the complaints of local merchants on account of the poor state of Trebizond's port. Among commercially-significant local products, he lists silk and cotton fabrics, in addition to fruit exported to Russia, hazelnuts, tobacco and beans.

During World War I, Trebizond was in the line of fire; most market links were severed, and a large number of the town's young men perished in the Caucasus campaign of 1914. It was bombarded several times by Russian fleets; the attack of 1915 causing over 1,300 casualties and widespread destruction. In 1916, a Russian army occupied Trebizond; during this period intercommunal tensions between Turks, Pontic Greeks and Armenians dramatically increased. In the power vacuum following the withdrawal of Russian troops, fierce intercommunal

fighting ensued. In 1918, Trebizond was reoccupied by Ottoman troops. The town was an important organisational centre for resistance against the partition of Anatolia. In 1923 it was the scene of the murder of Muṣṭafā Şubhî, a central figure of the Turkish Communist party recently founded in the Soviet Union, who was passing through Trebizond in an attempt to reach Ankara.

After the agreement concerning the Turco-Greek exchange of populations negotiated at Lausanne, the local Greek community, which had numbered 91,000 in Cuinet's time, was expelled from the area in 1923.

Throughout the Republican period, the economy of Trebizond has suffered from structural problems. Agriculture predominates, but suitable land is in short supply. Farmers working minuscule plots produce tobacco, hazelnuts and tea for the market, and depend both on the vagaries of world demand and government decisions concerning the quality and price of tea. Population densities are among the highest in Turkey, and would be even higher if it were not for emigration, especially to Istanbul. Trebizond itself possesses little industry, but a commercial tradition going back into the Ottoman period, when the town was known for its Muslim bourgeoisie, has helped Trebizond maintain its trade, though the port, modernised in 1954, handles much less traffic than nearby Samsun. In the 1980s transit trade with Persia once again became important. A technical university was founded in 1963, and expanded to a full-scale one in 1982. But since the tertiary sector generates few jobs, the town, with a population of 108,000 in 1980, has grown less than other comparable urban centres. The population in 2006 had nevertheless risen on to estimated 240,000.

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**TRIPOLI** in Lebanon, a town and a port on the Mediterranean coast of what is historically Syria, in Arabic Bilād al-Shām, now, in the modern political scheme of things, in the northern part of the Lebanese Republic and that Republic's second city after Beirut. The Arabic sources distinguish it from Tripoli in Libya ("Tripoli of the West") as Tarābulus al-Shām ("Syrian Tripoli"). It is situated in lat. 34° 26' N., long 35° 51' E., partly on and partly beside a hill at the exit of a deep ravine through which flows a river, the Nahr Qadīsha (Arabic, Abū 'Alī). West of it stretches a very fertile plain covered with woods, which terminate in a peninsula on which lies the port of al-Mīnā. The harbour is protected by a series of rocky islets lying in front of it and by the remains of an old wall.

#### I. HISTORY UP TO THE MAMLUK PERIOD

The old Phoenician name of the town, which is first mentioned in the Persian period, is unknown; its Greek name came from its division into three quarters each separated by walls, the Tyrian, Sidonian and Aradian. In early Christian times, it soon became a bishopric, allegedly founded by St. Peter himself, who installed there Tripoli's first bishop. The old town lay on the site of the present port. It was protected by its situation and the defences of the quarters and was very difficult to take, but was constantly threatened by the danger of being cut off

on the land side from all connection with the outer world and even from supplies of drinking water. This was shown when Mu'āwiya, in the caliphate of 'Uthmān, sent a body of troops under the leadership of an Azdī named Ṣufyān b. Muḥib thither, who built a fort in order to cut off the town completely. The inhabitants were reduced to such straits that they sent to the Byzantine emperor and begged him to send ships with all speed to their assistance. The emperor did so, and the Tripolitans succeeded in boarding the ships by night and thus escaped. To populate the empty town, Mu'āwiya made a considerable number of Jews (al-Balādhurī; al-Ya'qūbī says Persians) settle there. Mu'āwiya is said to have sent there annually some troops under an *'āmil*, who, when the town was blockaded by sea, withdrew again except for the *'āmil* and a handful of men. Soon afterwards, there was a Byzantine attempt to recover Tripoli, which was repelled by the Arabs, with the Byzantine commander being chased out to sea, captured and killed (F.McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, 154–5, 246–7). Byzantine hopes of recovering the town continued, and in the 10th century, one of Greek resurgence, several attacks are recorded in the Greek and Arabic sources: an attack by Nicephorus Phocas in 968, destruction of the town in 975 by John Tzimiskes, further attacks by the governor of Antioch and Basil II in the 990s, etc.

Al-Ya'qūbī in his geographical work mentions Tripoli's splendid harbour as capable of holding a thousand ships, and some fifty years later, al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal speak of the great fertility of the surrounding area, with its palms and sugar-cane fields. Tripoli was considered as the port for Damascus, and it was defended by garrisons (*yurābaṭu*) of troops from Damascus and other *junds* who rallied there for offensive operations or when attack was threatened. An excellent description is given by the Persian traveller Nāṣir-i Khusraw (438/1047) of the town under the Fatimids. The whole countryside, he says, consists of fields and gardens with sugar-cane, citrons, bananas, oranges, lemons and date-palms; the town was protected on three sides by the sea, on the land side by a wall with a broad ditch. In the centre stood a splendid mosque; the town had 20,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority were Shi'ites, and many villages belonged to it. The garrison of the ruling power was maintained by the tolls paid by the many ships that arrived there, while the ruler himself had

ships which used to go to the Mediterranean coasts from there (*Safar-nāma*, tr. W.M. Thackston, *Nāṣir-e Khosraw's Book of travels*, Albany 1986, 12–13).

In the Crusading period, a County of Tripoli was created and given to Raymond of Toulouse, but the capital itself had still to be taken from the Muslims. Raymond began the siege in 493/1101, and to isolate the town more effectively, built a fort on a hill on the ravine of Qadisha, called Mons Peregrinus or the Pilgrims' Hill (by the Arabs Sanjil, i.e. St.-Gilles), at the foot of which in course of time a little town arose. He died in 499/1105 in this fortress without having attained his goal, and it was not till 12 July 1109 that the beleaguered town capitulated. Al-Idrīsī, who wrote in 1154, mentions the fortress "built by the Frank Ibn Sanjil", and gives a list of towns and villages belonging to Tripoli and of the rocky islets off the harbour. In 1170 the town suffered severely from a terrible earthquake. After the fall of Jerusalem in 1187, Tripoli held out for another century as an important base for the Christians, until in 688/1289 the army of the Mamluk sultan al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn appeared before it and it had to surrender on 26 April. This proved a turning point in its history, for the sultan, learning a lesson from the past, built a new Tripoli on the Pilgrims' Hill, while the old town was destroyed and sank to be an insignificant little harbour known as al-Mīnā (from the Greek λιμὴν). Al-Dimashqī, who wrote about it *ca.* A.D. 1300, describes the plentiful supply of water in the town – in addition to the running water on all sides, an aqueduct 200 ells long and 70 ells high was built – and the gardens, with excellent fruit in plenty. He also mentions the various localities belonging to Tripoli, including Botrys, Buqay'a and the Jabal al-Nuṣayriyya.

## II. FROM THE MAMLUK PERIOD ONWARDS

As the chef-lieu of an Ottoman *sanjaq* after the conquest of Syria, becoming an *eyālet* in *ca.* 1078/1570, Tripoli served as a port of entry for Homs and Ḥamāt within the Syrian interior. It was twice occupied and sacked during the next century, in 1016/1607 by 'Alī b. Jānbulāt, the ally of Fakhr al-Dīn Ma'n, and then in 1033/1624 by Fakhr al-Dīn himself. The population declined from 1,743 families in 1545 (1,294 Muslim, 316 Christian and 178 Jewish) to

1,320 families in 1623 (749 Muslim, 432 Christian and 139 Jewish) with the town's economic importance decreasing as that of Beirut, Ṣaydā (Sidon) and 'Akkā (Acre) rose.

The town falls into two parts on each side of the Nahr Abū 'Alī, with the old town on one side, with its markets grouped round the Great Mosque and the Qubba quarter. The *sūqs* with their stone arcading and their old khāns (Khān al-Kharrāṭīn "of the tailors", Khān al-Ṣābūn "of soap", built in the 11th/17th century, etc.) are still very active; they open out on to the river, where stands the 8th/14th century al-Madrasa al-Burṭāsiyya mosque. The Ṭaylān mosque, from 736/1336, with two white domes, is one of the town's finest monuments, standing a little aside from the centre.

Tripoli continued to decline in the 18th century, and only after 1801 did Muṣṭafā Barbar Aba, Aḥmad Jazzār Pasha's commandant of the town, establish a certain amount of order there in conjunction with the Amīr Bashīr Shihāb of Mount Lebanon. In 1861 it became the centre of a *livā'* in the *wilāyet* of Beirut, and in 1876, under Midḥat Pasha, subsequently governor of Damascus, entered the modern age of westernisation: a road and a railway were constructed to Homs. *Ca.* 1880, the town had six quarters, Ḥaddādīn, Nūrī, Muḥayṭira, Rummānī, Suwayqa and Bāb al-Ḥadīd, but towards the end of the century, the population spilled out from the ancient limits. A road to Beirut was opened in 1909 and a rail link with Aleppo in 1911. At that time, the grouping of Tripoli and al-Mīnā had 32,500 inhabitants, with 24,000 in the first and 8,500 in the second (comprising 24,100 Sunnī Muslims, 6,800 Greek Orthodox and 1,500 Maronites).

Tripoli was involved in the upsets of the last decades of Ottoman rule. This last was exercised through the great Sunni families of the town who, after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, acquired a greater degree of autonomy; thus the *'ulamā'* of the town were able to nominate their *muftī* directly. The Committee of Union and Progress came to power in Istanbul with the parliamentary elections when the Turkish constitution was restored, but their authority was badly received in Tripoli, nostalgic for the Ḥamīdian period. When the *amīr* Fayṣal entered Damascus on 1 October 1918, he nominated the *muftī* 'Abd Ḥamīd Karāma as governor of Tripoli, but the French landed there on 12 October 1918.

With the creation of Greater Lebanon, the Mandatory power separated Tripoli from Syria, and henceforth, the French occupation represented a challenge for the town's Muslim population (over 3/4 of the whole). Karāma lost his posts as *muftī* and governor, and now became *ẓa'īm* or leader of the anti-French movement. At the time of independence in 1942, Tripoli had been traumatised by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, its separation from Syria and incorporation within Lebanon. In 1945 'Abd Ḥamīd Karāma was nominated Prime Minister, but was unable to secure recognition as *ẓa'īm* of the Sunni community of the whole of Lebanon nor even to satisfy the aspirations of the people of Tripoli.

It was at Tripoli that the first Lebanese civil war broke out in 1958, led by Rashīd Karāma, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's son. Against the President Camille Chamoun's attempts to attach his country to the West, the people of Tripoli were attracted to Nasserism and the ideal of Arab unity. Twelve years later, it was in the quarters of old Tripoli that the "state of those outside the law" (*dawlat al-maṭlūbīn*) saw the light of day. A few years after the beginning of the second civil war in 1975, the Movement for Islamic Unification (*ḥarakat al-tawḥīd al-islāmī*), a federation of all the Sunni Islamist groups in the town, was formed under the leadership of Shaykh Sa'īd Sha'bān, who then took control. In 1983 Tripoli became the refuge for Yasser Arafat and the PLO when they were ejected from Beirut, but they were dislodged by Syrian army bombardments. After Syrian repression of the town's quarters in autumn 1985, Shaykh Sha'bān went over to the Syrian side.

Tripoli now has some 500,000 inhabitants, and has resumed its place as the second economic centre of Lebanon, based on the agricultural riches of the plain of Kūra to the south and east, with its olive groves, and those of Akkār towards the north and central Syria. The cultivation of fruit and vegetables is increasing in this well-watered region, being modernised with both internal capital and finance from outside Lebanon. Industry is also well represented, with an oil refinery to the north of the town (at the terminus of the pipe-line, at present out of service, bringing the oil of Kirkuk to the Mediterranean coast) and the biggest cement factory in Lebanon, that of Chekka, to the south.

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**TRIPOLI**, in Libya, a city on the southern Mediterranean coast of the northeastern part of the Libyan People's Republic, now the chief port and administrative capital of the country. In pre-modern usage, it was known in Arabic at Ṭarābulus al-Gharb “Tripoli of the West” in order to distinguish it from Ṭarābulus al-Shām “Syrian Tripoli.”

## I. GENERAL

The Arabic name derives from the Graeco-Latin Tripolis. The modern city of Tripoli is situated in lat. 32° 54' N., long. 13° 11' E. The region of Tripoli, Tripolitania, which with Cyrenaica to the east and Fezzan to the south, make up the modern State of Libya, extends from the Tunisian frontier in the west to Qūs or Qaws in the east. This Marble Arch (Ar, *qaws* “bow, arch”), constructed by the Italian then rulers of Libya in 1929, some 210 km/130 miles to the east of Syrte, marks the limits of the province, which extends to the south, in the desert, along the line of latitude 28° N., and encloses an area of 250,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Tripolitania under Italian rule comprised six provinces: Tripoli, Sabha, Ghariyān, Miṣrāṭa, Zāwiya and Khums.

Numerous Islamic dynasties took turns in dominating the city (the Aghlabids, Zīrids and Almohads), which also experienced periods of foreign occupation (Normans from Sicily, Genoese, Sicilians, Spaniards and the Knights of Malta) before being conquered in 1551 by the Ottoman Turks.

## II. IN PRE- AND EARLY ISLAMIC TIMES

Tripoli was established by the Phoenicians and was later enlarged by the Greeks and the Romans. According to G.D.B. Jones, the core of the primary settlement of the Phoenicians in Oea must be located at the elevation within the triangle formed by Borg el Hahie. This place, now covered by buildings, has not been excavated.

The port of Oea – which was named Tripoli in the 3rd century A.D. – was active during the Graeco-Roman period, but because of the direction of the prevailing wind in North Africa and the difficulty in navigating across it, the main sea routes were usually those between Tripoli and the ports of Greece rather than those between Cyrenaica and Tripoli (M.G. Fulford, *To East and West. The Mediterranean trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 171). Moreover, navigation was easy from Tripoli via Pantelleria to Sicily.

Nevertheless, in Byzantine times interregional trade linking Cyrenaica with Tripoli and Carthage developed. Byzantine Tripoli was an active port from where surplus agricultural produce was exported, along with wild animals, and was also an entrepôt in the sea route from Alexandria to Carthage, and via it to Spain and England. Hagiographical works inform us that, on the eve of the Arab conquest, the Patriarchate of Alexandria financed long-run shipping activities originating along the axis Alexandria-Tripoli-Carthage. The impact of such maritime activities had a clear impact on the social structure of Tripoli and the adjacent area of Tripolitania.

Even before the final conquest of Egypt by the Arabs (25/645), the way to Cyrenaica, Tripolitania and the rest of Maghrib was open, and a series of expeditions against Cyrenaica and Tripolitania, which formed the spearhead of the Muslim conquest of North Africa, started. ‘Amr b. ‘Āṣ, in a spectacular march moving from Alexandria (22/642), conquered Barqa and, by-passing the fortified towns of Apollonia Sozusa (Sūs), Paraetionium (Marsā Maṭrūḥ), and Ptolemais (Ṭulmayṭa), reached Tauchira (Tukra).

The town of Tripoli was the Arabs' next target. ‘Amr soon afterwards launched a second rapid cavalry raid, later in that same year; by-passing Teuchira, where the Byzantines were still entrenched, he appeared in front of the gates of Tripoli. This town was well fortified and, according to Pseudo-Raḳīq



al-Qayrawānī, numerous ships had moved into its port (*Ta'rikh Ifriqiya wa 'l-Maghrib*, ed. M. Ka'bī, Tunis 1968). 'Amr did not possess any siege machines, so he applied his usual strategy of besieging the city and waited patiently. After a month, the Arabs penetrated into the city through a neglected opening and sacked it (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, and al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt wa 'l-quḍāt*, place the final surrender of Tripoli in 22/642; al-Bakrī (tr. de Slane, *L'Afrique septentrionale*, repr. Paris 1913, 24) places it a year later in 23/643–4). The Byzantine army, along with the majority of the population, abandoned the city and embarked in their ships.

While the Arabs seemed to have secured Barqa and even Zawīla on the threshold of Fezzān, Tripoli was reconquered by the Byzantines. In the successive Arab raids which followed, the situation in Tripoli is hardly mentioned in the Arabic sources. A. Ṭāhā has shown, basing himself on indirect evidence, that Tripoli was most probably retaken by Ibn Ḥudayj in 47/667 (*The Moslem conquest and settlement of North Africa and Spain*, London and New York 1989, 60).

There is no concrete evidence whether Tripoli was in Arab hands when 'Uqba b. Nāfi', avoiding the coast of North Africa, undertook his expedition to the extreme Maghrib. The Byzantines reconquered Barqa in 71/690 and, most probably, Tripoli was again reoccupied by them. It was firmly secured by the Arabs only in the time of al-Ḥasan b. al-Nu'mān, and had become an important port for the Muslims when Mūsā b. Nuṣayr completed and stabilised the conquest of North Africa (91/710).

Tripoli during the Arabo-Byzantine struggle in North Africa presents a vivid and typical example of Byzantine defence policies, i.e. concentration on the heavily-fortified coastal towns and dependence on the Byzantine navy. This policy seems to have boomeranged for the Byzantines who were always ready to abandon the city, leaving in their ships and carrying with them the Romanised inhabitants of the coastal towns, known in Arab sources as the Afāriq.

The process of Arabisation and Islamisation in Tripoli in this early period is little known, and archaeological evidence is lacking. The tradition that 'Amr built a mosque in Tripoli is legendary and has not been confirmed by any discoveries (see G.R.D. King, *Islamic archaeology in Libya, 1969–1989*, in *Libyan Studies*, xx [1989], 193–208).

### III. FROM 'ABBASID TIMES TO THE QARAMĀNLĪS

1. *The Aghlabid Amirate*. In 184/800, an Aghlabid amirate was established in Ifriqiya, where it lasted more than a century, until 297/909. It was during this period, from 212/827 onwards, that the Aghlabids planned the invasion of Sicily. With the exception of an expedition launched against Tripoli in 265/878–9 by the Tulunids from Egypt under the command of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn—an expedition which ended in defeat—contacts with the East were virtually broken.

In 359/969 Jawhar al-Šiqillī set out from Tripoli to conquer Egypt. Three years later, al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs was to transfer the headquarters of his Fatimid kingdom to Egypt, leaving the Berber chieftain Buluggīn b. Zīr as his lieutenant in Ifriqiya. The latter was to be the founder of the Zīrid amirate, which included Tripoli.

2. *The Zīrid Amirate* (the Banū Khazrūn and the Banū Hilāl). In 391/1000 the governor of Tripoli ceded the city to Yānis al-Šiqillī, Fatimid governor of Cyrenaica. Following this decision, the Zīrid *amūr* Bādīs sent one of his generals to confront the latter. Meanwhile Falfūl, of the Banū Khazrūn, took possession of the city, which was to be governed by this family for a half-century. The refusal of the Zīrids to offer obeisance to the Fatimids of Egypt in 442/1050 and their recognition of the Sunni 'Abbasid caliph of Baghdad provoked, by way of punishment, the migration of tribes of the Banū Hilāl towards the Maghrib. A branch of the latter, the Banū Zughba, occupied Tripoli.

3. *The Normans* (529–53/1135 to 1158–9). In 529/1135, the Normans of Sicily, under Roger II, occupied the island of Jarba or Jerba, but their attempt in 1143 to capture Tripoli was a failure. Two years later an expedition commanded by the admiral George of Antioch succeeded in taking possession of the town: this was on 17 or 18 June 1146. In 1148 the same fate befell al-Mahdiyya, Sfax and Gabès. The Norman domination of Tripoli lasted barely twelve years. In 553/1158–9, when news of the Almohad advance became widely known, the inhabitants of Tripoli rebelled and succeeded in expelling the Normans.

It was perhaps in anticipation of this occupation that the Norman kings of Sicily had minted

miniature gold coins, of approximately one gram in weight, called *ṭarī*, with the *shahāda* engraved on one side and on the other, in the form of a T, the cross of St. Antony.

4. *The Almohads (al-Muwahhidūn)* (524–668/1130–1269). In 554/1159, the Almohads occupied Mahdiyya, Sfax and Tripoli, creating for the first time a unitary state in North Africa. During the period of their domination, Tripolitania was thrown into chaos by the incursions of two adventurers, Qarāqush, of Ghuzz, i.e. Turcoman origin, from Egypt, and ‘Alī al-Māyurqī, from the family of the Banū Ghāniya in Majorca, who had inherited Almoravid ambitions regarding the colonisation of Africa.

In 626/1229, the governors of Ifrīqiya belonging to the family of Abū Ḥaṣṣ proclaimed themselves independent and inaugurated the Ḥaṣṣid dynasty. Later, a similar declaration in Libya was witnessed on the part of a Berber family, the Banū Thābit or Banū ‘Ammār of the Hawwāra tribe. The first to achieve quasi-independence was Muḥammad b. Thābit b. ‘Ammār in ca. 716/1326–7.

5. *Filippo Doria* (755/1354). In the year 755/1354, or according to other sources, the following year, the Genoese Filippo Doria succeeded, by means of a trick, in taking possession of the city of Tripoli. A few months later, the Genoese managed to sell the city for 50,000 gold *mithqāls* to Aḥmad b. Makkī, who recognised the sovereignty of the Marīnid sultans until 766/1364–5.

6. *Intervention by the Aragonese kings of Sicily*. Towards the end of the 14th century, the Aragonese kings of Sicily took a renewed interest in North Africa and sought to recapture the island of Jarba which had been lost in 1134. In 790/1388, the Admiral of Sicily Manfredi Chiaramonte succeeded in taking the island, but the inhabitants rose in revolt. However, five years later in 795/1392, King Martino of Sicily took possession of the island with the declared consent of the population. This occupation lasted until 801/1398, when the Ḥaṣṣid sultan of Tunis regained control of both Jarba and Tripoli.

7. *The Spanish and the Knights of Malta* (1510–51). On 25 July 1510 the Spanish took Tripoli by assault. Later, in 1539, Charles V offered the city to the Knights of the Sovereign Order of Malta. The latter rebuilt and enlarged the Castle; however, on 14 August 1551 they were obliged to capitulate when besieged by a formidable Turkish fleet.

8. *The Ottoman conquest of Tripoli* (958/1551). After the defeat of the Knights of Malta, the government of Tripoli was entrusted to Murād Agha, the first Turkish governor, who succeeded in inflicting another crushing defeat on the Maltese with a surprise attack on the town of Zuwāra. In 964/1556 Murād Agha died and was succeeded by Ṭorghud (Dargut, Dragut, Dorghut, etc.) ‘Alī well-known for his privateering activities. His period of rule was marked by two memorable events: the repulse of another expedition against Tripoli sought by the Grand Master of Malta, in which 14,000 Spanish, German and Italian soldiers participated, and the assault on Malta which was threatening the Turkish conquest of Africa. Ṭorghud actually died at Malta on 23 June 1565. He was succeeded by Yaḥyā Pasha, who died the following year, or, according to other sources, by Ulugh ‘Alī (known as Lucciali in Calabrian accounts), Ṭorghud’s lieutenant and a renowned corsair in his own right, who later became Captain-General of the Ottoman fleet and died in 1587. Little is known of the Turkish governors who followed; their names were Ja‘far Muṣṭafā Pasha, and Ramaḍān Pasha, who was killed in 1584.

In 1587, according to the Maltese archives, when Ḥasan Agha was governing Tripoli, the Knights of Malta tried once again to put troops ashore in support of local insurgents against the Turkish government. The years between 1590 and 1610 saw a series of Turkish governors busily engaged in suppressing revolts in Tripoli and its environs.

9. *Relations with the European powers*. For many years, Tripoli accepted no consular representatives of European states. All matters concerning the city were handled directly by the Sublime Porte in Constantinople. During the 17th century, some consulates were established, their primary objectives being purely commercial. Later, these consulates were to assume political importance, on account of the frequent “incidents” provoked by corsair activities and continual military interventions by the warships of the European states.

The first consul of whom anything is known was a certain Du Molin, appointed in 1630 by an emissary of Louis XIII. Some years later, in 1658, Samuel Toker was transported to the city by an English fleet, to take up his appointment as consul on behalf of England. With the Knights of Malta, on account of the objectives of their Order, there existed a

permanent state of war against the unbelievers, although this was occasionally interrupted by courteous diplomatic exchanges. The ransoming of slaves, and religious aid to Christian merchants and artisans, were promoted by Redemptorist missionaries and Brothers of St. Francis sent by Propaganda Fide.

10. *Tripoli under the Dayīs and the Turkish and Levantine Beys* (17th century). The history of Tripoli in the 17th century is a succession of struggles and revolts, both within and in the neighbourhood of the city. Appointed governor of the city in 1610 was a certain ‘Alī Bek, of Genoese origin, who used to send the sum of 300 crowns and 64 aspers to his sister, living in the vicinity of Genoa. Another individual, Sulaymān Safar Day, succeeded in gaining quasi-independence but was hanged by Khalīl Bey, Captain-General of the Ottoman fleet, for ignoring the emissaries sent by the Sublime Porte. After him, Muṣṭafā Sharīf Day also lost his life in tragic circumstances *ca.* 1631. Another chief of the local militia, Ramaḍān Day, governed from 1631 to 1633 before handing over power to a Levantine corsair, Meḥmed Pasha Saqīzli from Chios, who governed from 1633 to 1649, obtaining the title of Pasha from Sultan Murād IV. He also succeeded in extending his domain as far as Cyrenaica and Fezzan. His work was continued by ‘Othmān Pasha, likewise a freedman from the Greek island of Chios, who governed until 1672 and was one of the most powerful and energetic pashas of the 17th century.

In the years that followed, Tripoli seems to have found no genuine or effective leaders, and it was not until the period between 1687 and 1701, under the rule of the Montenegrin Meḥmed Imām Pasha, that the city enjoyed stable government. His nephew, Khalīl Beg, was deposed by corsair chiefs and Janissaries towards the end of 1709. On returning from Istanbul, where he had gone in search of the aid necessary for the assertion of his rights, he found in control of Tripoli a man who showed no inclination to allow himself to be supplanted, Aḥmad Qaramānlī, founder of the dynasty which was to govern Tripoli for the next 124 years.

For information relating to numismatics and epigraphy, see G. Cimino, *La zecca di Tripoli d’Occidente sotto il dominio dei Qaramanli*, in *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, Milan (1916), 527–40; *idem*, *Storia e numismatica dell’Africa del Nord*, in *Libya*, Rome-Milan iii (1927), 202–27; E. Rossi, *Le iscrizioni arabe e turche del Museo di Tripoli (Libia)*, Department of Antiquities, Tripoli 1953, 107.

#### IV. THE RULE OF THE QARAMĀNLĪS (1123–1251/1711–1835)

The Qaramānlīs were a family of Turkish origin, of whom several members governed Tripolitania from 1123/1711 to 1251/1835, constituting themselves into a real dynasty. Its founder was Qaramānlī Aḥmad Bey, of whose origins scarcely anything is known apart from the fact that he himself or his father or an ancestor came from Anatolia, probably from the town or the region of Qaramān, to serve as a soldier in the *ojaq* of Tripoli; certain authors put forward the view that one of his ancestors may have come to Tripolitania with the corsair Ṭurghūt (Dragut). The chronicler Ibn Ghalbūn, who lived at the time of Aḥmad Bey, calls him Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad b. Muṣṭafā.

In 1122/1710, and for several years earlier, the Ottoman province of Tripolitania had been plunged into anarchy due to rivalries that brought into opposition Janissaries, *qulughlīs* and Arab notables. Aḥmad Qaramānlī, then *‘amil* or governor of the region of the Manshiya and of the Sāḥil, had succeeded at the end of 1122/1710 in restoring order there and making himself appreciated by the local population. Resolved to put an end to the disorder, and supporting the Arabs against the *qulughlīs*, Aḥmad seized Tripoli, took the title of *bey* (commander of the troops) and in fact exercised control over the province (13 Jumādā II 1123/29 July 1711). Shortly afterwards, he had Khalīl Pasha, the governor sent by the sultan, executed, and had a large number of Turkish officers and functionaries assassinated, at the same time sending a delegation to Sultan Aḥmad III in order to justify himself. Finally, the Sultan accorded him the title of *beylerbey* (governor), recognising him also as chief of the province; but it was only in 1134/1722 that the Sultan bestowed on him the title of Pasha, making him his official representative.

Having little confidence in the Janissaries, Aḥmad Bey created an indigenous militia and favoured the corsairs. He had to face several local revolts from 1125/1713 to 1135/1723 in the south-east of Tripolitania, in Cyrenaica and Fezzan. Following these revolts, he took under his direct control the whole province by making terror reign when necessary: he had a number of people put to death, including dignitaries and notables, and even, over a libel, the chronicler Ibn Ghalbūn, who nevertheless had written his work for his glory. While encouraging

piracy, Aḥmad Qaramānī avoided entangling himself with the great Western powers and concluded or renewed, notably with England and France, treaties of peace and commerce. He had the fortifications of Tripoli restored and the mosque and *madrassa* which bear his name constructed in that town. He died (he probably committed suicide) on the night of 26th or 27th Ramaḍān 1157/3rd or 4th November 1745; he was approximately 60 years old.

His son Meḥmed (Muḥammad, 1158–67/1745–54) was proclaimed governor and recognised without difficulty by the Sultan. He maintained the country in peace and renewed the agreements with England and France, although piracy had at that time enjoyed a great prosperity, which led to several incidents with Venice and Naples. He died in Shawwāl 1167/July 1754. His son ‘Alī succeeded him (1167–1207/1754–93) and received the agreement of the Sultan. Until 1171/1758 he had to face several revolts, notably in the Manshiya and the Sāḥil, revolts which were drowned in blood. However, after this, the country enjoyed a sufficiently long period of calm until 1204/1790.

From the middle of the reign of Aḥmad Qaramānī, Tripolitania saw its economic activity increase and became an important staging post of commerce in the Mediterranean; but a serious epidemic in 1181/1767, and then the plague and famine in 1198–1200/1784–6, led to a certain decline of Tripoli and its commerce. During this period, the authority of the Qaramānīs was incontestable: they had a firm grip on the central power (*bey*, *āghā* of the Janissaries, *kāhya*, *ra’īs al-baḥr*, *khaznadār*, *shaykh al-balad*, *dīwān*) and on the provinces, where they were represented by the *qā’id*; the military forces comprised about 400 Janissaries, 200 to 300 renegades, 500 Albanians and 600 Arabs; the navy was composed of Albanians and Arabs.

The situation deteriorated with the old age of ‘Alī Pasha; in 1790 his elder son, Ḥasan Bey, was assassinated and his second son, Aḥmad, then became bey, but had to face the hostility of his brother Yūsuf, who was supported by the Arabs. In view of this situation, the notables of Tripoli and some military leaders intervened with the Sultan and asked him to name another governor, to which Yūsuf replied by having himself proclaimed governor with the support of the Nuwayr (1207/1792–3); he then undertook the siege of Tripoli (June 1793). Shortly afterwards there arrived unexpectedly ‘Alī Bulghūr,

a high dignitary ousted from Algiers, who claimed to have been invested with the governorship by the Sultan: he benefited from the gathering of notables and officers of Tripoli and entered the town (July 1793), while Yūsuf and ‘Alī Pasha retired to Tunisia. ‘Alī Bulghūr having seized the island of Jarba, the *bey* of Tunis Ḥamūda then favoured the action of the Qaramānī to regain power. Finally, the vanquished ‘Alī Bulghūr fled to Egypt (February 1795), while ‘Alī Pasha, resident at Tunis, renounced the governorship in favour of his son Aḥmad. In Sha’bān 1210/November 1796, profiting from the departure of Aḥmad for Tajūra, Yūsuf entered Tripoli and had himself proclaimed governor there; Aḥmad did not persist in his claims and retired to Malta. The following year, Yūsuf received from the Sultan the investiture *firmān*; he then took severe measures to repress disorder, reinforced the fortifications and increased the corsairs’ fleet.

During Bonaparte’s expedition in Egypt, Yūsuf Pasha refused to break off relations with France; constrained to do so, following an English threat, he hastened to conclude a treaty with France as early as 1799. In 1800 an incident occurred with the United States of America, which resulted in the severing of relations, and then in acts of hostility. The Americans were on the point of reintroducing Aḥmad Bey to Cyrenaica and having him proclaimed governor, but English mediation put an end to these events; a new treaty was concluded with the Americans, while Aḥmad Bey retired to Egypt (June 1805).

From 1806 to 1830, numerous revolts broke out in different regions, repressed with more or less success; in 1810, the region of Ghadamès was once more joined to Tripoli. In 1819 a Franco-English fleet arrived before Tripoli and, under threat, had the slaves and Christian prisoners freed. From 1823 to 1826 at the request of the Sultan, Yūsuf Pasha sent a Tripolitanian fleet to participate in the operations of the Ottoman fleet on the coasts of Morea and returned by the same route, but this provoked severe reactions by the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples (1825–6). The assassination of Major Laing, son-in-law of the English Consul Warrington, who held the French Consul Rousseau responsible, placed Yūsuf Pasha in a delicate situation: he had finally to sign a new treaty with France (August 1830). In 1832, having imposed taxes on the inhabitants of the Manshiya and the Sāḥil in order to recover his debts, they revolted, proclaimed a grandson of

Yūsuf, Meḥmed (Muḥammad) Bey governor, and besieged Tripoli. On 5 August 1832, Yūsuf abdicated in favour of his son 'Alī; the latter could count on the support of Cyrenaica and the good will of the French, whereas Meḥmed Bey enjoyed the favour of the English. An emissary of the Sultan, Meḥmed Shākīr Efendi, tried in vain to arrange an agreement between the parties. He returned in September 1834 with a *fīrmān* of investiture for 'Alī Bey that the rebels and England refused to recognise. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Government took careful note of that what was necessary, in view of the French pressure that was being exerted on the Qaramānlīs and on account of the presence of the French in Algeria which constituted a serious threat, to display more energetically the suzerainty of the Sultan over Tripolitania; in February 1835 the Ottomans decided to send a fleet and troops to Tripoli under the command of Muṣṭafā Najīb Pasha. This fleet arrived before Tripoli on 26 May and the disembarkation of the troops took place on the 27th; the next day, 'Alī Pasha and a certain number of Tripolitanian dignitaries were arrested, while Muṣṭafā Najīb Pasha had the imperial *fīrmān* read, naming him governor of the province and decreeing the removal of 'Alī Pasha. Meḥmed Bey committed suicide, his brother Aḥmad took refuge in Malta, and all the other members of the Qaramānlī family were sent to Istanbul with the exception of Yūsuf Pasha who, owing to his great age was authorised to live in Tripoli; he died there on the 4th August 1838.

Thus the dynasty of the Qaramānlīs came to an end. Its initial originality lay in its support for the Arabs of Tripolitania against the Turks and the *qulughlīs*, without however rejecting Ottoman suzerainty. Later, the Qaramānlīs did not escape the rivalries and internal quarrels that rendered null and void the efforts of the first members of the dynasty, and facilitated the province being taken once more into control by the Ottomans, aided in this by the implications of the "Eastern Question". Like the Ḥusaynids in Tunisia, but to a lesser degree on account of the extent and disparity of the land, the Qaramānlīs were able momentarily to cut a figure as a local dynasty, but not as a national one.

#### V. FROM 1835 TO THE PRESENT DAY

The Ottoman sultan Maḥmūd II's expedition of May 1835 ended the power of 'Alī II b. Yūsuf Pasha and the Qaramānlī line of virtually independent governors, and the Turks were able to re-establish their power over the whole of Tripolitania as far east as the site of former Barca, although most of Cyrenaica was speedily to fall under the control of the Sanūsiyya Sufi order. The town of Tripoli now became the capital of the Ottoman *pashaliq* of that name.

After the Italians landed on the Libyan coast in September 1911, Tripoli became the capital of the colony of Libya, and has remained that of the independent Libya proclaimed in 1951. The Italians began extensive remodelling of the old town, with a garden city to the southwest of the old Muslim town and the Jewish *ḥāra* (now that of modern administrative offices, foreign embassies, etc.), demolition of part of the town walls and restoration of other parts of them, the construction of a modern port and the building of a Roman Catholic cathedral for the influx of Italian colonists (since 1970 turned into the Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir Mosque).

The modern city of Tripoli has now become a centre of east-west communications along the southern Mediterranean coast, with the Tunis-Benghazi road running through it, a railway running westwards to Zuwāra and one eastwards to al-Khums, and an international airport constructed some 34 km/21 miles south of the city. The post-1955 oil boom in Libya, plus a very high birth rate in the country at large, have caused a dramatic growth in Tripoli's population, estimated at 820,000 in 1980 but by 2006 estimated at approaching two millions. As well as being the national capital, Tripoli is also the chef-lieu of the *muḥāfaẓa* or governorate of Tripoli.

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**TUNIS**, in Arabic Tūnis, Tūnus, a city and port of North Africa which dates from early Islamic times, now the capital of the Tunisian Republic. It is situated in lat. 36° 50' N., long. 10° 13' E., and like ancient Carthage, it is situated at the base of a large gulf, sheltered from northerly and north-westerly winds, at the junction of the western and the eastern Mediterranean. Like the capital of Punic and of Roman Africa, it was located at the intersection of natural routes serving the diverse regions of the country. But although the location of Tunis is often confused with that of Carthage, the two cities were constructed on two distinct sites. While Carthage, founded in the 9th century B.C. by seafarers from Tyre, was situated on the coast, Tunis, founded at the end of the 7th century A.D. by the Arab conquerors, is set back from the coast, on the landward side of a low-water lagoon, situated on a hill which slopes gently towards the east but towers over the Sedjoumi *sabkha* to the west.

## I. EARLY HISTORY

Arab Tunis was not created *ex nihilo*; it took the place of a more ancient city, Tunes, and adopted its name. It is generally agreed that this name is of Berber origin. The three radicals *t.n.s.*, which are encountered in other toponyms of North Africa, are said to signify “halt”, “bivouac” or “encamp-

ment” in the Berber language (G. Mercier, *La langue libyenne et la toponymie antique de l'Afrique du Nord*, in *JA* [October–December 1924], 298–9; A. Pellegrin, *Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie*, Tunis 1948, 108–9). If the name is indeed Berber, a reasonable inference would be that the city was founded by the indigenous population. The notion that Tunes is actually more ancient than Carthage is credible, although the earliest evidence regarding the former dates from a period during which Punic Carthage was already a major city. The existence of Tunes is attested at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. In fact, according to Diodorus of Sicily, in 395 B.C., 200,000 Libyans rose in revolt against Carthaginian rule and seized control of Tunes. The name of the city often recurs in the writings of Greek and Roman historians tracing the history of Carthage. It was successively occupied by Agathocles in 310, Regulus in 256, the Libyans of Matho in 240, Scipio Africanus in 203 and Scipio Aemilianus in 146 (S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, Paris 1913–27, iii, *passim*). It is known that Tunes derived its strength both from its natural location and from the fortifications with which it had been endowed (*locus quum operibus tum suapte natura tutus*, Livy, *History*, xxx. 9), and it seems logical to place this city, from which Carthage could be seen and which could be seen from Carthage, on the hill which would later be occupied by the Arab *qasba*. Having made common cause with Carthage, Tunes was destroyed at the end of the Third Punic War. But the smaller city was to be reborn. In an Africa which had passed under Roman domination, the existence of Tunes was still attested. It features in fact on the 4th century map of Castorius, better known as Peutinger's Table, under the name of Thuni, which could be a copyist's error for Thunis. Christianised, the city was an episcopal see, and the names are known of the bishops who represented the church of Tunes at the Conference of Carthage in 411 and at the Council of Constantinople in 553 (J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique chrétienne*, Algiers 1913, 164–5). But although the foundation of Tunes dates back to remote antiquity, and although the city succeeded in maintaining itself for centuries, it never played more than a modest role, in the shadow of the major metropolis which was successively the capital of Punic and of Roman Africa.

## II. THE COMING OF THE ARABS

When the Arabs, at the end of the 7th century, had completed the conquest of eastern Barbary with the capture of Carthage, they did not establish themselves there. Fearing lest a Byzantine fleet would arrive suddenly and retake the city, they decided to destroy it: demolishing its walls, cutting off the aqueducts which supplied it with water, filling in its harbours and devastating its agriculture. Judging that their security would thus be better served, they established themselves at the base of the lagoon, at the outskirts of Tunes, and the small town, occupied by troops and with new buildings proliferating, soon became a city which could easily be taken for an Arab foundation. The development of Tunis is closely linked with the destruction of Carthage. In fact, Arab historians date its birth to the year 80 of the Hijra which began on 9 March 699, thus barely two months after the end of the year 698 which was fatal to Carthage, and attribute its foundation to Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān, who took possession of the great ancient city. Having established himself in Tunis, on the orders of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān created an arsenal there, and a thousand Coptic labourers from Egypt were soon to be employed there in the building of ships, in order that the Rūm, i.e. the Byzantines, could be opposed on both land and sea (al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, tr. de Slane, Algiers 1913, 84). It is sometimes stated in the works of Arab authors that Ḥassān b. al-Nu'mān, or one of his successors, brought the sea to Tunis. It should not be inferred from this that he dug a canal through the lake, a project which was to be realised at the end of the following century. In all probability, he dug a canal through the littoral strip separating the lake from the sea at the place called Ḥalq al-Wādī, i.e. La Goulette. Thus the city at the base of the lagoon came to be linked with the shores of the gulf, and ships constructed in the arsenal of Tunis had access to the open sea.

In the early period of its existence, Arab Tunis assumed a military function. Troops were garrisoned there on a permanent basis, in readiness to oppose an enemy landing on the coast, or to take to the sea and raid the coasts of the Christian countries. Of the numerous maritime expeditions mounted by the Arabs in the 8th century, several were launched from

Tunis (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Conquête de l'Afrique du Nord et de l'Espagne*, ed. and tr. A. Gateau, <sup>2</sup>Algiers 1948, 115). The presence of hundreds and thousands of soldiers boosted the development of the city. Arabs blended there with the Berbers who were converted to Islam, either willingly or by force, and a new people was forged from the association of the races.

Tunis was for a long time a secondary city in relation to Kairouan, the capital, seat of the governors appointed by the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphs and, from the 9th century onward, of the Aghlabid *amīrs* who were to succeed in imposing their authority on eastern Barbary. But the officers and soldiers who constituted the *jund*, the militia of Tunis, did not always follow the orders of those to whom they owed obedience. On more than one occasion, at the initiative of an ambitious chieftain, the militia of Tunis rose in revolt, only to be crushed sooner or later by forces dispatched from Kairouan. It was to these frequent revolts, the most important of which was that of Maṣṣūr al-Ṭunbuḍī in the first half of the 9th century, that Tunis owed its reputation as a "factionous city" (al-Bakrī). It was none the less the object of solicitude on the part of the central power. The *amīr* Abū Ibrāhīm Aḥmad (240–9/854–63) undertook the construction of a new Great Mosque, replacing the one which dated back to the early years of the Arab conquest. An inscription dates the prayer hall and the cupola before the *mihrāb* to the year 250/864. The defences of the town were then improved, with the reconstruction of the ramparts, and the first *qaṣba* was established.

Towards the end of the 9th century, the *amīr* Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad (262–89/874–90) installed himself there on a permanent basis and made it the seat of his government. But Tunis was not yet the country's first city. With the end of the Aghlabid dynasty, the choice of the last *amīrs* was called into question.

## III. THE FATIMIDS

The Fatimid princes, of Shi'ite persuasion, who had been brought to power by a revolt at the beginning of the 10th century, then installed themselves in Kairouan, before acquiring a new capital with the city of al-Mahdiyya which they created *ex nihilo*, on the eastern coast, whence al-Mu'izz b. Ismā'il departed for Egypt in 362/972. On leaving Ifrīqiya, he entrusted its government to his loyal lieutenant

Buluggīn b. Zīrī, who succeeded in transferring power to the members of his family, thus founding the dynasty of the Zīrid *amīrs*, who by turns had al-Mahdiyya and Kairouan as their capital, at the end of the 4th/10th and beginning of the 5th/11th century. In the meantime, Tunis continued to develop. The Arab geographer al-Bakrī has left us the first detailed description. It was then “one of the most illustrious towns of Ifrīqiya”. The Great Mosque, Jāmi‘ al-Zaytūna, was situated in the centre. The building, constructed in the 3rd/9th century, was the object of renovation under the Zīrids, who added to it a narthex-gallery, a cupola at the entrance to the main axial nave and porticos on three sides of the courtyard, which on the basis of inscriptions *in situ* may be dated from the end of the 4th/10th century. All around the Great Mosque were located the city’s *sūqs*, where manufacturing and commercial activity was concentrated. They were surrounded by residential quarters, with fine houses, their doors framed in marble, baths and caravanserais. The town was encircled by a wall with five gates, as follows: Bāb Qartājanna, or Carthage gate, to the north-east; Bāb al-Saqqā’in, or Water-carriers’ gate, to the north; Bāb Arṭa, to the south-west; Bāb al-Jazīra, gate of the Cap Bon Peninsula, to the south, and Bāb Baḥr, gate of the Sea, to the east. Outside the last-named was situated the arsenal, *Dār al-ṣinā’a*, established at the time of the foundation of the city. Further to the east, on the shores of the lake, was the port of Tunis, reduced to a single jetty where ships were berthed. It is on the littoral, at the mouth of the man-made canal that the Castle of the Chain, Qaṣr al-Silsila, described by al-Bakrī, should be located. The city was a hive of multiple activities, industrial, commercial and agricultural, and it was also a major educational centre. Judged on the basis of its *ḥammāms*, fifteen in number, its population was one-third of that of Kairouan, which had forty-eight, but it was undoubtedly more important than the towns of Bizerta, Sousse, Sfax or al-Mahdiyya. At this time Tunis could well be described as the second city of Ifrīqiya.

Towards the middle of the 5th/11th century, the Zīrid *amīr* al-Mu‘izz b. Bādīs repudiated the Shi‘ite doctrine and rejected the sovereignty of the Fatimid caliph of Cairo, professing allegiance to the ‘Abbasid caliph of Baghdad. The response was not slow in coming. The caliph of Cairo unleashed on Ifrīqiya the unruly Arab tribes of the Banū Hilāl and the

Banū Sulaym, then encamped in the Delta. They invaded the country, emerged victorious from all their battles, succeeded in capturing and sacking Kairouan, and forced the Zīrid *amīr* to withdraw to al-Mahdiyya. Then, throughout the extended territory, the Hilālīs installed themselves as masters and, taking advantage of the general anarchy, a multiplicity of local powers took over the space vacated by an enfeebled central power. To ensure their defence, the population of Tunis appointed as governor an officer by the name of ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Khurāsān, who administered the town for many years and on his death bequeathed his power to his son who in turn bequeathed it to his descendants. Thus, for almost a century, Tunis was to be a small, independent principality, governed by the Banū Khurāsān. It is the most remarkable representative of this dynasty, Aḥmad b. Khurāsān (500–23/1106–28), who deserves credit for having restored the city’s walls and for building within the walls a castle, the memory of which is perpetuated by a mosque, Jāmi‘ al-Qaṣr. Under the Banū Khurāsān, the population of Tunis increased, as many Muslim families from Kairouan arrived to take refuge there (Ibn Khaldūn, *Hist. des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, i, 36). The small Jewish community which had been established in the 4th/10th century was swelled by emigrants from Kairouan and al-Mahdiyya. At the gates of the city, merging with the *Madīna*, began the quarters which were to be the suburbs of Bāb al-Jazīra and of Bāb al-Suwayqa. Tunis also developed its industries and its dealings with other countries. A letter from ‘Abd Allāh b. Khurāsān to the archbishop of Pisa, dated 552/1157, lays down the condition of commerce between the two cities (A. Sayous, *Le commerce des Européens à Tunis*, Paris 1929, 50–2). Under the Banū Khurāsān, Tunis succeeded in eluding the clutches of the Normans from Sicily who, taking advantage of the anarchy afflicting the land, managed to take control of all the towns of the eastern coast. But it was to fall into the hands of the Moroccan ‘Abd al-Mu‘min who, having embraced the Almohad doctrine, wasted no time in making himself master of all North Africa, taking Tunis in 554/1159.

#### IV. THE ALMOHADS AND ḤAFṢIDS

Before returning to his capital Marrakesh at the other extremity of the Maghrib, ‘Abd al-Mu‘min entrusted the administration of eastern Barbary to one of his



sons, who took up residence in the *Qaṣba* of Tunis. At the same time, after three centuries during which the leading role had been played by Kairouan or al-Mahdiyya, Tunis found itself promoted to the status of capital of Ifrīqiya. The Almohad sultans were soon obliged to confront the enterprises of the Banū Ghāniya, who succeeded in obtaining a foothold in the eastern Maghrib and even in taking control of Tunis in 600/1203. But their efforts were ultimately unavailing and the land, maintaining its allegiance to the Almohads, regained stability under the rule of a governor named ‘Abd Wāḥid b. Abī Ḥaṣṣ. Designated to succeed him on his death, his son Abū Zakariyyā’ rejected the hegemony of the Almohads and proclaimed his independence in 625/1227. He thus founded the dynasty of the Ḥafṣids, whose princes later awarded themselves the title of caliphs and who presided over the destinies of eastern Barbary for almost three centuries, with Tunis for their capital.

Shortly after asserting his independence, Abū Zakariyyā’ undertook to remodel the *Qaṣba* of Tunis according to new plans (al-Zarkashī, *Chronique des Almohades et des Ḥafṣides*, tr. E. Fagnan, Constantine 1895, 35). This citadel comprised the palace in which the Sultan convened his council and gave audiences and the palace in which he and his family resided, as well as a congregational mosque, the building of which, undertaken in 629/1231, was completed in 633/1235. It was encompassed by a high and strong wall with two gates, one of them, Bāb al-Ghaḍr, overlooking the countryside and the other, Bāb Intajmī, opening on the town.

Under the reigns of Abū Zakariyyā’ and of his successors, the *Madīna* of Tunis retained the structure which had been imposed upon it in the early Middle Ages, with its quarter of *sūqs* in the centre, surrounded on all sides by residential quarters, but with new constructions enriching its monumental ornamentation. On more than one occasion, the Great Mosque was the object of restoration work which did not change its appearance. To respond to the needs of a burgeoning population, the *Madīna* was endowed with a new congregational mosque, the Jāmi‘ Bāb al-Baḥr, in the vicinity of the Gate of the Sea, in 682/1283. More numerous creations affected the colleges or *madrasas* through which the Ḥafṣid sultans took pains to diffuse Sunnī orthodoxy and to train competent and committed functionaries.

The first was the Shammā’iyya (i.e. candle-makers’) *madrasa* founded by the sultan Abū Zakariyyā’. It was followed by the Ma‘āriḍiyya *madrasa* in the 7th/13th century, by the ‘Unqiyya *madrasa* in the 8th/14th century, and by the Muntaṣiriyya *madrasa* in the 9th/15th century. The *madrasas* were supplemented by *zāwiyas*, and inscriptions *in situ* allow the dating in the 9th/15th century of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Arūs and that of Sīdī al-Qalay. Among other foundations with which the *Madīna* was endowed under the Ḥafṣids, worth mentioning is the *māristān*, a hospital, which was built in the Sūq al-Ṣaffārīn (i.e. of the coppersmiths) under the reign of the sultan Abū Fāris (796–838/1394–1434), and the *mīḍa’a*, monumental hall for ablutions, which was built in the Sūq al-‘Aṭṭārīn (i.e. of the perfumers) under the reign of the sultan Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (838–93/1435–88). The surrounding wall of the *Madīna*, reconstructed under the Ḥafṣids, was pierced by seven gates: to the north, Bāb Qartājanna, Bāb al-Suwayqa (which replaced Bāb al-Saqqā’īn) and Bāb al-Banāt; to the south, Bāb al-Jazīra, Bāb al-Jadīd and Bāb al-Manāra (which replaced Bāb Arṭa); and to the east, Bāb al-Baḥr, the city’s principal gate.

Tunis was no longer identical with the *Madīna*, being flanked to the north by the suburb of Bāb al-Suwayqa and to the south by the suburb of Bāb al-Jazīra; these two suburbs, the existence of which is attested as early as the 6th/12th century, underwent large-scale development to accommodate an ever-increasing population. Of a semi-rural nature at the outset, they were gradually urbanised. In the southern suburb the sultan Abū Zakariyyā’ had created, in the proximity of the Horse Market, a *muṣallā al-‘Idayn*, an oratory for the celebration of the two festivals of the Muslim year. His wife ‘Aṭf had founded, near the Sheep Market, a congregational mosque known as the Jāmi‘ al-Hawā or Jāmi‘ Tawfiq, as well as the Tawfiqiyya *madrasa*, attached to the mosque. The southern suburb was endowed with two other mosques: the Jāmi‘ Bāb al-Jazīra in the 7th/13th century, and the Jāmi‘ al-Ḥuluq, outside the Bāb al-Jadīd, in the 8th/14th century. Among Ḥafṣid constructions, also worthy of note is the *zāwiya* of Sīdī al-Jalīzī which dates from the end of the 9th/15th century. It was in the southern suburb, outside the Bāb al-Manāra, that a quarter was assigned for the garrisoning of the Christian militia which served the Ḥafṣid sultans (A. Adorne, in R. Brunschwig, *Deux*

*réçits de voyage en Afrique du Nord au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1937, 190–1). In the northern suburb, a congregational mosque, the Jāmi‘ Abī Muḥammad, was built by an Almohad governor at the beginning of the 7th/13th century. The following century, a second such mosque was erected there, the Jāmi‘ Sidi Yaḥyā, as well as the *madrasa* adjoining it and sharing its name. Yet another such mosque, the Jāmi‘ al-Tabbānīn, was built in the 9th/15th century. The proliferation of congregational mosques, three in number in the southern suburb as in the northern, is a reliable indicator of the growth in the population of Tunis and of the expansion of the city under the Ḥafṣids.

For a long time the suburbs remained unprotected. It was only in the 8th/14th century that it was judged necessary to provide them with a surrounding wall, a construction which was completed under the reign of the sultan Abū Ishāq (750–70/1350–69). It had virtually the same outline as that which was to be constructed at the end of the 18th century. It was pierced by three gates to the north: Bāb al-Khaḍrā’, Bāb Abī Sa’dūn, Bāb al-‘Ulūj; and by four gates to the south: Bāb Khālid, Bāb al-Qurjānī, Bāb al-Falla and Bāb ‘Alīwa. Under the Ḥafṣid sultans, Tunis already had the overall structure which would last until the eve of colonisation. To the south, the surrounding wall encompassed the cemetery of al-Qurjānī, but it was outside the walls that the new cemetery was located, that of al-Jallāz, at the foot of the hill of Sidi Ben Ḥasan.

To the east, outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, there was development of another suburb which consisted of *funduqs* or *cavavanserais* where Catalan, Venetian and Genoese Christian merchants had their residences and their warehouses. Further to the east was located the arsenal which continued to operate in Ḥafṣid times. It was not far removed from the jetty, used by the boats which transported merchandise and travellers between the town, at the base of the lagoon, and the harbour on the coast.

Far from the city, the Ḥafṣids acquired luxurious residences. The sultan al-Mustanṣir (647–75/1249–77) had built for himself, in a place called Rās Ṭābiyya, a fine palace in the middle of a park, linked to the *Qasba* by an avenue flanked by high walls. It was the same al-Mustanṣir who created not far from the Ariana the splendid residence of Abū Fihri, which was to be the object of enthusiastic descriptions. More recent is the palace of Bardo (from the Span-

ish *prado* = garden), the creation of which dates from the reign of Abū Fāris and which was destined to survive to the present time. The Ḥafṣid sultans also attached their names to important hydraulic projects. Hitherto, the supply of water to the population had been assured by cisterns where rainwater was stored or by various wells sunk both within and outside the town. In the 7th/13th century, al-Mustanṣir undertook the restoration of the aqueduct which used to carry the water of Jabal Zaghwān to Carthage, adapting it to supply water to Tunis by constructing two diversions; one of them delivering water to a large reservoir situated close to the Great Mosque, the other delivering water to the residence of Abū Fihri, for the irrigation of gardens and orchards and for supplying the requirements of fountains and pools. In the 9th/15th century, Abū ‘Amr ‘Uthmān (838–93/1435–88) increased the quantity of water supplied by the aqueduct by means of bore-holes created in the style of Saharan foggaras in a place called Kūm al-Uṭā, near Tunis (M. Solignac, *Travaux hydrauliques hafṣides de Tunis*, in *R.Afr.* [1936], 517–80). The chroniclers of the time also mention cisterns, watering-troughs and fountains owed to the munificence of the Ḥafṣids.

Promoted to the status of capital of Ifrīqiya, Tunis experienced development in all kinds of activity, with urban industries becoming ever more diversified. Chronicles and accounts of journeys afford a glimpse of the trade guilds dedicated to the working of textiles, leather, wood and metals as well as those contributing to the construction and decoration of houses and palaces: masons, potters, plasterers and sculptors. The city had its luxury industries, too: jewellery, wrought gold and perfumes, while the more mundane requirements of the population were supplied by mills, bakeries and *ḥammāms*. Tunis was also an important commercial centre, conducting exchanges with the Christian countries by sea, and with the lands of the Levant and Black Africa by caravans. Finally, intellectual activities were developed to an unprecedented extent. With its Great Mosque, the libraries of which had been enriched by the Ḥafṣids, and its *madrasas*, Tunis became the major intellectual centre of the land. Scholars and academics displaced from Spain by the Christian reconquest and taking refuge in the Ḥafṣid kingdom made a considerable contribution to the success and prosperity experienced by the sciences and literature.

The population of Tunis was increasing, and was not composed solely of Muslims. After the upsurge of intolerance which had marked the Almohad conquest (on capturing the city, 'Abd al-Mu'min had compelled Jews and Christians to choose between conversion and death), the Ḥafṣid sultans adopted the traditional attitude of Sunnī Islam towards the People of the Book. Christians were permanently established – soldiers in the southern suburb, merchants outside the Bāb al-Baḥr – as were the Jews, who had their own quarter (*ḥāra*) within the walls of the *Madīna*. As for population numbers, the figure of 100,000 seems a reasonable estimate judging by the extent of the city, already approaching the dimensions which would take it into the modern age.

#### V. THE OTTOMAN AND ḤUSAYNID PERIODS

In the early 10th/16th century the corsair Khayr al-Dīn, who had taken control of Algiers and proclaimed his allegiance to the Ottoman sultan in Istanbul, sought to extend his domination to eastern Barbary. With a combination of guile and force, he succeeded in taking Tunis in 941/1534. With the aim of regaining his kingdom, the Ḥafṣid Mawlāy Ḥasan appealed to the Emperor Charles V who, anxious to restrain Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean, came to the rescue of the dethroned sultan. At the beginning of summer 1535, at the head of a powerful armada, he made his way to Tunis, expelled the Turks from the city and restored Mawlāy Ḥasan to the throne. Under the terms of a treaty which imposed quasi-protectorate status on eastern Barbary, the Spanish occupied La Goulette where they undertook the construction of a powerful fortress to protect the land from sea-born assault (L. Poinssot and R. Lantier, *Les gouverneurs de la Goulette durant l'occupation espagnole (1535–1574)*, in *Rev. Tunisienne*, [1930], 219–52). This limited occupation did not prevent the *beylerbey* of Algiers, 'Ulūj 'Alī, from taking possession of Tunis in 976/1569. The Spanish response was not slow in coming. In the autumn of 981/1573, Don Juan of Austria expelled the Turks from Tunis and, to forestall a counter-offensive by Ottoman troops, left behind an armed force of 8,000 men, who constructed a new fortress, *Nova Arx*, between the walls of the city and the shores of the lake, comprising six bastions joined by curtains,

covering an area of more than ten hectares (P. Sebag, *Une ville européenne à Tunis au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in *CT* [1961], 97–107). The arsenal, still shown on printed maps from the first half of the 16th century, disappeared at about this time. But the following year, the Turks returned in strength, laying siege to La Goulette and Tunis and forcing their garrisons to capitulate (Rabī II 981/August 1574).

With the conquest of 1574, Ifrīqiya became a province of the Ottoman empire, administered by a governor who bore the title of *pasha* and was supported by a 3,000 strong Turkish militia. Within a few years, power had passed from the *pasha*, representing the sultan in Istanbul, to the chiefs of the militia (1591) and from the chiefs of the militia to a *dey*, who recognised Ottoman sovereignty but governed the country in an absolute manner (1595). But there was a gradual increase in the power of the military chief, the *bey*, who twice a year, at the head of a mobile camp, *maḥalla*, set out to collect taxes in the hinterland. One such commander, Murād Bey, bequeathed his responsibility to his son who bequeathed it in turn to his descendants, thus founding the dynasty of Murādī *beys*. Princes of this dynasty would succeed in the second half of the 17th century in supplanting the *deys*, ultimately reigning as sovereigns in their own right. Through all these vicissitudes, the city which was the seat of the “powers of Tunis”, *pasha*, *dey* and *bey*, maintained its status as capital of the country.

During the 17th century, the population of Tunis was transformed by numerous ethnic arrivals. These were Turks recruited in various provinces of the Ottoman empire and constituting the militia whose strength, 3,000 men at the outset, had increased to 4,000, concentrated in the capital. They formed the bulk of the mobile camp commanded by the *bey* and supplied contingents of armed men who took part in privateering (J. Pignon, *La Milice des janissaires de Tunis*, in *CT* [1956], 301–26). “National Turks” were supplemented by “professional Turks”, the latter denoting those who had abandoned Christianity and embraced Islam in order to live among the Turks as Turks.

More numerous were the Moors who, expelled from Spain in 1609 by Philip III, found a haven in Ifrīqiya. Some settled in the hinterland where they put the land to good use, bringing prosperity to the villages which they populated; others were installed

in Tunis, playing their part in the manufacturing and commercial activities of the city and forming clusters of Andalusian population in the *Madīna* (*Ḥuḡāq al-Andalus*) and in the northern suburb (*Hūmat al-Andalus*) (J.D. Latham, *Towards a study of Andalusian immigration and its place in Tunisian History*, in *CT* [1957], 203–52). Among the new ethnic arrivals, also worth mentioning are the Jews from Leghorn/Livorno. For the most part, these were Jews of Spanish origin, forced to emigrate by the rigours of the Inquisition and given permission by the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinand II to live and work in the port of Leghorn. Having forged commercial links with the lands of the Maghrib, a number of them established themselves in Tunis where, henceforward, a distinction would be drawn between Tunisian Jews, the *Twānsa*, and those from Leghorn, the *Grāna* (M. Eisenbeth, *Les juifs en Algérie et en Tunisie à l'époque turque (1516–1830)*, in *RAfr.*, [1952], 155–63). Furthermore, benefiting from concessions awarded by the Sublime Porte or from treaties of peace and commerce which the European powers had signed with the *deys* and the *beys*, small mercantile colonies, principally French and British, were well established and active. Finally, thousands of Christian slaves, natives of all the Mediterranean lands, added to the diversity and the markedly cosmopolitan nature of the population of Tunis.

In this same century, Tunis continued to be the greatest industrial centre of the country. Andalusians were in the forefront of the development of the manufacture of *shāshīyyas* or caps, an industry which soon employed a considerable work-force. With techniques that they introduced, the Andalusians also contributed substantially to the renovation of other industries such as silk weaving, metal-casting and ceramics. This was also the golden age of privateering. Sailing galleys and galliots fitted with rams, or in other sailing ships like polacres and galleons, the corsairs of Tunis attacked merchant ships at sea or mounted raids on the coasts of Christian countries, returning from their cruises with ample booty. Merchandise was sold to traders who resold it at a profit. Men and women were reduced to slavery, only to be freed if they could raise the money for their redemption. The trade in plunder and the ransoming of captives laid the foundations for vast fortunes. “There are in Tunis, as there are in Algiers, men of great wealth who do not know the extent of the sums that they have amassed” (J.-B. Salvago). However, piracy was

not an obstacle to peaceful relations with a number of countries. French merchants controlled commerce with Marseilles; contacts with Leghorn were handled by immigrants from that locality. Maritime traffic was mirrored by overland traffic: a caravan route linked Tunis with Morocco, another linked Tunis with Mecca and a third gave access to Black Africa, beyond the Sahara. Exchanges by sea and by land made the capital of the *deys* and the *beys*, according to one observer, “Barbary’s most commercial city” (E. Plantet, *Correspondance des beys de Tunis et des consuls de France avec la Cour*, Paris 1893–9, i, 164).

At this time, Tunis retained its overall structure, with its *Madīna* flanked by two suburbs, but the *Murādī deys* and *beys* erected some new buildings. Under the reign of the Dey Yūsuf (1019–47/1610–37), the city was endowed with new *sūqs*: *Sūq al-Turk*, for the tailoring of Turkish-style garments, *Sūq al-Bashāmiqiyya*, for shoemakers specialising in the manufacture of pumps, *Sūq al-Jerāba*, for merchants from Jerba, and *Sūq al-Birka* for the sale of negro slaves. The same Dey built the mosque with octagonal minaret which bears his name, with the *madrasa* attached to it, as well as the *turba* which would be his final resting-place. Also owed to him is the construction, in the tailors’ *sūq*, of the hall of ablutions, *mīda’a*, which would be transported to the Belvedere at the end of the 19th century, as well as the city’s first coffee-house. The *dey* Muḥammad Lāz (1057–63/1647–53) built the minaret of the Qaṣr mosque as well as the *turba* which would be his mausoleum. The *bey* Ḥamūda b. Murād (1040–76/1631–66) who was without doubt the most remarkable prince of the *Murādī* line, endowed the Great Mosque with its first minaret, to be replaced in 1894 by the current one. It was also his reign which saw the building of the double gallery which constitutes its eastern façade: an inscription *in situ* dates it to the year 1047/1637 (Marçais, *Architecture musulmane d’Occident*, 467). Also owed to him are the splendid mosque with octagonal minaret which was built in the vicinity of the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. ‘Arūs, the *turba* in which he was buried, as were all the princes descended from him, and a hospital which was erected on the site of the first Ḥafṣid *māristān*. Opposite the *qaṣba*, where the *dey*’s palace was situated, Ḥamūda Bey had the Dār al-Bey constructed to serve as the official residence of the *beys*. To his son, Murād b. Ḥamūda (1076–86/1666–75), belongs credit for the construction of a college, al-Murādiyya,

in the *sūq* of cloths and fabrics. After a long war of succession which ravaged the country for more than ten years, Muḥammad b. Murād (1097–1107/1686–96) undertook the construction of two *sūqs*, the Great and the Small, devoted to the making of *shāshiyya*, as well as the fine mosque with cupolas, commonly called the mosque of Sīdī Muḥriz, which was completed under the reign of his brother Ramaḍān b. Murād (1107–10/1696–9); the plans were drawn up by the French architect F. Amelot.

In addition to constructions owed to the initiative of the *deys* and *beys*, there were numerous private buildings which have been the object of an exhaustive study (J. Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis (XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1967). Their siting affords a glimpse of the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups. While Moors, Turks and Andalusians were concentrated in the upper city, non-Muslims were quartered in the lower one. Jews continued to inhabit the old *ḥāra*; European merchants were installed near the Bāb Baḥr, the Gate of the Sea. Initially accommodated in houses leased from the Moors, they subsequently settled in *funduqs* set at their disposal by the Powers of Tunis, where their residences and warehouses were located. When the Chevalier d'Arvieux visited Tunis in 1666, there were three *funduqs*: one allotted to the French, another to the British and the Dutch, and the third to the Jews of Italian origin. Also concentrated in the lower part of the *Madīna* were the bagnios or slave prisons, each known by the name given to its chapel. In the second half of the 17th century there were thirteen of them, for which a list of names exists.

There is little to be said of the suburbs, which continued to be populated by the lower orders. There were few new constructions. In the southern suburb, the mosque of Bāb al-Jazīra was restored under the reign of Yūsuf Dey. In the northern suburb, the Moors established there were endowed with a congregational mosque, the Jāmi' Subḥān Allāh, as well as a college, the al-Andalusiyya *madrasa*. Beyond the first and second perimeter walls were the necropolises: the Muslim cemetery outside the Bāb 'Alīwa, the Jewish one outside the Bāb Qartājanna and the Christian one outside the Bāb al-Baḥr, with a chapel dedicated to St. Antony. Here free men and slaves alike were interred. To the north-west of Tunis the Bardo, promoted to the status of royal residence by the last Ḥafṣids, was highly regarded by the *bey* Ḥamūda b.

Murād, who restored and expanded it, embellishing both the palace and its gardens. Travellers have left enthusiastic descriptions of the place. During the 17th century the city, enclosed within the perimeter wall surrounding the *Madīna*, and its suburbs, did not expand, while its population, ravaged on more than one occasion by plague, varied considerably. It never reached the figure of 100,000 inhabitants.

In the early years of the 18th century, an officer of the militia who had organised the successful defence of the country when it was invaded by the Algerians, Ḥusayn b. 'Alī al-Turkī, was appointed to the supreme magistrature with the title of *bey* and succeeded in bequeathing his power to his descendants. He thus founded the dynasty to which he gave his name and, as it had been the capital of the Murādī *beys*, Tunis now became that of the Ḥusaynid *beys*.

During this century, the population of Tunis was not affected by new incoming ethnic groups. The armed forces of the country still comprised numerous Turkish soldiers and officers, natives of the various provinces of the Ottoman empire. Over the years, new recruits replaced those who were leaving on the expiration of their term of service, but a number of the latter married and settled in the country. The children born of Turkish fathers and Moorish mothers were called "coloughlis" (Tkish. *qul-oghullar*) = sons of slave soldiers), blending gradually into the urban population. A similar evolution applied to the Andalusians established in the city. Although loyal to their origin and fond of asserting their special identity, they married local women in increasing numbers, thus contributing to the mix of races. As it had in the past, the population of Tunis included, alongside the Muslim majority, Jewish and Christian minorities. Although they were both subjects of the *beylik* and subject to the status of *dhimmīs*, from 1710 onwards Italian and Tunisian Jews were divided into two distinct communities, each with its own rabbinical court, its synagogues, schools and cemetery. The Christians continued to be represented by small European mercantile communities, the French one being the most significant. As for Christian slaves, they were less numerous than they had been in the 17th century, although their number was to rise suddenly around the year 1800, with a final upsurge in piratical activity. All ethnic groups included, the population of Tunis increased by virtue of an 80-year absence of epidemics, from 1705 to 1785. However,

it was reduced by a recurrence of plague which three times, in 1785, in 1794 and in 1818, ravaged the capital and, indeed, the whole country. The excessive estimates of certain travellers should be treated with caution; around 1830, the population of Tunis certainly did not exceed 80,000 inhabitants.

Tunis continued at this time to be a vibrantly active city. Accounts of journeys are full of detailed descriptions of its industries. The *shāshiyya* industry was by far the most important, employing a large work-force, 15,000 persons according to the traveller-naturalist J.A. Peyssonnel, no doubt including the thousands of women who spun the wool and knitted the hats. Other trade guilds were devoted to the weaving of wool, of silk and of cotton, the tanning of hides and the manufacture of various types of footwear, working of wood, iron and precious metals, as well as all those involved in construction: masons, potters, sculptors and plasterers. The freedom of action of privateers was curtailed, following the signing by the *beys* of treaties of peace and trade with a number of the European Powers and the United States of America, which, to guard themselves against attacks by corsairs, were resigned to paying the Barbary States a kind of "tribute". Privateering was henceforward directed only against the principal states of the Italian peninsula, with Tunisian pirates attacking their merchant shipping and raiding their coasts. Privateering enjoyed a spectacular revival in the last years of the century, thanks to the distractions caused by the Revolutionary and Imperial wars in Europe. But following the resolutions of the Congresses of Vienna (1815) and of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818), the European Powers compelled the kingdom of Tunis to renounce piracy definitively. The capital of the Ḥusaynid *beys* remained the principal commercial hub of the country. At the end of the 18th century, the port of La Goulette was the object of substantial improvements under the direction of the Dutch engineers Homberg and Frank (P. Sebag, *La Goulette et sa forteresse...*, in *IBLA* [1967], 13–34). Some exporting was conducted by other ports, but all imports passed through La Goulette. Maritime trade was conducted with Marseilles, Leghorn and the ports of the Levant. Other commerce was performed by caravans which linked Tunis with other lands of the Maghrib, with Mecca and with Black Africa. Reliable information is available concerning the caravan-route which brought ostrich feathers, gold dust and black slaves from the

lands beyond the Sahara (L. Frank, *Tunis. Description de cette Régence*, Paris 1850, 116 ff.).

In the course of the 18th century, no changes are observable in the structure of the city, which retained virtually the same boundaries and the same area. However, successive *beys*, on acceding to power, lent their names to new buildings. As in the past, it was the central *Madīna* which benefited from the greatest number of creations. The founder of the Ḥusaynid dynasty, Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī (1117–48/1705–35) endowed it with a new congregational mosque, al-Jāmi‘ al-Jadīd, the New Mosque, in the Street of the Dyers, its construction completed in 1139/1726. Also owed to this ruler is the building of three *madrasas*, one of which adjoined the new mosque, while the other two were known by the names of al-Nakhla and al-Ḥusayniyya al-Ṣughrā, as well as the *turba* in which he was to be buried. ‘Alī I b. Muḥammad (1148–70/1735–56) constructed four new colleges: al-Bāshiyya, in the Street of the Libraries, al-Sulaymāniyya, in the Qashāshīn *sūq*, the ‘Āshūr street *madrasa* and the Bīr al-Ḥijār *madrasa*. He also erected the *turba* which would be his mausoleum and that of members of his family (*ibid.*, 231–2). Succeeding his elder brother, who reigned barely three years, ‘Alī II b. al-Ḥusayn (1172–96/1759–82) lent his name to the construction of a college, al-Ḥusayniyya al-Kubrā, of a hospice, *takiyya*, designed for the sick and destitute of both sexes, and of the monumental tomb, Turbat al-Bey, which would be his last resting-place and that of all the *beys* who would reign after him. Ḥamūda b. ‘Alī II (1196–1229/1782–1814), having taken up residence in the Dār al-Bey, undertook to enlarge and embellish it, giving it the form which it would retain for a long time. On one side of it was the Sūq al-Bey, allocated for the sale of expensive fabrics. Wishing to improve the living conditions of the Janissaries, this ruler constructed five barrack buildings for their use: Qashlat al-‘Aṭṭārīn, Qashlat al-Bashāmiqiyya, Qashlat al-Zanaydiyya, Qashlat al-Wuzār and Qashlat Sīdī ‘Amīr.

In addition to these public buildings, which have been mentioned by Tunisian chroniclers and have attracted the attention of historians of Muslim architecture, there are numerous private ones which have likewise been the object of study (Revault, *Palais et demeures de Tunis (XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*). Their siting gives the impression that the spatial distribution of the various ethnic groups remained unchanged from

one century to another. While Turks and Coloughlis, Andalusians and Moors inhabited the upper city, the minorities were quartered in the lower city. The Jews, whether Tunisian or Italian, occupied the *ḥāra*, which may have been extended. As for the Christians, they thronged the approaches to the Bāb al-Baḥr. Freeman were accommodated in the *funduqs* and neighbouring houses. Slaves who did not lodge in the homes of their masters were confined overnight in the bagnios, less numerous than in the 17th century, most of them situated in the lower city. It was there that, in 1723, Spanish Trinitarians opened a hospital for the relief of the hardships of the captives.

The suburbs flanking the *Madīna* to the north and south continued to be occupied by the less privileged classes, and were also the destination of all those who arrived over the years from the hinterland. In the suburb of Bāb al-Jazīra, the only construction worthy of mention is the *zāwiya-madrasa* built in memory of the Kabyle mystic Sīdī Bashīr and owed to the *bey*, al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (1240–51/1824–35). On the other hand, the suburb of Bāb al-Suwayqa was endowed with some significant structures. Yūsuf Ṣāhib al-Ṭābiʿ, the all-powerful minister of the *bey* Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī, built there a fine congregational mosque with octagonal minaret and two adjoining *madrasas*, as well as a *turba* to accommodate his mortal remains. Successive *beys*, on coming to power, improved the supply of water to the two suburbs by building fountains, drinking-throughs and *fisqiyyas* to collect and conserve rainwater (*fisqiyya* of Bāb al-Falla and *fisqiyya* of Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd Salām, attributed to ʿAlī I b. Muḥammad Pasha). In the northern as in the southern suburb, wealthy dignitaries had attractive homes built for them, a development testifying to veritable urbanisation.

To the east, on land traversed by open sewers (*khandaq*) whereby the city's effluent was discharged, a new quarter took shape around the tanneries which, situated for many years within the *Madīna*, were moved outside the walls in the course of the 18th century. This new quarter was known by the name of that of the Dabbāghīn ("tanners"). But this was of little significance; Tunis remained essentially confined to the triptych formed by the *Madīna* and its two major suburbs.

At the turn of the century, the *bey* Ḥamūda b. ʿAlī II decided to improve the city's defences by means of renovation of its ramparts. The works completed

under the supervision of the Dutch engineer O. Homberg gave to the second perimeter wall the outline which it was to retain virtually until the last years of the protectorate, with, to the south, the gates known as Bāb ʿAlīwa, Bāb al-Falla, Bāb al-Qurjānī, Bāb Sīdī Qasim and Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd Allāh; and to the north, the gates known as Bāb al-Khaḍrāʾ, Bāb Sīdī ʿAbd Salām, Bāb Abī Saʿdūn and Bāb al-ʿUlūj. The walls of this second perimeter were flanked at long intervals by bastions, the construction of which is dated by inscriptions to the first years of the 19th century. The second perimeter wall which enveloped the city to the south, the west and the north, was interrupted to the east, leaving the suburbs partially exposed. No doubt it was reckoned that, on this side, the lake of Tunis constituted adequate defence. It should also be noted that the approaches to the city were defended by a number of forts either constructed or renovated by ʿAlī I Pasha. These were, to the south the *burj* of Sīdī b. Ḥasan; to the west the *burj* of the Rābiṭa and the Flifel *burj*; and to the north the Ṭaḥūnat al-Rīḥ ("Windmill") *burj*.

To the north of the city, the Bardo had grown in importance. The *beys* of the Ḥusaynid dynasty had added further constructions and had turned it into a small town with its palaces and gardens, within a perimeter wall flanked by round towers at the four corners.

## VI. THE APPEARANCE OF EUROPEAN INFLUENCES

After 1830, Tunisia was opened on a broader basis to European influences. On coming to power, successive *beys* undertook to modernise and to reform the country. The Great Powers assisted this process through the participation of their technicians and industrialists. In this new context, Tunis experienced numerous changes.

The major factor here was the development over several decades of the foreign colonies. The Christian population, which since the suppression of piracy had consisted only of free individuals, was swollen by an influx of new arrivals fleeing the poverty of their native lands – Malta, Sicily, Sardinia and southern Italy – in the hope of finding employment and livelihood in the land of the *beys*. Furthermore, by virtue of a codicil dated 2 November 1846 to the Tuniso-Tuscan treaty of 11 October 1822, Jews of

Leghorn who had settled in Tunisia in the course of the 19th century, whatever the duration of their residence, retained their original nationality and constituted part of the Italian colony (C. Masi, *La fixation du statut des sujets toscans israélites... in Rev. Tunisienne*, [1938], 155–79, 325–42). Thus the European population of Tunis may have approached or even exceeded a total of 15,000 on the eve of the French protectorate.

The development of foreign colonies gave a new impetus to urban activities. French, Italian or other business concerns controlled maritime exchanges: the exporting of grain, oil, wool, skins, wax, and the importing of textiles, metals, wood and colonial products such as sugar, coffee, rice and spices. Despite competition from imported manufactured goods, the trade guilds of the capital continued to supply traditional commodities to the Tunisian population: hats, fabrics, clothing, footwear, jewellery, etc. But the European influence was responsible for some innovations, such as the creation in 1277/1860 of the first Tunisian printing-press, leading to the publication of an Arabic-language official Tunisian newspaper (A. Demeerseman, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en Tunisie*, in *IBLA* [1956], 275–312). European expatriates also created the first modern industries, with machinery powered by steam.

The city, of which the first detailed map was drawn up in 1859 by the French engineer J. Colin, still retained the overall structure which it had since the late Middle Ages. There were few new buildings in the *Madīna*, besides a few *zāwīyas* of Sufi mystics. Old buildings were assigned to new purposes. The palace which for years had been the seat of the *Dīwān* of the militia, restored by the *bey* Muḥammad II b. al-Ḥusayn (1855–9), was converted into the Tribunal of the Sharʿ (1856). The Ṣādiqī College, founded by the minister Khayr Dīn in 1875, was installed in the former Qashlat al-Zanaydiyya. The old *māristān* was transferred to the former Qashlat al-Bashāmiyya and renamed the Ṣādiqī Hospital as a mark of respect to the reigning sovereign, Muḥammad III al-Ṣādiq. New buildings were more numerous in the suburbs, these being for the most part new *madrasas* and *zāwīyas*. In the suburb of Bāb al-Jazīra, the most important new construction was that of a barracks designed for the beylical infantry, on the site of a former Ḥaṣīd *muṣallā*, close to the Square of the Horses, which was completed under

the reign of the *bey* Muṣṭafā b. Maḥmūd (1835–7). His successor, Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā (1837–55), had a barracks block built outside the walls, to the north of the city, designed for the beylical artillery.

The most significant changes took place to the east in the lower city. The continuing development of the foreign colonies took the form of a substantial extension to what was still called the “Frank Quarter”. The Europeans had begun by leasing houses owned by Tunisians, then, having acquired the right to obtain real estate, they set about building houses conforming to their needs and their tastes, with windows opening on the street. At the ground floor level of these houses, shops proliferated, catering for all the multifarious needs of the population. Around the small square to which access was by the Gate of the Sea, consulates of the Powers represented in Tunis were concentrated. The *bey* al-Ḥusayn b. Maḥmūd (1824–35) authorised the construction of a church, on the site of the former Trinitarian Hospital, bearing the name of Sainte-Croix. After the first European school founded in 1845 by the Abbé François Bourgade, others were opened by the Frères de la Doctrine Chrétienne, for boys (1855), and by the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph de l'Apparition, for girls (1845). In 1843, with the collaboration of the Sœurs de Saint-Joseph, the Abbé François Bourgade founded a hospital bearing the name of Saint-Louis for the benefit of the European population (M. Gandolphe, in Ch.R. Dessort, *Histoire de la ville de Tunis*, Algiers 1926, 157–79). Under the pressure of numbers, the Frank Quarter ultimately exceeded the limits of the *Madīna*, extending towards the east, beyond the Gate of the Sea. The construction in 1861 of a new French consulate to replace the former, situated in the Fondouk des Français, increased the market value of land situated between the city and the shores of the lake, where building activity now accelerated. Shortly afterwards, the ramparts which had enclosed the *Madīna* were demolished. Henceforward, nothing would separate the old Frank quarter from the new buildings constituting the nucleus of the modern city of the future.

Under European influence, and that of the French consul Léon Roches, Tunis became a chartered municipality, but the city, even in its European sector, continued to suffer numerous deficiencies, such as open sewers and badly-paved streets congested with filth. However, the restoration of the Roman



aqueduct from Zaghouan to Carthage, undertaken under the supervision of the French engineer J. Colin and completed in 1862, considerably improved the supply of water to the population. The installation by a British company of a gasworks provided the city with its first public lighting.

To the north-west of the city, the Bardo continued to enjoy the favour of the *beys*, who continually added to the constructions both inside and outside the complex. It was there that, during the reign of Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā, a Polytechnic School was founded for training officers of the Tunisian army, and a mint for the striking of currency. On the coast, to the north, between La Goulette and La Marsa, and to the south between Radēs and Hammam-Lif, *beys*, princes, senior officials and dignitaries constructed palaces and homes to serve as their summer residences (Revault, *Palais et résidences d'été de la région de Tunis (XVI<sup>e</sup>–XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1977). This was the nucleus of what would one day become a suburb of Tunis. In the seventies, a British company undertook the construction of a railway connecting the capital with La Goulette, with La Marsa and with the Bardo, ceding the franchise to an Italian company in 1880, but it was a French company which obtained the franchise for lines linking Tunis with the Algerian frontier and with the cities of the Sahel. Thus on the eve of the French Protectorate, Tunis had two railway stations: an Italian station to the north, and a French station to the south.

## VII. THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE

The institution of the French protectorate in 1881 marked a turning-point in the history of Tunis. A rapid increase of the European population is then observable. From year to year, successive waves of migrants swelled the membership of the various colonies, and in the city alone, in 1911, there were 17,875 French, 44,237 Italians, 5,986 Maltese and 1,381 Greeks, Spaniards and others, amounting to some 70,000 Europeans. At the same date, the indigenous population, which was yet to be counted, could not have exceeded 85,000: 65,000 Muslims and 20,000 Jews, and the city comprised some 150,000 inhabitants on the eve of the First World War.

The growth of the European population corresponded to the development of all the functions assumed by the capital city. The installation of a

modern administration led to an increase in officials and state employees. The effort towards progress was represented by the creation of railways and roads which improved the links between Tunis and the hinterland. A modern port was constructed below the city, connected to La Goulette and the open sea by a canal 10 km/6 miles in length passing through the waters of the lagoon. The port, completed in 1897, became a centre for the exportation of phosphates and of iron and lead ores, as well as the agricultural products of northern Tunisia, while also handling almost all the importation of combustibles, machines and manufactured products. The installation of credit establishments, banks and subsidiaries, aided the development of import-export commerce. Alongside the traditional professional guilds, severely tested by competition from imported manufactured goods, modern industries grew in number, using machinery powered by steam, among which the most prominent were consumer goods (flour-mills, pasta factories, distilleries) and construction materials (brickworks, tileworks, lime production).

The city continued to develop, actually becoming a double city. Alongside the ancient city, which retained the features of an Arab town, a new city came into being having the characteristics of a European city, with its methodical planning, chequered pattern and the straight lines of its arteries. Houses accommodating Europeans grew in number, but there was also an increasing number of Tunisian Jews who abandoned the *hāra*, overcrowded and insanitary as it was. From year to year, the number of streets viable for traffic increased. The new city expanded towards the east, where the establishment of the port of Tunis opened up the land in the vicinity of the lake. The city was also extended towards the south and towards the north. Standing out from the whole was the city centre, traversed from west to east by Marine Avenue, where the former French consulate had become the Residence-General of France, with its cathedral, offices, banks, commercial premises, theatre, hotels and cafés. On either side were mixed zones where residential buildings alternated with industrial enterprises, whereas further out, at the borders of the town, were the attractive residences of the ruling class and the villas of the affluent. The extension of the city was accompanied by the construction of a network of subterranean sewers to replace the ancient open drains, the development of a water supply, of

gas and of electricity after the construction in 1908 of a power station at La Goulette. One of the most positive achievements was the laying out of the Belvedere Park, covering an area of close on 100 hectares. In the enlarged city, transport was provided by a network of tramways, using animal traction at first before conversion to electric power. Rail links with the northern and southern suburb accelerated the growth of a number of centres revolving in the orbit of Tunis. Finally, the city benefited from a socio-cultural infrastructure comprising schools, colleges, dispensaries, hospitals, and research institutes, facilities designed for the use of Europeans but by no means barred to Tunisians.

During the inter-war period, Tunis experienced new developments. The population of the town increased, as did that of the suburban area. The growth of the Muslim population, Tunisian and non-Tunisian, was still at a meagre rate (1921: 88,800; 1936: 110,000); that of the Tunisian Jewish population was stronger (1921: 22,600; 1936: 32,300) as was that of the European population (1921: 81,400; 1936: 115,600), within which the French had become as numerous as the Italians. During these years, the population of the city increased from 171,600 to 219,500 and that of the suburban area from 21,300 to 38,500. Commercial activities, as evidenced by importing and exporting via the port of Tunis, had been in a state of full expansion in the aftermath of the First World War, but contracted as a result of the worldwide recession, recovering only at the end of the 1930s. Traditional industries experienced increasing stagnation (R. Plissard, *L'artisanat en Tunisie*, Geneva 1936), but within the limits imposed by a system of customs union with France, modern industries made some progress (notable creations include those of a cement works, a lead foundry and a superphosphates factory). The old city constituted by the *Madīna* and the two major suburbs flanking it showed few changes. The first Tunis management plan adopted in the 1930s was at pains to preserve the special characteristics of the Arab town by subjecting new buildings to standards, both in architecture and in decoration. But the modern city developed more. The city centre was bedecked by new constructions: public, such as the Municipal Casino or the Consular Palace, or private ones, such business offices, hotels and prestigious buildings. The urban impetus was directed towards the east, the south and the north.

State aid to companies building inexpensive homes was reflected in the creation of a group of satellite cities: to the north, Franceville, El-Omrane, Mutuelville and Beau-Site; to the west, Taoufik and Najah; and to the south, Bellevue and La Cagna. At the same time, building increased in the suburban zone where some centres comprised more than 5,000 inhabitants in 1936: La Goulette, 10,800; La Marsa, 5,600; Hammam-Lif, 6,700; and Ariana, 5,500. New projects helped the improvement of the supply of water with a dam on the Oued Kebir (1924), of urban gas with a new plant at Franceville (1925) and of electricity with a new power-station at La Goulette (1927). A combined concern for sanitation and ornamentation led to the creation on the edge of the lake of a fine esplanade covering twenty hectares, with avenues flanked by trees, lawns and playgrounds. Education was boosted with the construction of schools and of colleges.

During the Second World War, Tunis, occupied by the Axis armies and exposed to Allied aerial bombardment, suffered serious damage. Destruction was inflicted not only on harbour installations, on commercial and civilian railways and factories, but also on numerous residential buildings, whose unfortunate occupants required re-housing. Once hostilities were ended, efforts were directed towards repairing the ruins left behind by the war and responding to the needs of a population which had in the meantime expanded.

In the conurbation of Tunis, from one census to another, an increase in population is noted, of Europeans (1936, 115,600; 1946, 145,000; 1956, 160,500); of Tunisian Jews (1936, 32,300; 1946, 42,400; 1956, 38,900); of non-Tunisian Muslims (1936, 12,800; 1946, 23,200; 1956, 23,200). The growth in the Tunisian Muslim population was on a larger scale, doubling and then trebling over twenty years (1936, 97,300; 1946, 238,100; 1956, 338,400). This accelerated growth is explained by the rupture of demographic equilibrium observed at this time in the country. A reduction in rates of mortality, while the birthrate remained very high, led to over-population of the countryside, and thousands of indigent families arrived to swell the population of the capital, where they hoped to find work and subsistence. Tunis thus found available to it a work-force surplus to the requirements of reconstructing and modernising the infrastructure. Despite the projects of industrialisa-

tion undertaken in the post-war years, many of those who had flocked to the city were unable to gain regular employment and were compelled to engage in marginal activities which barely enabled them to survive. Including all the constitutive elements, the population of the city doubled (1936, 219,500; 1946, 364,500; 1956, 410,000) and that of the suburban area more than trebled (1936, 38,500; 1946, 85,200; 1956, 151,100). The population of the conurbation had risen to a little over half a million by 1956.

The growth of the urban population led to a new extension of the built-up area; the modern city experienced new developments. There was an increase in density of construction in certain zones where there was still vacant land, and urban pressure was directed towards the north with the founding, beyond the Belvedere, of the new quarter of al-Manza. But the major development was the appearance around the old city of a belt of "shanty-towns" (Jabal Laḥmar, Mallāṣīn, etc.); these "towns" were composed of improvised constructions, erected without prior authorisation, on land illegally occupied, without any communal facilities, and they were the handiwork of the thousands of rural families who had converged on the capital. Their population, which already stood at more than 50,000 in 1946, had risen to more than 100,000 in 1956. These new suburbs ultimately constituted a third city on the cusp of the old and the modern city. This tripartite division is also found in numerous suburban "parishes" which, sandwiched between old Arab villages and the European quarters, were constituted by shanty-towns of greater or smaller extent. To respond to the needs of an enlarged population, production of gas and of electricity was raised, and the supply of water was improved by the construction of a new dam on the Oued el-Lil. But there was stark contrast between the wealth of a few and the poverty of large strata of the population of Tunis.

#### VIII. INDEPENDENCE

Following Tunisia's achievement of independence, in 1956, Tunis has experienced major changes. Decolonisation led to the evacuation of the various European colonies which had accounted for a high proportion of the city's population; French, Italians and other Europeans were induced to leave the country to settle in France or in Italy. In the urban area of Tunis, within a few years they had lost nine-

tenths of their strength (1956, 162,700; 1966, 21,600; 1970, 18,800). Tunisian Jews, although the new State proclaimed the equality of all nationals irrespective of religion, were subject to discrimination, in fact if not in law, and they too felt obliged to leave the country to settle in France or in Israel (1956, 38,900; 1966, 13,200; 1970, 6,700). Despite the exodus of the various national or religious minorities, the population of the conurbation increased solely on account of the growth of the Tunisian Muslim population, brought about by a surplus of births in relation to deaths and an influx of elements from the hinterland (1956, 561,100; 1966, 679,600; 1975, 873,500).

The Arabisation of the population was accompanied by that of all the sectors of urban activity, in which Tunisian nationals took the place of those who had left. Within a few years, the capital city was asserting its diverse functions. The new State promoted management, services, bureaucracy, employing greater numbers of officials and agents. Sheltered by customs arrangements which guaranteed them a monopoly over the internal market, manufacturing industries prospered: among others, the textile industry, the plastics industry and mechanical and electrical industries. The development of modern higher education, with faculties of literature, sciences, law, medicine and theology and numerous specialised schools, gave Tunis a cultural function of the first rank.

The city itself has changed. The new administrators were not slow in eliminating statues which were seen as symbols of the colonial order. They also set about "Tunisifying" the urban toponymy, substituting, for the names of Residents-General, of French military achievements, of French provinces and cities, those of Tunisian thinkers, leaders of the nationalist movement or heroes of the Third World. These superficial changes were accompanied by more profound ones. The exodus of the minorities was followed by a redistribution of the Muslim population within the urban area. All the families having the means had abandoned the "Arab" city to settle in the "European" city, renting apartments in the centre or buying villas and detached houses in the periphery. The new municipal administration was at pains to remodel the colonial city in the interests of sanitation, air quality and improving the circulation between all its constitutive elements. The walls of the second perimeter which still enclosed the old city

were dismantled, the ancient *Qasba*, occupied under the Protectorate by the French army, was destroyed, insalubrious quarters were demolished; the cemeteries, long disused, were landscaped and converted into public gardens or recreation grounds. At one time there were plans to run a thoroughfare through the *Madīna*, from west to east, but fortunately this project, which would have done irreparable damage to the historical nucleus of the city, was not pursued. In spite of the exodus of the minorities whose accommodation could now be occupied by nationals, it was necessary to build thousands of new residential units to respond to the demands of a population which was growing incessantly. Although the central authorities undertook the creation of “people’s cities” to re-house the population of the shanty-towns, it was private enterprise, supported by credit arrangements, which succeeded in constructing tens of thousands of individual houses or apartments in communal buildings. Within a few years, the built-up area increased by several hundreds of hectares, with extension of the city towards the south, the west and the north. Development of the al-Manza quarter, inaugurated in the last years of the Protectorate, had been such that it had been necessary to give numerical order to its successive extensions, straddling the neighbourhoods of Tunis and of Ariana. The twelve suburban neighbourhoods, the population of which had doubled (1956, 151,100; 1975, 323,100), saw their built-up area increasing at a higher rate than that of the city. At the same time that it was being extended, the city was covered with a new generation of constructions, some public (administrative buildings, hospitals and educational establishments), others private (banks, company offices and tourist hotels), all of them drawing inspiration from the models and canons of international modern architecture. It is only in the affluent villas of the new bourgeoisie that traditional Islamic architecture is to be found, with its cupolas, horse-shoe arches and frameworks of sculpted stone.

The whole constituted by the city and its suburbs, Greater Tunis, surpassed the figure of one million inhabitants by 1984; the 2004 census numbered the population of the city alone at 728,000, and by 2007 it is estimated that it has neared a million. The recent development of the capital of the Tunisian Republic reflects the transformation of the former European city. Constructions of the colonial period have been

replaced by taller buildings, including skyscrapers. The city centre has been continually absorbing neighbouring zones and is now extending over land reclaimed from the lake, the shores of which are being pushed forward.

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# W

**WASIT**, in Arabic *Wāsiṭ*, an early Islamic garrison encampment or town, and then a city, of central Iraq, situated on what was at the time the right bank of the lower stretches of the Tigris. Its existence is attested from the closing years of the 7th century A.D. until the later 17th century. During the earlier centuries of its existence, Wasit played an outstanding role in the history of the early Arab caliphate.

From its foundation by the Umayyad governor of Iraq, al-Ḥajjāj (75–95/694–713), the city was the administrative and political capital of that province under the first Marwānids (65–95 or 65–105/684–713 or 684–723). The Arabs continued their policy of urban experience there which they had begun by founding the two large fortified camps, *amṣār*, of the Sawād, Basra and Kufa, which predated it and were its political rivals. On the other hand, its appearance symbolised the desire of the Umayyad power to display its munificence, and thus it served as a prelude in its architectural form to the founding of Baghdad by al-Manṣūr in 145–6/762–3 (J. Lassner, *The shaping of the Abbasid rule*, Princeton 1980, 180–1).

## 1. HISTORY

### 1. *Situation and site*

Locating the town on the mediaeval course of the Tigris in the ancient Sasanid province of Sūristān, which was situated in the centre of Lower Mesopotamia or the Sawād, poses one of the most difficult problems of the historical geography of mediaeval Babylonia. Indeed, from the middle or the end of

the 9th/15th century the branch of the Tigris which crosses Wasit began gradually to change its course, veering towards its present easterly direction during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries passing through al-Kūt, and then through the town of al-Qurna, where it rejoins the waters of the Euphrates to form the estuary of the Shaṭṭ al-ʿArab (see Fig. 83). The location of Wasit has now been definitively established following an exact geographical position fixed at lat. 32° 11' N. and long. 46° 18' E., partly thanks to the descriptions of the site by European travellers of the 19th-early 20th centuries, and partly to the various archaeological excavations which were carried out from 1936–42 (F. Safar, *Wāsiṭ, the sixth season's excavations*, Cairo 1945, 8–11). The ruins of historic Wasit are situated today 25 km/15 miles north-east of the town of al-Ḥayy, and about 70 km/45 miles south-east of the town of al-Kūt, where the Tigris branches off to its present-day easterly course. These ruins are known as al-Manāra, referring to a building from the 7th/13th century, of which all that remains is a monumental entrance gate flanked by two minarets on the north-east side of the site. They extend for an area of three km<sup>2</sup> to the east and to the west of the dry bed of the Dujayla, the principal branch of the mediaeval Tigris, 200 m wide today. Between 1936 and 1942 the Iraq Department of Antiquities conducted six archaeological excavations, the last of which was directed by F. Safar in 1942 and led to the discovery on the west of the site of the mosque of al-Ḥajjāj. It was built on to the south wall of the palace or Dār al-Imāra, constructed in 83/702, and brought confirmation of the existence

of three other mosques superimposed on the first; one was probably constructed between 400/1009 and 550/1155 (Mosque II); another around 550/1155 (Mosque III), and a third in the Il-Khanid period, 656–736/1258–1335 (Mosque IV). The reconstruction and restoration work of the archaeological remains of Wasit took place from 1937 to 1965, with a view in particular to exploiting tourist interest in this historical site.

Where the city is situated also has semantic significance. The name *Wāsiṭ*, which is found in mediaeval sources with about twenty other variants (including *Wāsiṭ al-Ḥajjāj*, *Wasit al-ʿUzmā* (Great *Wāsiṭ*) and *Wāsiṭ al-ʿIrāq*) would have been used to denote the approximate relative position of the town “in the middle” or “centrally” between Kūfa, Basra, al-Madāʾin (Ctesiphon) and al-Ahwāz, the capital of Khūzistān.

Wasit was established after the division of the two towns by the Tigris (see below, 2.). The site of the town founded by al-Ḥajjāj on the west bank was a plain (*sahl*) to the north of the Baṭṭha, the marshes where the soil was said to be saline (*ard sābikha*) and the land was easily subject to flooding, composed of alternating steppes and reed-beds (*qaṣab*, from which was derived another name, *Wāsiṭ al-Qaṣab*). To the west, *al-gharb*, the site opened out broadly on to an arid zone, half steppe and half desert, known in 6th-century A.D. sources as the desert of Kaskar, qualified by *barriyya* or *faḍāʾ*. This situation perhaps justified the description of the climate of Wasit as healthy, *ṣaḥīḥ*, as the town was at some distance from the Baṭṭha, which was humid and hot and infested with mosquitoes. The climate of Wasit was also described as being like that of Basra, capricious and changeable, *munqalib*, as the site lay in the path of the burning winds, *samūm*, coming from the Persian Gulf to the south, and those from the north which tempered the effect.

## 2. Foundation

The date of the foundation of Wasit is a matter of some debate among scholars because of the disparate traditions. The oldest of these, cited by Baḥshal (d. between 288–92/901–4) in his *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ* goes back to Sulaymān b. Ḥakam b. ʿAwāna al-Kalbī (2nd/8th century) and is revived by Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Dhabībī and Ibn Taghribirdī. This places the foundation of

Wasit between 75/694 and 78/697, but does not tally with the course of events during the governorship of al-Ḥajjāj in Iraq. The chronological details available on Wasit place the beginning of the building of the principal monuments of the town (the palace-mosque complex, the town's battlements) in 83/702 or 84/703, after the revolt by Ibn al-Ashʿath (82–3/701–2) had been quelled, and the completion of the *tamṣīr* in 86/705. On the other hand, Wasit had been established right from its foundation as a double city. The new town, al-Madīna al-Gharbiyya, created by al-Ḥajjāj on the west bank of the Tigris, was juxtaposed to a pre-existing town on the east bank, al-Madīna Sharqiyya, called Kaskar or Kashkar. The two towns, connected as they were from the outset by a bridge of boats (*jisr*), finished by forming two parts of the same city, where the new Wasit progressively absorbed the ancient Kaskar and gave it its name.

## 3. Wasit through the centuries

Up to the death of al-Ḥajjāj in 95/713, Wasit remained the seat of Umayyad government in Iraq, but from 97/715 onwards the town ceased to be the residence of the governor of this province, who was obliged to transfer to Khurasan, incorporated by the caliph Sulaymān (96–9/715–17) into Iraq. ʿUmar II (99–101/717–20) divided this vast territory into three governorates, Kufa, Basra and Khurasan, all with separate governors; and at the same time he demilitarised Wasit, which was emptied of its Syrian occupation forces. This was returned to Wasit during the short reign of Yazīd II under the governorships of Maslama b. ʿAbd al-Malik, and then of ʿUmar b. Hubayra. From the rule of the latter to that of Yazīd b. ʿUmar b. Hubayra (129–32/746–50), Wasit was no longer the exclusive seat of government or residence of the Umayyad governors of Iraq, who moved between Wasit, Kufa and al-Ḥira, in particular under Yūsuf b. ʿUmar, and from the creation of autonomous power for the Mashriq (Khurasan) by the caliph Hishām (105–25/724–43). The town survived the revolt stirred up by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of Iraq after al-Ḥajjāj, in 102/721, and played a political role in the Shiʿite revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/739), who found partisans there. The troubles that marked the end of the Umayyad period in Iraq, on account of the struggles between the

governors to assert their power as well as the unrest among the Khārijite Shurāt, took place principally at Wasit. The town was exhausted and numbed and the last Umayyad governor of Iraq, Yazīd b. 'Umar b. Hubayra, reconquered it in 129/746 at the expense of 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar II, the *ʿāmil* of the Khārijites. Soon afterwards, in 132/750, it had to suffer the trials of a siege by the 'Abbāsids. The governorship of Khālīd al-Qasrī (105–20/723–37) marked an upsurge in the economy and an expansion in the agriculture of the Sawād to what it had been in the time of al-Ḥajjāj. This change came about in Wasit by a modification in urban fabric. The territory of Wasit, corresponding to the *kūra* (district) of Kaskar in the administrative division of Lower Iraq, kept its autonomy from earliest times throughout the Umayyad period in regard to the Sawād of Kufa and of Basra (Kuwār Dijla and Kūrat Maysān), from the time of its foundation by al-Ḥajjāj. From then to the end of Umayyad power, Wasit also remained one of the most important centres for issuing the coinage of the empire, as witnessed by the collections preserved by numerous museums across the world (see II. below).

At the time of the conquest of Iraq by the 'Abbāsids in 132/750, Wasit was besieged by them. It symbolised the last pocket of resistance of Iraq to the new power. In a final convulsion, it supported the Ḥasanid revolt of 145/762. The establishment of the 'Abbasid régime and the founding of Baghdad reduced Basra, Kufa and Wasit to an inferior rank. Wasit, which was demilitarised, became nothing more than a local administrative centre.

The new dynasty inherited Umayyad landed property in Wasit and the surrounding region, and, particularly under al-Manṣūr (136–58/754–75) and al-Mahdī (158–69/775–85), attracted much agricultural development, as happened also around Basra, Baghdad and Anbār. The *kharāj* or land tax of the *kūra* of Kaskar, already specified in the first fiscal inventory available to us referring to the year 172/788, reveals the prosperity of the region of Wasit during the reign of al-Rashīd (170–93/786–808), which was characterised by a favourable combination of circumstances, due in part to demographic growth from the middle of the 2nd/8th century onwards.

The progressive disintegration of the 'Abbasid state in the course of the second half of the 3rd/9th and in the 4th/10th centuries was marked by the weak-

ening of agricultural production in Iraq, the central province of the empire, and also by a diminution of the fiscal returns and an increase in the power of military elements after the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198–218/813–33). Consequently, because of its resources and tax income, Wasit and its surrounding region acquired particular importance for the power of Baghdad, which explains the appearance under al-Mu'taṣim (218–27/833–42) in the district of Kaskar of the *iqṭā'* or land grant, which assigned to the army generals the levying of fiscal rights of the state on the land. However, the region of Wasit suffered pillaging by the Zutt from the Sind who revolted in 219/834 against the 'Abbāsids. After the revolt of the Zanj slaves in the vast domains of southern Iraq (255–70/869–83) these acts of destruction recommenced. Wasit had already been decimated by an epidemic in 258/871, when in 264/877 it suffered the destruction carried out by the Zanj, especially on its eastern side. This situation did not prevent the growth of tax-farming, *ḍamān*, and the extension of the *iqṭā'* in the region of Wasit/Kaskar during the reigns of al-Mu'taḍid (279–89/892–902) and of al-Muqtadir (295–320/908–32). From that time onwards, the rich region of Wasit played a decisive role in supplying food to Baghdad, despite serious flooding in the town in 292/904, which caused severe destruction of its monuments. In 310/922 there followed even more serious floods. It was therefore because of this dependence by the rulers of Baghdad on resources coming from Wasit, among other regions, that al-Rāḍī (322–9/934–40) in 324/936 promoted the governor of Wasit, Ibn Rā'iq, to the office of *amīr al-umārā'*, and he became in practice the holder of sovereignty.

In the course of the decade 324–34/936–46, which ended with the arrival of the Buyids (334–447/945–1055), Wasit was coveted, because of its farming and resources, by the Bāridīs, governors of al-Ahwāz (Khūzistān), the various *amīr al-umārā'*, and the Buyids, who sought power in Baghdad.

From 338/949 until 361/971 the town served for the *amīrs* Mu'izz al-Dawla and his successor Bakhtiyār as a base for military operations against 'Imrān b. Shāhīn, the lord of the Baṭīḥa, who rebelled in the south of Iraq, threatening the authority of the Buyids. While economic decline and depopulation were on the increase in Iraq, Wasit continued to be a source of food supplies for Baghdad.

When al-Maḥdī visited Wasit in 375/985 it was

again demonstrating some resilience, as compared to Basra, Kufa, Sāmarrā', Anbār, Baghdad and even to the villages in its own territory, which were in a state of dilapidation. The political unrest at the end of the Buyid period aroused the ambitions of the Mazyadids of Ḥilla regarding Wasit. They had gained power in the region, as had al-Basāsīrī, who was acting on behalf of the Fatimids of Egypt. When their propaganda had won over many of the *amīrs* from Iraq and the Jazīra, the governor of Wasit, Ibn Fasānjīs, in 448/1056 declared the *khutba* there in the name of the Fatimid al-Mustanṣir. At the same time he had the principal mosque painted white, the symbolic colour of the Shi'ites of Egypt. The Saljuqs had attacked Iraq in December 447/1055. They established their authority over Wasit, crushing Ibn Fasānjīs in 449/1057 after an exhausting siege. In 451/1059, the year of the great drought and deadly famine, the adventures of al-Basāsīrī, who had briefly recaptured the town, came to an end.

The period of instability and of the weakening of the authority of the Saljuqs following the death of Malik Shāh (465–85/1063–92) was characterised by economic and social depression, a decline in the towns of Iraq and its depopulation. The tax-farming of Wasit and the *iqṭā'* of the whole region became the subject of fratricidal quarrels among the princes of the Saljuq family on the one hand, and aroused the jealousy of the Mazyadid princes of Ḥilla on the other. The town continued until 501/1107 to be a permanent *iqṭā'* of these last, granted by the sultan Muḥammad (498–511/1105–18).

During the period of the renaissance of the caliphate, which was inaugurated by al-Mustarshid (512–29/1118–35) in order to throw off the tutelage of the Saljuqs, Wasit underwent numerous sieges in the struggles between the caliphs and the Saljuqs, whose control over Iraq at that time hardly extended beyond the central and southern regions because of the power of the Mazyadids of Ḥilla.

The attempts by the caliphs al-Rāshid and al-Muqtafi to extend their power over Wasit by defying the weakened authority of the sultans brought on the town much pillaging and destruction (535/1140, 549/1154, 551/1156 and 553/1158). From that time onwards, Lower Iraq became the caliphs' domain and their firm territorial base. Wasit seems to have enjoyed relative peace and to have preserved the traces of its former prosperity when Yāqūt visited it (622/1225).

The period after the Saljuqs, which extended from the reign of al-Nāṣir (575–622/1180–1225) to that of the last caliph al-Must'āṣim (640–56/1242–58), was a time of new and rapid expansion in Wasit. Nearly a century of peace had restored life to the town, and al-Musta'ṣim made an excursion there (*nuzha*) in 646/1248, a decade before the Mongol invasion.

The Il-Khanid Hülegü appeared outside Wasit on 17 Ṣafar, after his entry into Baghdad on 4 Ṣafar 656/10 February 1058. The town put up some resistance, as seen in the loss of about 40,000 inhabitants (probably an overestimate) and by the destruction suffered. This was the beginning of the power of the Il-Khanids, who annexed Wasit to Baghdad, which was governed by 'Aṭā' Malik Juwaynī (657–81/1258–82). He was represented locally by the *ṣadr* Majd al-Dīn Ṣalāḥ. Under the Il-Khanids, the town had relative prosperity and was partly reconstructed. Its urban framework underwent modifications, including the total ruin or disappearance of the eastern side as a result of the Mongol raids.

Under the succeeding Jalāyirids (740–813/1339–1410), Wasit continued to figure among the centres where coins were minted. Its strategic importance was evident in the campaigns of Tīmūr, who placed a powerful garrison there in 787/1385 and 808/1405. Wasit began its slow agony under the Türkmen Qara Qoyunlu, especially because of the blows struck by the Shi'ite movement of the Musha'sha'. The founder of this movement, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Falāḥ, attacked the town after 842/1438, and again in 844/1440 and 846/1442.

The attack led by his son and successor 'Alī in 857/1453 or 858/1454 completed the ruin of the town, when it was abandoned by its inhabitants. The death of 'Alī al-Musha'sha' in 861/1456 allowed the fugitives from Wasit to go back to their decimated town. Some of them probably settled in the hamlet (the second Wasit) which they founded not far from the historic city. This latter city did not disappear, for its existence on the banks of the Tigris, which still ran through it, is attested in 941/1534, the year it was taken by the Ottomans, and even as late as 961/1553. Wasit was described in the middle of the 11th/17th century by Ḥājji Khalīfa as being situated on a dry river bed (the Dujayla) in the middle of the desert. The Tigris had just abandoned its mediaeval course for the present one, which is situated further east. The town of al-Ḥajjāj had disappeared, and



after this, all trace of it becomes lost in historical literature. Only in the 1830s was the site first shown by the local people to Western travellers, such as the English army officers Ormsby and Elliott (1831), and then to the French traveller, the Comte Ayman de Liederkerke-Beaufort. The historian Maximilian Streck was thus, in his *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen* (1901), able to make a well-informed judgement on the location of mediaeval Wasit, confirmed by subsequent archaeological investigation (see above, 1.).

## II. NUMISMATICS

Today virtually nothing remains of the city of Wasit, but its name lives on in the abundant Umayyad reform-style dirhams bearing its name. These outnumber by far all the other dirhams struck in more than eighty other mints operated by the Umayyads. Many of them are found in museums that contain Islamic coins, and new collectors of the series find them the easiest and least expensive way to learn about the early coinage of Islam.

Their abundance is due to the work of two men: the caliph 'Abd al-Malik who, ruling in Damascus, introduced the purely epigraphic Islamic dīnār in the year 77/696–7, and the governor of Iraq, Khurasan and Sijistān, al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf who introduced a similarly epigraphic dirham in the following year, 78/697–8. Al-Ḥajjāj's original plan was to bring a uniform, high quality silver coinage to Iraq and Persia by opening mints in a number of strategic locations throughout the area where stocks of the former Sasanid and Arab Sasanid coinages could be withdrawn from circulation and restruck on the new model. Chief among these mints were *al-Kūfa*, his seat of government, *al-Baṣra*, *Rayy*, *Hamadhān*, *Shāqq al-Taymara*, *Jayy*, *Sābūr* and *Marw*. Many lesser known mints, such as *Kaskar*, *Mihrijanqadhaq*, *Arḍ* and *Umān*, were open only briefly and are known today by no more than one or two specimens.

The military revolt of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ash'ath, which came to a head in 82/701 caused, among other things, his decentralised strategy of coinage production. 'Abd al-Malik had already centralised the striking of gold and silver in Damascus, and when al-Ḥajjāj moved his seat of government to Wasit in 83/702, he closed all the other mints under his control. Between the years 84/703 and 89/708 all

the coinage in the east was confined to Wasit. The minting monopoly granted to Wasit gave al-Ḥajjāj control over the money supply, a valuable advantage at a time of political unrest. However, after 85/704, when al-Ḥajjāj became full master over Khurasan, this monopoly and the consequent shortage of cash probably acted as a severe brake on trade and commercial activity.

In 90/709 al-Ḥajjāj reversed his centralisation of financial control by re-opening mints in Khūzistān, Jibāl, Fars, Khurasan and Sijistān while maintaining Wasit as the main mint in Iraq. After his death in Ramaḍān 95/June 714, there was a brief flurry of renewed minting activity in Iraq, but this ended early in the reign of the caliph Sulaymān. During the years 98/716–17 and 99/717–18, the mints in Khūzistān, Jibāl and Fars were closed down once again. While minting activity continued for a time in Khurasan, this wholesale closure effectively restored Wasit's monopoly of coinage in the east.

Upon his accession as caliph in 99/717, 'Umar II repudiated the administrative legacy of al-Ḥajjāj by appointing governors to both Kufa and Basra, re-opening their mints and closing that of Wasit. No coinage is known to have been struck there in the year 100/718–19. After Yazīd II became caliph in 101, the Wasit mint was briefly re-opened, but it is not known to have produced any coinage in 102. From the following year, 103/721–2, until the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/750, the Wasit mint continued, year by year, to supply most of the dirham coinage for the east. Elsewhere in the Umayyad state, dirham mints were active in Spain (*al-Andalus*), North Africa (*Ifriqiya*), Syria (*Dimashq*), the North (*Armīniya*, *Ādharbāyyjān* and *Bāb* (Darband)) and Khurasan (*Balkh*, *Balkh al-Bayḍā'* and *al-Mubāraka*).

The most useful research on the Umayyad mint of Wasit was published by DeShazo and Bates in *The Umayyad Governors of al-'Irāq and the changing amulet patterns on their dirhams*. Here the authors point out that the amulet patterns of the dirhams change when the provincial governors change, and each pattern is, in general, characteristic for a single governor. They then provide a table listing the governors and their associated amulet patterns from 99 until 132. The significant fact which emerges from this study is that the amulet patterns are related to governors rather than to caliphs. Control of the coinage in Iraq thus lay in the hands of its governors rather than

any centralised mint administration under direct caliphal control. Presumably the amulet patterns were placed on the coins for ease of identification at a time when few could read the unpointed Kufic script with which they were inscribed. The placing of coinage under gubernatorial control was established by al-Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf and continued until the end of Umayyad rule.

The fall of the Umayyads brought about the immediate end of the Wasit mint and the re-opening of those of Kufa in 132/750 and Basra one year later. These towns continued to be the main centres of coinage production in Iraq until the 'Abbasid mints of Madīnat al-Salām and Muḥammadiyya became fully operational in 148/765. This division of mint production continued substantially unchanged until the struggle for power between al-Amīn and al-Ma'mūn affected the entire functioning of the 'Abbasid state. In the aftermath of al-Amīn's defeat in Baghdad in 198/813 and during the subsequent revolts in Iraq, the Wasit mint was briefly re-opened for the second time in 200 with a dirham citing al-Ḥasan (b. Sahl) and Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, followed by a second dirham issue dated 203 citing Iraq and Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn. Both coins are notably rare, which suggests that the mint may have been reactivated in these years to make emergency payments to the caliphal army commanded by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother and deputy of al-Faql b. Sahl, Dhu 'l-Riyāsatayn, the vizier of al-Ma'mūn. By the time this conflict had ended, the concept of one or two pre-eminent mints had vanished, leaving a system of several regional mints in their place. The number of these mints gradually increased during the caliphates of al-Mu'taṣim, al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil, and during the reign of al-Mu'tazz the mint of Wasit was re-opened for the third time. It is known to have struck its first dirhams in 253/867 and dīnārs followed in 254. For the next century, the Wasit mint reflected the town's prosperity and was one of the more active in Iraq, striking both dirhams and occasional dīnārs on standard 'Abbasid and Buyid patterns. After the Buyids seized control of Iraq in 334/945, the coinage records become increasingly irregular and gradually draw to a close in the 360s and 370s with the rise in importance of the trading cities of Basra and Sūq al-Ahwāz. Finally, the Wasit mint ceased activity and went into a sleep which lasted for over three hundred years.

Wasit's fourth and last period of coinage activity began after Rashīd al-Dīn, Ghazan's *wazīr*, brought about the reform of the Il-Khanid coinage in 698/1298–9. The Il-Khanids re-opened several Iraqi mints, including Wasit, Hilla and Basra, while Baghdad retained its traditional position as the main mint of the province. Wasit and Baghdad, however, shared the distinction of being the only Iraqi mints to issue silver dīnārs valued at six dirhams. The dīnār was the apex of the Il-Khanid monetary system, with 10,000 forming the *tūmān*, the Il-Khanid unit of account. It is possible that the elaborately decorated dies for these large coins were prepared at the instigation of Rashīd al-Dīn, in his role as a historian, to acknowledge the importance enjoyed by both Wasit and Madīnat al-Salām/Baghdad in the history of Islamic coinage production.

Wasit thus became part of the extensive Il-Khanid mint system under Ghazan, Öljeytū and Abū Sa'īd, and its position was maintained by the later Il-Khanids and the Jalāyirids, their successors in Iraq. The political disorders which followed Tīmūr's invasion and occupation of Iraq *ca.* 787–808/1385–1405, probably brought an end to minting activity in Wasit, as no coins are known from that time onwards. The demise of the city itself, brought about by the shifting of the course of the Tigris during the 9th/15th century, has precluded any revival of its former importance.

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# Y

**YAZD**, a city of central Persia, and capital of the province of the same name. It is situated on the Persian plateau at lat. 31° 54' N. and long. 54° 24' E., at an elevation of 1,230 m/4,240 feet, in an elongated interior basin stretching from near Kāshān to Bāfq and bordered by the Dasht-i Kawīr. It was known in early times as Katha, after a fortress and prison alleged to have been founded by Alexander. According to legend, later foundations grew up on this site. Yazd became known as *dār-al-ʿibāda*, when Toghrl̄ Beg assigned it to the Kākūyid Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz ‘Alā’ al-Dawla, in 443/1051 (see II. below). The modern city has a population, according to the 2005 census, of 433,836.

## I. GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Ibn Ḥawqal describes Yazd in the 4th/10th century as a well-built fortified city with two iron gates. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Qazwīnī states that it was built of sun-dried bricks which lasted as long as burnt bricks elsewhere because there was hardly ever any rain, though water was plentiful, being brought in by channels from the hills and each house had its own storage tank (*ibid.*). Wind towers were (and are) a distinguishing feature of the architecture of the city, so constructed as to convey any breeze available in the upper air into the *sardābs* (semi-underground chambers) of the houses or other buildings (see Īraj Afshār, *Yazd-nāma*, Tehran AHS 1371/1992–3, i, 337–57). Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib mentions *bādgīrs* constructed in the Muzaffarid and Timurid periods.

The domed roofs of the *āb-anbārs* or *miṣnaʿas* (water storage cisterns) are another distinguishing feature of the city, and also its fine mosques (see Afshār for a comprehensive account of monuments, religious and secular, of Yazd, the inscriptions to be found in them and also on tombstones, *Yazd-nāma*, and *Yādīgārḥā-yi Yazd*, 3 vols., Tehran AHS 1348–54/1970–5).

According to Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūrz ordered the city wall (*ḥiṣār*) to be built with towers and four iron gates. Part of the wall was destroyed by floods in 673/1275. It was restored by the Atabeg Yūsuf Shāh b. Tughān (685–714/1286–7 to 1314–15). Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad Muzaffār (713–59/1313–14 to 1358) built an outer wall with seven gates enclosing various districts within the city. Shāh Yaḥyā, who took possession of the city in 779/1367–8, made further additions, including a ditch, towers and gate (Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Jaʿfarī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, ed. Afshār, Tehran AHS 1338/1960, 36). According to Muḥammad Mufīd, Pīr Muḥammad b. ʿUmar Shaykh, after putting down a rebellion against the Timurids, built a fort for the residence of governors on the orders of Tīmūr and in 808/1405–6 a wall and a deep ditch in the south of the city. The fort was partly destroyed by Shāh ʿAbbās. In 1821 Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, when governor of Yazd, repaired the city wall and the ditch.

In the 19th century, the city of Yazd was still enclosed by a ditch and a double wall with numerous detached towers in it, all in tolerable repair. Its circumference was about 2½ miles. The inner city was surrounded by gardens and habitations. It had

24 *maḥallas*, 8 of which were within the walls, 31 mosques and 11 *madrasas*. The bazaar contained some 100 shops, and 34 caravanserais (A. Amanat, *Cities and trade. Consul Abbott on the economy and society of Iran 1847–1866*, London 1983, 131–2). Major Oliver St. John states that Yazd had 50 mosques, 65 baths and 8 *madrasas* in 1872 (*Narrative of a journey through Baluchistan and southern Persia, 1872*, in F.J. Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia, an account of the journeys of the Persian Boundary Commission, 1870–1–2*, London 1876, 175). Curzon, who visited Persia in 1889–90, states that the fort, which was partly ruined and partly built into or over, still retained a double wall with a broad deep ditch before the outer rampart, while the citadel inside the fort, where the governor resided, was separately walled to a height of 30 or 40 feet (*Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, ii, 240).

In the early centuries of the 'Abbasid caliphate, Yazd was included in the district of Iṣṭakhr of the province of Fars under the name of Katha. After the Mongol invasions it became part of the Jibāl and, later, part of Kirman province. In the Safavid period it was one of the districts under the direct administration of the central government. In the 19th century, when the Zill al-Sultān was at the height of his power, it formed part of the Isfahan province. On the Zill al-Sultān's disgrace in 1888 it became again an independent government but was returned to the Zill al-Sultān in 1890. For a time during the 19th century, Kūhbanān and Shahr-i Bābak, belonging to Kirman, were attached to Yazd as also were some of the villages of Fars. At the present day the province covers an area of over 76,156 km<sup>2</sup> and consists of seven *shahristāns*, Yazd, Ardakān, Bāfq, Taft, Abarqūh, Mihrīz and Maybud.

The province is bordered on the north and west by the province of Isfahan, on the north-east by Khurasan, on the south-west by Fars and in the south-east by the province of Kirman. The Shīr Kūh massif, rising to 4,075 m/13,366 feet, lies in the south and west of the province. In the centre of the province to the north of the city of Yazd is the Kharāniq massif, the highest point of which is 3,158 m/10,358 ft. In the east there are lesser mountains in the districts of Khūr, Biyābānak, Jandāq and Ribāt-i Pusht-i Bādām. There are small deposits of iron ore, lead, zinc and copper in the province, Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that a lead mine near Yazd was productively worked and old workings of lead ore survive near

Bāfq. Marble is found in the Tūrān-pusht mine in the Pish-Kūh district to the south and south-west of the city of Yazd.

Large areas of the province are occupied by sterile, or almost sterile, hammadas due either to their low rainfall or to an excess of salt in the soil or both. Violent dust storms are frequent and moving sands encroach upon the city of Yazd, upon Ashkidhar, Bāfq and elsewhere. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Abi 'l-Riḍā Āwī in his translation of Māfarrūkhī's *Maḥāsin Isfahān*, made in 729/1328–9, mentions the planting of tamarisk (*gaz*) to stabilise moving sands by the people of Yazd (*Tarjuma-yi maḥāsin Isfahān*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl, Tehran AHS 1328/1950–1, 43). The climate of the province is described as temperate (*mu'tadil*). Ibn al-Balkhī adds that since it is situated on the edge of the desert the climate is inclined to be warm (*mayl bi-garmi*). The summers in the city of Yazd are, in fact, extremely hot.

The province lies in the rain shadow of the Elburz in the north and of the Zagros in the west. The average annual rainfall, which occurs in winter and spring, varies from 20 mm in Shīr Kūh to 60 mm in the lower parts of the province; in the city of Yazd it is only 55.4 mm. Ground water is provided by *qanāts* (see A.K.S. Lambton, *The qanāts of Yazd*, in *JRAS*, 3rd series, vol. 2, pt. 1 [April 1992], 21–35). From the 1960s onwards a large number of deep and semi-deep wells have been sunk, which has led to a lowering of the water-table. Of the 3,331 *qanāts* alleged to exist in the province, only 2,615 were said to be in operation in 1997. Some are over 50 km/31 miles long and 100 m deep. Ground cover in most of the province is sparse owing to lack of rainfall, fluctuations in temperature and the destruction of plants over the centuries for charcoal burning and other purposes. Failure of rain has frequently resulted in shortages and sometimes famine. In 850/1446–7 a period of drought was accompanied by famine and plague (*wabā*). In 858/1454 the rains failed again and famine and plague ensued with heavy loss of life. Sudden or unusually heavy rains have also occasioned damage. In 673/1275 five days of consecutive rain in April–May resulted in floods and much damage to the city of Yazd. In 860/1456 there was again severe flooding in the city of Yazd as a result of heavy rain in March–April. Muḥammad Mufid records that there were heavy snowfalls in 1057/1647–8 and that snow lay in the streets of Yazd for nearly three months.

Despite unfavourable climatic conditions, the city of Yazd and the towns and villages of the province are surrounded by cultivated fields (*kishtkhwān*), orchards and gardens. The mountain districts are carefully terraced. Water rights and land in many parts of the province are separately owned and highly sub-divided. Absentee landownership does not appear to have been common. Local landowners predominated, some of whom enjoyed considerable wealth. Peasant proprietorship also existed. *Awqāf*, especially in the form of shares in *qanāts*, were widespread. Lands assigned as *iqṭāʿ*s or *tiyūls* and crown lands (*khālīṣajāt*) appear to have been rare, though Toghrīl Beg assigned Yazd, as stated above, and Abarqūh to Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūz in 443/1051 and Abū Saʿīd, the Il-Khanid, gave Maybud as an *iqṭāʿ* to Muḥammad b. Muzaffār, allotted wages (*marsūm*) to him and appointed 200 men to be in his service, and there were cases of land being assigned as *tiyūl* under the Safavids. There are frequent references to crown lands in the Safavid period but few details. A *farmān* of Nādir Shāh, dated 1155/1742–3, appointing Mīrzā Ḥusayn (formerly *dābiṭ* of Naṭanz) governor of Yazd, ordered him, *inter alia*, to exert himself in increasing *khālīṣa* property. In the Qajar period there was also some *khālīṣa* property in Yazd. Several *qanāts* were wholly, or in part, *khālīṣa*.

Grain was grown in the province but not in sufficient quantity for its needs. In the 19th century it sufficed for only two to three months, the deficit being met from Isfahan and elsewhere. Fruit was grown abundantly, including mulberries, pomegranates (those of Maybud being especially good, apples, pears, cherries, apricots, plums and grapes; and a variety of vegetables; cotton was grown, and silk manufactured and used in Yazd's flourishing textile industry. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī includes much information on the crops and agricultural methods of Yazd in his book *Āthār wa aḥyāʾ* (see Lambton, *The Āthār wa aḥyāʾ of Rashīd Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī and Rashīd al-Dīn's contribution as an agronomist, arboriculturist and horticulturalist*, in R. Amitai-Preiss and D.O. Morgan (eds.), *The Mongol Empire and its legacy*, Leiden 1999). He draws attention to the skill and thrift shown by Yazdīs in agricultural development and states that the return they got from the land was seldom equalled in other places. He also mentions that the production of silk was higher than elsewhere. In the 19th century, much silk was still produced but

of inferior quality. It was not enough to supply local workshops, and raw silk was imported from Gīlān and Khurasan. In the second half of the century the production of silk declined and was largely displaced by opium and cotton (G.G. Gilbar, *Persian agriculture in the late Qājār period 1860–1906: some economic and social aspects*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xii/3 [1978], 350). Among other crops grown in the 19th century Abbott mentions Indian corn, millet, lentils, pulse, beans, madder, asafoetida, fruits, nuts and vegetables.

From early times Yazd had a thriving trade. Its manufactures of silk and cotton were famous and exported to other parts of the Islamic world and India. Al-Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawqal mention cotton garments made in Yazd. Ibn al-Balkhī, writing at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, states that “in the districts round [Yazd], silk is produced, for the mulberry tree is here abundant. Further, they (sc. the Yazdīs) manufacture excellent cloths in brocade also, of the kind named *mushṭī*, *farakh*, and the like, for in Yazd they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong” (20, quoted by R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles*, Beirut 1972, 55–6). Qazwīnī found in Yazd makers of silk (*ḥarīr*) of *sundus* (a kind of green brocade), extremely beautiful and close-woven which is taken from there to all countries. Al-Maqrīzī mentions the import of Yazdī textiles into Egypt in the 8th/14th century. Marco Polo noted that Yazd “is a good and noble city, and it has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yesdī, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of” (H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, London 1871, i, 89). Pedro Teixeira mentions that the richest and finest carpets came from Yazd “from which place I saw some, each of which, on account of its workmanship and perfection, was valued at more than a thousand ducats”, while the fabric known as *al-qatīfa* was “the best, the finest and the most perfect”. Friar Odoricus (in 1325) and Josafa Barbaro (in 1474) state that Yazd was a great silk mart and Raphael de Mans describes how gold thread was made there (*Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris 1890, 195).

At the beginning of the 19th century Yazd was a large and populous city, celebrated among merchants for its security. Commerce in silk, carpets, felts, shawls and coarse cotton cloth flourished. Capt. Christie, who passed through Yazd in 1810, states that it

was “a great mart between Hindoostan, Khorasan, Baghdad and Persia” and was said to be a place of greater trade than any other place in the latter empire (*Abstract from Captain Christie’s Journal after his separation from Lieut. Pottinger, at Nooshky June (1810)*, in H. Pottinger, *Travels in Beloochistan and Sind*, London 1816, 421). He mentions that there were over 50,000 camels in the city, which is an indication of the extent of the trade. J.B. Fraser, who was in Yazd in the early years of the 19th century, states that Yazd was one of the most prosperous towns of Persia and one of the great entrepôts between East and West. Caravans from Kabul, Kashmir, Bukhara, Herat, Mashhad and Kirman were met in Yazd by merchants from Isfahan, Shiraz, Kāshān and Tehran and a great interchange of commodities took place. Its manufactures of silk and other stuffs, felts, sugarcandy and sweetmeats commanded a ready market everywhere in Persia (*An historical and descriptive account of Persia*,<sup>2</sup> Edinburgh 1834, 64). E. Scott Waring also mentions that Yazd was an emporium for all the trade of Persia. Coarse carpets were sent there and sold to the Uzbeks and the people of Khurasan, the merchant taking on his return journey silks, carpets, felts and Kashmīrī shawls (*A tour of Sheeraz*, London 1807, 76). By the middle of the century there had been a decline in the manufacture of textiles. Despite an attempt by Muḥammad Khān, who was governor of Yazd 1863–70, to encourage the silk trade, the decline continued and by the end of the 19th century, or the beginning of the 20th, there were only some 800 workshops and 2,000 cotton looms, whereas in 1870 Major Euan Smith had reported that there were 18,000 silk workshops in Yazd, employing probably 9,000 hands and that the silk was considered by some to be the best in Persia (*The Perso-Baluchistan Frontier Mission 1870, 1871*, in Goldsmid, *Eastern Persia*, i, 175). Nevertheless E. Stack, who visited Yazd in 1881, wrote that prosperity was “a notable feature of Yazd. Hardly a beggar was to be seen and the busy bazaars and well-kept houses, as well as the dress of the people, and the number of merchants, were signs of a city supported by brisk trade” (*Six months in Persia*, London 1882, i, 267).

Meanwhile, although the silk trade had declined, the opium trade had increased in importance. Rabino noted that towards the end of the century the opium crop absorbed all the floating capital of the province and that the money went to the villages.

Other exports from Yazd included coarse loaf sugar, made from raw sugar imported from India, Java and Siam, which was sent to all parts of Persia, cotton, carpets, felts, madder roots, and nuts. The principal imports were cotton fabrics, copper, tin, lead, iron, drugs and spices and tea from India, and oil, candles, sugar, furs, crockery and piece goods from Russia (see Lambton, *Persian trade under the early Qajars*, in D.S. Richards (ed.), *Islam and the trade of Asia*, Oxford 1970, 118–19). Henna was also brought to Yazd for processing and in 1907–8 there were some 60 enterprises engaged in this. In spite of the changes in production and manufacture, Yazd nevertheless remained a major distribution centre in the early years of the 20th century.

The local histories are rich in details of the lives of officials, landowners, *‘ulamā’*, merchants and others, but these are beyond the scope of this article. Many of them held land and shares in *qanāts*; some were very rich. The extent to which they expended their wealth on buildings, religious and secular, in the city and throughout the province, and on *qanāts* and agricultural development, is notable. Some of the Muslim merchants, as well as the Zoroastrian ones, had links with India, at least from the Ṣafavid period if not before.

The *sayyids* were a numerous and influential group. Ja‘far b. Muḥammad states that there were nearly 1,000 descendants of the Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq in Yazd when he was writing, i.e. in the 9th/15th century. Prominent among the Ḥusaynī *sayyids*, descended from Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq, were Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qawām al-Dīn b. Nizām (d. 732/1331–2) and his son Shams Dīn Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 733/1332–3), both of whom disposed of a great deal of property in shares in *qanāts*, land and real estate, much if not all of which they constituted into *waqf*. Among Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn’s many benefactions was the complex consisting of a *madrasa*, mosque, observatory (*raṣād*) and pharmacy (*bayt al-adwiyā*) in the *Waqf wa sā‘at* quarter of the city, which took its name from the observatory.

In the 7th–9th/13th–15th centuries there appears to have been an increase in the number of Sufis in the province. One of the most famous was Shaykh Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad Dādā (d. 700/1300–1), who migrated from Isfahan to Yazd and built *khānaqāhs* at Bundarābād, Ashkidhar, Maybud, and in various other locations.

Physicians were another influential group in the city. Rashīd al-Dīn's early connection with Yazd appears to have been through two physicians, Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī and Shams Dīn Raḡī.

The local histories also mention poets, painters and calligraphers who lived in Yazd. A marked feature of the population was the existence of skilled craftsmen, builders, weavers, potters, *muqannīs* (also known as *chākhkhūyān*, who were highly rated for their skill and often employed outside Yazd), and a thrifty peasantry, many of whom worked not only on the land but also as craftsmen and weavers. Among the peasants there was probably a higher proportion of peasant proprietors than in most other districts of Persia. Kāshānī states that Rashīd al-Dīn took some 300 draft oxen with their *gāwbands* (those who worked them) from Yazd to Tabrīz. The purpose of this, he alleges, was that the oxen should be used to transport night soil from the city to Faṭḥābād and other properties that Rashīd al-Dīn was developing. This seems unlikely to be the only reason, or even the real reason. More likely Rashīd al-Dīn brought the *gāwbands* with their oxen to Tabriz in order to make use of their agricultural skill.

Ibn al-Balkhī states that the Yazdīs were Sunnis, very pious and of right religion. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib remarks that the people of the Ya'qūbī quarter of Yazd had a sense of solidarity, were fanatical and somewhat parochial in their attitude; they were continually occupied in earning their living and worship, and most of them were well-to-do. There is no information in the local histories of when or how the Yazdīs were converted to Shi'ism. It would seem that their piety and devotion were carried over from Sunnism to Shi'ism.

A further feature of the population was the existence of a Zoroastrian community, between which and India there was constant intercourse. According to Abbott, there were some 200 Zoroastrian families in the town and 640 in eight villages round about. As *dhimmīs* they were forced to wear special clothing and subject to other restrictions. Euan Smith states that the number of Zoroastrians under the government of Yazd was estimated at 3,800. Towards the end of the century their numbers rose. E.G. Browne, who was in Persia in 1887–8, states that there were 7,000–10,000 Zoroastrians in Yazd and its dependencies (*A year amongst the Persians*, 404).

There was a small Jewish community, numbering about 1,000 in Yazd in 1867–8, but Euan Smith put it at only 800 in 1870. Bābīs were to be found in Yazd in the middle of the 19th century and took part in the Bābī rising of 1848. The Bahā'īs in Yazd were given the right to trade in 1860 and to open schools in 1870, but as a result of anti-Bahā'ī riots in 1903, they were virtually exterminated in Yazd (F. Bémont, *Les villes de l'Iran*, Paris 1969, 205–6). In the 19th century there were also a few Hindu merchants from Sind resident in Yazd. They enjoyed British protection and were engaged in trade with India.

## II. HISTORY

Details of the pre-Islamic history of Yazd are sparse. Whether in fact Yazdagird III spent two months in Yazd after his defeat at Nihāwand in 21/642 before he set out for Marw, where he arrived in 31/651, seems doubtful. The story related in the *Tārīkh-i jadīd-i Yazd* by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib that he buried his treasure in three wells in the Yazd district, and that the first of these was later found by the Atabeg 'Izz al-Dīn Langar, the second by Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muzaḥḥār and the third by the people of Yazd in the time of Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaykh, who became governor of Yazd in 808/1405–6, is almost certainly legendary.

There is mention of the appointment of 'Umar b. Mughīra as governor of Yazd during the caliphate of 'Uthmān and some settlement of Arabs of the Banū Tamīm is alleged. Conversion to Islam is said by Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib to have taken place during this same caliphate. In fact, it is likely that conversion was more gradual. Those who retained their Zoroastrian faith were subject to the *jizya* or poll tax. It seems probable that Yazd formed part of Fārs during the Umayyad caliphate. With the rise of Abū Muslim, his supporters appear to have defeated Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Tawqī, the Umayyad governor. Little, however, is known of the history of Yazd under the early 'Abbasids; it is not until the Saljuq period that more detail is available, and even then the information in the local histories of Yazd (which are of much later dates) is confused and chronologically unreliable.

When Ṭoghrīl Beg took Isfahan from the Kākūyīd Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūz in 443/1051 and made Isfahan his capital, he assigned to Abū Maṣṣūr as



an *iqṭāʿ* Abarqūh and Yazd, both of which had been controlled by the Kākūyids. There is a *dirham* struck in Yazd in 421/1030 by the Kākūyid *amīr* ‘Alā’ al-Dawla Muḥammad acknowledging the caliph al-Qādir as suzerain (C.E. Bosworth, *Dailamis in Central Iran: the Kākuyids of Jibal and Yazd*, in *Iran, JIBIPS*, viii [1970], 77). Bosworth has meticulously examined the evidence for Kākūyid rule in Yazd and found it impossible to elucidate the exact chronology of the Kākūyid governors of Yazd (*op. cit.*, 84–5).

Both Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūz and his son Muʿayyid al-Dawla ‘Aḍud al-Dīn ‘Alī appear to have been treated with favour by the Saljuqs. The former accompanied Toghriī Beg when he went to Baghdad in 455/1063 to meet his bride, the caliph’s daughter. The latter married in 469/1076–7 Arslān Khātūn bt. Chaghri Beg, whose first husband, the caliph al-Qā’im, had died in 467/1075. Yazd appears to have prospered under the Kākūyids. Abū Maṣṣūr Farāmūz built a palace, a Friday mosque, and (as stated above) a wall round the city of Yazd. His successors continued for some years as local rulers of Yazd. New villages and *qanāts* were made in the vicinity of the city. The last Kākūyid ruler, Garshāsp b. ‘Alī b. Farāmūz, was with Sultan Sanjar at the battle of the Qaṭwān steppe (536/1141) and was killed in the battle. During the reign of Arslān b. Toghriī (556–71/1161–76) Garshāsp’s two daughters ruled Yazd. Rukn al-Dīn Sām b. Langar was appointed Atabeg to them and married to one of them. He was apparently incompetent and replaced by his brother ‘Izz al-Dīn, who was the real founder of the dynasty known as the Atabegs of Yazd. The benefactions of Garshāsp’s daughters in Yazd are spoken of in the local histories and seem to have been considerable; and under the Atabegs prosperity and development continued.

‘Izz al-Dīn Langar was succeeded by his son Wardānzūr, who had an uneventful rule of twelve years. He was succeeded by Quṭb al-Dīn, during whose rule further building and development was carried out. Quṭb al-Dīn died in 626/1228–9. He was succeeded successively by his son Maḥmūd Shāh and the latter’s son Salghur Shāh, who sent an offer of submission to Hülegü and received in return a diploma for Yazd. He was succeeded by his son Taqī Shāh, who ruled for some twenty years and died in 670/1271–2. During the reign of his son

and successor ‘Alā’ al-Dawla (‘Alā’ al-Dīn), the great flood of 673/1274–5 occurred. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib relates that ‘Alā’ al-Dawla was so shaken by the flood that he died within a month. His brother Yūsuf Shāh succeeded him.

Towards the end of the 7th/13th century Yazd became increasingly subject to interference from the Mongols. According to Mustawfī, the *tamgha* dues of Yazd and the province amounted to 251,000 *dīnārs*. Rashīd al-Dīn states that in 694/1294–5 Baydu gave a draft for 1,000 *dīnārs* on the taxes of Yazd to Nawrūz and the government of Yazd to Nawrūz’s son Sulṭān Shāh, whose mother was, he states, Sulṭān Nasab Khātūn, the daughter of ‘Alā’ al-Dīn, the son of the Atabeg Maḥmūd Shāh. If Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib’s account of the genealogy of the Atabegs is correct, she must have been the great-great-granddaughter and not the grand-daughter of Maḥmūd Shāh. There is, however, no record of Sulṭān Shāh taking up his government.

According to Rashīd al-Dīn, Yazd like many other places suffered from the depredations of the Mongol tax-collectors. He gives a lurid account of their extortion in the villages of Yazd and of a particular occasion when they descended on the village of Fīrūzābād. The owner of this village has been identified by Aubin as the Sayyid Niẓām al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd b. Maḥfūz b. Ra’īs Yazdī, a friend and contemporary of Rashīd al-Dīn. That extortion took place is very probable, but at the same time the foundations of Shams al-Dīn Juwaynī and his agent in Yazd, Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Tāzīkū (Tajik-i Kūchik) of Rashīd al-Dīn himself, and more particularly, of Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn and Sayyid Shams al-Dīn are witness to wealth and prosperity in Yazd at the close of the 7th/13th and the early years of the 8th/14th century (Lambton, *Awqāf in Persia: 6th–8th/12th–14th centuries*, in *ILS*, iv [1997], 313–5; *eadem*, *Continuity and change in medieval Persia*, New York 1988, 65–6). After Ghazan became established in Tabriz, the Atabegs apparently sent an annual *pīshkash* or present to the *ordu*. Yūsuf Shāh withheld this. Ghazan sent Yesüder (or Toghāy b. Yesüder) to Yazd with instructions to confirm Yūsuf Shāh in his government if he paid the tribute. When Yesüder drew near to Yazd, Yūsuf Shāh fortified himself in the city and sent his mother to Yesüder with presents to intercede for him. Yesüder treated her with

gross disrespect and refused the presents that she had brought. She returned to Yazd and told Yūsuf Shāh what had happened. He was furious, made a night sortie from the city, killed Yesüder and took his women prisoner. When Ghazan heard of this, he sent the governor of Isfahan Muḥammad Īdājī with 3,000 cavalry to overthrow Yūsuf Shāh. The latter, realising that resistance was impossible, fled with his women, army and the prisoners whom he had taken from Yesüder to Sīstān. The people of Yazd submitted to Īdājī, who, having appointed an *amīr* as *dārūgha*, returned to Isfahan. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad Shabānkārāṭ adds the information that Yūsuf Shāh was captured in Khurasan, taken to the *ordu* and executed. Rashīd al-Dīn does not refer in detail to these events; he merely mentions that Toghāy b. Yesüder was dismissed (i.e. turned out) from the office of *shihna* of Yazd.

Yūsuf Shāh was the last of the Atabegs of Yazd to exercise effective rule: his son Ḥājī Shāh was finally overthrown by a combination of Muḥaffarids and Īnjū’ids in 718/1318–19. In 719/1319–20 Mubārīz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥaffār was recognised as governor of Yazd by Abū Sa’īd, the last Il-Khanid. In the disorders that occurred after the death in 736/1335 of Abū Sa’īd, Yazd was subject to the constant movement of troops (though the numbers were probably small). In 751/1350–1 the Īnjū’id Abū Ishāq besieged Mubārīz al-Dīn in Yazd but failed to take the city, and as he retired, he laid waste the countryside and closed the roads. Snow and rain also impeded movement. No grain reached the city and severe famine ensued. However, by 754/1353 Mubārīz al-Dīn had established his supremacy over a wide area, including Yazd. Before long, internecine strife broke out among the Muḥaffarids which led to Mubārīz al-Dīn’s deposition in 759/1358. Internecine strife continued under his successors.

In spite of the prevailing turbulence and the internal warfare of the Muḥaffarids, the city apparently prospered under them and was extended. New villages and *qanāts* were made, *madrasas* and libraries built. Yaḥyā b. Shāh Muḥaffār, who took possession of Yazd after Tīmūr’s withdrawal after his first invasion of Persia in 789/1381, and others of his family made a number of buildings in the city and its vicinity, including the Sulṭān Ibrāhīm bazaar built by Shāh Yaḥyā’s sister’s son, and the Khātūn bazaar beside the Friday mosque, consisting of 60

shops with *hujras* above them, built by Shāh Yaḥyā’s mother; Shāh Yaḥyā’s *wazīr* Rukn al-Dīn also built the Dallālān bazaar.

In 795/1392 Shāh Maṣṣūr b. Muḥaffār was defeated and killed by Tīmūr, who had left Transoxiana in 794/1392 to begin his second campaign against Persia. The remaining Muḥaffarid princes submitted to Tīmūr and were executed, apart from two of Shāh Shujā’s sons (who had earlier been blinded). Tīmūr’s eldest son, ‘Umar Shaykh, became governor of Fars, including Yazd. He died in 796/1394 and was succeeded by his son Pīr Muḥammad. Disorders meanwhile broke out in Yazd and the neighbourhood and Pīr Muḥammad set out for Yazd and successfully besieged the city in 797/1394–5. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib says that there was severe famine in the city and that nearly 30,000 died, but his account is somewhat confused. As a result of these events, new fortifications were constructed in the city by the Timurids (as stated above) and completed in 799/1396–7. In 808/1405–6 Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh came to Yazd and made further additions to the fort and the wall and added a moat.

In due course, Shāh Rukh became Tīmūr’s successor. Governors were appointed over Yazd. The most notable of them was the *amīr* Jalāl Dīn Chaqmāq, who held office from *ca.* 831/1427–8 until 850/1446–7 and gave Yazd a period of peace. He and his wife Bībī Fāṭima and son Amīr Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad Mīrak erected many buildings, religious and secular, in Yazd and the neighbourhood and constituted many *awqāf* for them. Among them was the new congregational mosque in the Lower Dahūk quarter, which was richly endowed by Amīr Chaqmāq. It was begun in 840/1436–7 and completed by Bībī Fāṭima in the following year. In the neighbourhood of the mosque a *khānaqāh*, a caravanserai, a *ḥammām*, a cistern, a *qannād-khāna* (confectioner’s shop) and a bazaar were built and a well dug. Bībī Fāṭima, among her other benefactions, made a mill outside Yazd in the Sar Āb-i Naw quarter near Dihābād. It was, so Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib states, continually in operation and the nearest mill to the city. Encouraged no doubt by the stability provided by the government of Amīr Chaqmāq, a number of buildings were also made by the inhabitants of Yazd in the city and the neighbourhood.

By 857/1453 control over most of Persia, includ-

ing Yazd, had passed to the Qara Qoyunlu Türkmens, who were succeeded by the Aq Qoyunlu. In 858/1454 there was, according to Muḥammad Mufid, severe famine in Yazd, heavy loss of life and an outbreak of plague owing to the movement of troops and the dispersal of the population. The severe floods of 860/1456 caused further damage. Troop movements and struggles between the contending parties for supremacy continued in Yazd and the neighbourhood as elsewhere in Persia throughout the second half of the 9th/15th century. This does not appear to have caused major disruption in the economic life of Yazd, for the Venetians in the late 9th/15th century recognised Yazd as an important manufacturing centre (Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, Hakluyt Soc., first series, no. 49, London 1873, 60, 72–4, 127). Trade with India, which was to become important in the Safavid period, was also probably increasing at this time.

In 907/1501 Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafawī was crowned in Tabriz, but Yazd was not taken until 909/1504. Thereafter, Yazd became a province of the empire, with governors and officials appointed over it and taxation levied by the central government. For most of the Safavid period, Yazd was under the *khāṣṣa* administration, i.e. directly administered by the central government under a *wazīr* sent by the central government to the province (K.M. Röhrborn, *Provinzen und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1966, 122–6). Few of these were local men, though there were exceptions, for example Mīrzā Khālīl Allāh, whose family came from Bihābād, one of the villages of Bāfq, and who became *wazīr* of Yazd in 1034/1624–5. Officials who came from outside did not, on the whole, spend their wealth in Yazd on local development nor did they arouse the confidence or loyalty of the local population. Trade flourished and local patriotism continued, but in the absence of strong local government it did not express itself in local development to the extent that had been the case under the Kākūyids, the Atabegs of Yazd, the Muẓaffarids and Amīr Chaqmāq.

During the reign of Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn there was a weakening of royal authority and a decline in security. In 1110/1698–9 Baluch tribesmen ravaged Kirman and almost reached Yazd (L. Lockhart, *The fall of the Ṣafawī dynasty*, Cambridge 1958, 46). Revolts broke out in various parts of the empire.

Finally, Maḥmūd b. Mīr Ways set out from Kandahar to attack the Safavids. After an abortive siege of Kirman, he advanced on Yazd, the outskirts of which he reached in February 1722. The population shut the gates of the city and prepared for a siege. The Afghans were driven back with some loss of life and so Maḥmūd abandoned the siege and marched on Isfahan and in 1134/1722 the Persian forces were defeated at Gulnābād. During the brief period of Afghan domination, Yazd was besieged several times.

With the defeat of Ashraf by Nādir Qulī Khān (later Nādir Shāh Afshār) in 1142/1729, ʿIsā Khān, the Afghan governor of Yazd, fled. Nādir was now in control of a wide area including Yazd. In due course, Afshārid governors were appointed over Yazd. It may be that Yazd benefited from Nādir Shāh's exemption of taxation, which he granted to Persia after his successful Indian campaign in 1151–2/1738–9 (as Muḥammad Jaʿfar alleges), but the remission was soon to be rescinded and exactions were renewed; 4,000 *tūmāns* were demanded from Yazd. This provoked an uprising. Meanwhile, news of the assassination of Nādir in 1160/1747 arrived. The Afshārid governor of Yazd fled. ʿAdīl Shāh, Nādir's nephew, then sent ʿAlam Khān to Yazd as governor. His extortionate conduct provoked a rebellion, and in 1161/1748 Muḥammad Taqī Khān Bāfqī set out from Bāfq for Yazd with 70 musketeers. After a siege of three or four days, ʿAlam Khān escaped from the fortress and fled to Khurasan. Muḥammad Taqī Khān, having made himself master of Yazd, received a *raqam* from Shāh Qulī Mīrzā, Nādir's grandson, who had succeeded Nādir's nephews, ʿAdīl Shāh and Ibrāhīm. He held office for 52 years, first under the Afshārs, then under the Zands and finally under the Qajars. He was succeeded by his sons ʿAlī Naqī, who held office for seven years, and ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khān, who was dismissed and succeeded by a series of Qajar governors. During Muḥammad Taqī Khān's government, Yazd experienced a new period of development and prosperity, an increase of population, and the bringing into operation of new *qanāts*, the creation of gardens and charitable buildings and the institution of *awqāf* for their upkeep. His son ʿAlī Naqī also made many benefactions in Yazd and the neighbourhood. However, during these years Yazd was not entirely immune from military expeditions by the contending parties and their

demands for revenue. The precise course of events is, however, somewhat confused and the sources vary in their accounts. After Karīm Khān had made himself master of most of Persia by 1179/1765, his officials came to Yazd to collect taxes. His successors attacked Yazd several times and demanded revenue.

The Qajars, like the Safavids, sent governors to Yazd. Many of them were Qajar princes. The appointment of a local man to the government was the exception. The most notable of the prince governors was Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā, who held office from 1821 to 1828. He constructed a number of *qanāts* and repaired others, and founded charitable buildings. During his governorate, trade prospered. Of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's twenty-four governors, Muḥammad Khān Walī, who held office twice (1863–70 and 1876–80), was the most outstanding.

During the Russo-Persian war of 1826–8, disorder spread throughout the country. In Yazd, 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān b. Muḥammad Taqī Khān Bāfqī headed a revolt during the absence of the governor Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā in Tehran, and turned out the latter's family and entourage from Yazd. Ḥusayn 'Alī Mīrzā Shujā' al-Saltāna was appointed governor of Kirman, which had also revolted, and of Yazd, and was sent to restore order. He laid siege to Yazd but failed to reduce it and set out for Kirman. In 1830 he renewed operations against Yazd without permission from Tehran. 'Abbās Mīrzā was accordingly sent from Tehran to restore order. He succeeded and proceeded to Kirman. After he was summoned back to Tehran, 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān and Shaff' Khān of Rāwar (who had been in rebellion in Kirman) joined forces and renewed their rebellion but were defeated and captured by government forces. 'Abd al-Riḍā Khān was taken to Tehran, and was handed over to Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā and killed in revenge for his action in turning out Muḥammad Walī Mīrzā's family and entourage from Yazd ('Abd al-Ghafūr Jāhīrī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, in Afshār, *Yazd-nāma*, i, 177–237, at 206 ff.).

On the death of Muḥammad Shāh in 1834, there was renewed rioting in Yazd, but it subsided after Nāṣir al-Dīn established himself on the throne in Tehran. In 1840 the Ismaili Āghā Khān Maḥallātī mounted a rebellion in Kirman and Yazd. In 1848, there was a Bābī uprising. Riots took place against the Tobacco Régie in 1890, against the Belgian customs administration set up in 1899, and against new tariff

charges in 1903. In the latter part of the 19th century, modernisation began. There was an increase in the number of schools and of the local press. In the 20th century there was strong support for the Constitutional Movement and the formation of *anjumans* in its support. Under the Electoral Law, Yazd had the right to send two deputies to the National Assembly. Some of those elected played an outstanding part in the deliberations of the Assembly.

Yazd, throughout the Islamic period, maintained its distinctive character. Strong local patriotism was a marked feature. It is to be ascribed, in part at least, to the remoteness of Yazd and its situation on the edge of the Central Desert of Persia, and the fact that it did not lie in the path of invaders. More than any other city in Persia, it owed its development and growth to *qanāts*. Without them it could not have existed, still less have sustained a civilisation that, from time to time, attained a high degree of excellence. It shared the religion, language and literary heritage of its neighbours, but "because of its utter dependence upon *qanāts* it developed a strong personality of its own, different from that of other cities; and its people acquired a stability and firmness of character, self-confidence and assurance which distinguished them from the inhabitants of other cities. They had a special sense of identity with the soil. They tended it with love and care and made it flourish with the water of its *qanāts*, which they brought out with skill and toil from the depths of the earth" (Lambton, *The qanats of Yazd*, 35). Until the development of modern communications, the spasmodic nature of the control exercised by the successive governments that ruled in Persia enabled local culture to flourish, and the fact that Yazd was situated on one of the trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the interior of Persia and Central Asia undergirded its economic development.

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# Z

**ZANZIBAR**, in earlier Arabic usage, Zanjibār, an island 35 km/22 miles off the east coast of Africa, some 84 km/53 miles long and 1,650 km<sup>2</sup>/637 sq. miles in extent. The climate is tropical, and until the advent of steamships, its history and economy depended, like those of all the East African coastlands, on the south-west monsoons.

Zanzibar town is the administrative centre of the self-governing territory of Zanzibar, which also includes the island of Pemba and some small islands, these last uninhabited except for Tumbatu, within the Republic of Tanzania. The town is situated in lat. 6° 10' S., long. 39° 12' E., and has a population (2005 estimate) of 220,000.

## I. THE ISLAND AND TOWN OF ZANZIBAR UNTIL BRITISH TIMES

### 1. *In Antiquity and prehistoric times*

Before the coming of Islam to eastern Africa, certainly up to the 8th century A.D., there are only some scattered and casual allusions in Greek and Roman writers. One major source, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, refers to it in ca. A.D. 50. It is an account of trading voyages down the eastern African coasts, along southern Arabia and as far as India, if not to China. It has links with Egypt and the western Indian Ocean. Scholars have disputed endlessly whether its reference to a single island, Menuthias, off the eastern African coast, is to Pemba or to Zanzibar or to Mafia. Ptolemy even thought the island to be Madagascar. Menuthias is said to have

numerous rivers: Zanzibar has one only; Pemba has some streams, but also numerous deep inlets which, seen from the sea, resemble estuaries. It is low and wooded. Pemba reaches a maximum of 150 m above sea level, Zanzibar 100 m. Again, Pemba's deep inlets with hilly sides give the impression of a hilly island when seen from the sea, whereas Zanzibar is more uniformly level. Both islands are wooded. The inhabitants are said to be fishermen who employ fish traps, dug-outs and also "sewn boats", that is, with their timbers sewn together with coconut coir. The "sewn boats" are no longer constructed but the other practices survive. The balance of probability could swing either way.

Two of the sites so far excavated have pre-Islamic occupation levels, Fukuchani in the north and Unguja Ukuu in the south of the island. From these are imported sherds from the Persian Gulf and from Roman North Africa, at occupation levels dating probably from the 5th to 8th centuries A.D. The most recent excavations at Unguja Ukuu (1999) show that it was a major exporter of ivory to Egypt, whence to Constantinople and through the Mediterranean, via Pelusium. The evidence is based on the existence of sherds of Byzantine pottery and on carbon dating. In Unguja Ukuu there are found in middens of the same period bones of *rattus rattus*, the black rat, which is not indigenous of Africa but whose fleas are the vectors of bubonic plague. The first recorded outbreak of the Great Plague of 541–7, in which more than a quarter of a million people died in Constantinople alone, was at Pelusium, which makes it logical to ascribe the source to Zanzibar. Local pottery suggests

that the inhabitants belonged to the Early Iron Age communities of East Africa, whose working of shells and iron formed part of the economy of the time.

## 2. *Before the Portuguese*

Pending further investigation it can be said that the claims of W.H. Ingrams (*Zanzibar*, London 1931) and others, of the existence of a “Heliolithic Culture”, or of the presence of Sumerians, Assyrians, Akkadians, Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians, Ancient Egyptians or Phoenicians, rest on no historical or archaeological foundation. There are Palaeolithic remains at Kilwa and of the Early Iron Age in Mafia. The Swahili *History of Pate*, whose redaction in its present state cannot be dated before 1810, claims that the fifth Umayyad caliph, ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (695–705), heard of East Africa “and that his soul desired to found a new kingdom”. He sent Syrians, who founded “the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa”. Other towns are mentioned in oral traditions, from Mogadishu as far as the Comoros.

Next, Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 786–801) is alleged to have founded many coastal towns, but not in Pemba or Zanzibar. He is said to have sent Persians. There is no evidence to support these claims; they could well be 19th-century embroidery upon what could be known from 10th-century sources, such as al-Mas‘ūdī and Buzurg b. Shahriyār. Neither of these refer to Zanzibar, but mention Qanbalū, most likely Ras Mkumbuu in Pemba. There, recent excavation has disclosed a mosque capable of accommodating seventy worshippers; it rested upon the remains of two earlier mosques, one of stone and the other of timber. The topmost building is possibly 10th century, the substrata from the 9th and 8th centuries, the earliest Islamic structures yet found in sub-Saharan Africa. It seems clear that Pemba, and particularly Ras Mkumbuu, had an importance that Zanzibar lacked.

Nevertheless, history is not entirely mute. The Arabic *History of Kilwa*, redacted as we have it perhaps ca. 1550, claims that Zanzibar gave refuge to a deposed sultan of Kilwa in ca. 1035, and then reinstated him on the throne. Not long afterwards, a mosque was built at Kizimkazi in Zanzibar, of which original sections still survive; it has an elaborate *mihrāb*, with a carved foundation inscription dated 500/1107.

This last is in a Kufic script similar to a number of inscriptions excavated in Sīrāf. The stone, however, is of Zanzibar coral and so could only have been carved on Zanzibar. Local traditions assert that there was a local sultanate based on Kizimkazi, where a number of (later) stone buildings survive.

João de Barros preserves a second *History of Kilwa*, originally written in Arabic, in a Portuguese translation. It was redacted perhaps in 1505. It asserts that Sulaymān b. al-Ḥasan of Kilwa (r. 1170–89) made himself “lord of the commerce of Sofāla”, and of the islands of Pemba, Mafia and Zanzibar, and a great part of the mainland shore”. In 1224 Yāqūt’s *Muḥjam al-buldān* reports that Languja was the residence of the King of the *Ḥunūj*. Languja is a corruption of al-Unguja, still the ordinary Swahili name for Zanzibar. If not independent, he may have been a subject of Kilwa.

In 1865 a hoard of dīnārs was “discovered” in a mound in the centre of Unguja Ukuu, which was turned over in the hope of finding further treasure. One piece survived, dated to A.D. 797. There are now no visible standing walls earlier than the 19th century. A mosque was noted in 1920; its well is still in use. There are local traditions of a Portuguese *feitória* (“factory” or trading agency) but nothing survives. Recent excavations conducted by the Zanzibar Director of Antiquities have disclosed buildings believed to date to the 10th century, with quantities of imported pottery, chiefly from the Persian Gulf, of the 8th to 10th centuries. Some sherds from there of African Red Slip pottery have been dated by radiocarbon dating to the 6th century. Occupation ceased in the 10th/11th century, with some reoccupation in the 16th. This site would certainly appear to be the Languja of al-Jāhīz. Its abandonment may be linked to a decline in the market for *zanyī* slaves following the Zanj revolt. So far, it can be said that very many pieces of what is a jig-saw puzzle have been found; how to fit them together is another question.

Of possible relevance is the limited excavation that has taken place at Mkokotoni, in the northwest of the island and opposite Tumbatu. The first phase covers the 8th–10th centuries but is much eroded by the sea. Its stone buildings have been entirely robbed but cover an area extending 500 m along a low cliff. There is a hiatus until the 14th century, which is very rich in deposits. Particularly striking are the bead finds, in huge quantities that suggest either a

huge store or their manufacture. Locals searching for beads have also found quantities of coins, both Chinese and Indian, but none of any local currency. It was here that a major coin hoard was found in 1984 and smuggled out of the country. It may have included three gold coins of al-Ḥasan b. Sulaymān of Kilwa III (r. 1310–33), which were brought to London and of which casts were made in the British Museum. They were reported to have been “found at Tumbatu”.

Returning to the historical record, the *History of Pate* already quoted asserts that the Pate ruler ʿUmar b. Muḥammad (r. 1332–48) gained possession of all the Swahili towns from Pate as far as the Kerimba Islands but failed to take Zanzibar. There is no evidence elsewhere for this alleged event, which perhaps was no more than a raid. In 1442, when there was a dispute about the succession to the throne in Kilwa, the *Amīr* of Zanzibar is said to have intervened but was bought off by a bribe of 100 gold *mithqāls*. At this time, Zanzibar had its own copper currency.

There are many minor traditions and legends associated with smaller sites. There are numerous traditions of people known in Swahili as Wa-debuli and Wa-diba (*wa-* being a prefix denoting the class). They had no fixed settlements but moved from place to place; the Wa-debuli could well have been itinerant Indian traders from the port of Daybul in Sind and the Wa-diba from the Maldives Islands, which the Arab geographers term Diba.

Midden excavations at Unguja Ukuu and Fukuchani have shown evidence of the diet of the people in the form of bone remains. Cattle, goat and sheep are not unexpected. Pig also are included. Chicken and pigeon, too, were eaten; the nearby ocean abounded, as it still does, in fish. Bone remains also included the Zanzibar Pouched Rat (*cricetomys gambianus* Cosens) known locally as *buku*. They are reported to be nearly three feet long from snout to the end of the tail. It is unknown today for them to be eaten in Zanzibar but some non-Islamic groups on the mainland like them. Monkeys were also eaten in some quantity.

As to religion, al-Masʿūdī reports (ca. 920) that the kings of the Zunūj and their subjects were pagan. By the time of al-Idrīsī (1154), the inhabitants of Unguja, Swahili speakers, although mixed, were mostly Muslims. The excavated evidence from mosques suggests that al-Masʿūdī was not well

informed. Certainly, Islam was not the official religion of the kings whom he describes, but the process of Islamisation would have been a slow one, which, it may safely be assumed, had begun by the 8th century A.D. This is not to say that ancient beliefs did not linger on, as they still do today, notably in the Nairozi ceremonies (Pers. *nawrūz* “new year”) and those connected with *rites de passage*.

### 3. Under Portuguese hegemony 1505–1698

For the Portuguese period local sources are silent, and we are dependent upon Portuguese historians and writers. Local traditions allege two fortified houses or farms to have belonged to the Portuguese, at Mvuleni and at Fukuchani, the latter built over an earlier pre-Islamic site.

In 1499 Vasco da Gama, returning from India, anchored off Zanzibar to take on provisions and water. It was for one night only; he and his men were eager to return home. Next, in 1503, a single vessel commanded by Rui Lourenço Ravasco arrived and cruised off the island, blockading it and capturing twenty local vessels laden with provisions. These, says Damião de Goes, he ransomed for money. It is alleged that the locals opened hostilities with “many guns and arrows”, to which Ravasco replied with a bombardment. Both sides accused the other, and subsequently Ravasco was censured in Lisbon. Nevertheless, Zanzibar paid a tribute of 130 gold *mithqāls* – a sum compared with 1,000 paid at Kilwa and 100 at Pate.

In 1528 Nuno da Cunha’s fleet lost its bearings and was driven up a creek in southwestern Zanzibar. A captive pilot conducted them to a safe anchorage. Two hundred sick men were left ashore, but it is not apparent whether a permanent *feitoria* was set up.

If, indeed, it was set up, it was not of stone. By 1571 Fr. Monclaro S.J. reported that the ancient capital, “once as large as Kilwa . . . is now destroyed and in ruins”. Perhaps this was the result of Ravasco’s bombardment, but “there were Kaffir rebels from the mainland, who kept the country in confusion”. The people were in fear; the Portuguese fought the rebels, with the result that the King of Zanzibar made a gift of the island to Portugal “with great solemnities”. Some Portuguese resided on the island and had their own chapel and chaplain. They were traders in cloth, beads, iron, ivory and some ambergris. The island



was very fertile. There is no mention of a *feitória*.

The first positive evidence of a *feitória* comes from Edmund Barker of Ipswich, the Lieutenant of the *Bonaventure*, under Sir James Lancaster, who wintered there in 1591–2. He was told of the mean and spiteful dealings of the Portuguese by a Christian Moor, but with no details. Gaspar de São Bernardino O.P. reports that a cargo of slaves was carried from Zanzibar to Mombasa in 1606, but there is no reason to suppose that it was a regular item of trade. The King of Zanzibar is reported to have been friendly. João dos Santos O.P. speaks of the rough and high-handed conduct of the Portuguese. He had converted to Christianity a nephew of the king, whom he sent to Goa to be educated.

A report of 1606 speaks of Augustinian “vicars” at Lamu, Pate and Faza on the mainland, in addition to their convent at Mombasa, but not at Zanzibar. An Augustinian stationed in Zanzibar with a chapel is not mentioned until a Papal Bull of 1612. The two dates would seem to bracket the foundation of the chapel, as being an adjunct of the *feitória*. Recent excavations in the centre of what eventually was re-constructed as an ‘Umānī fort suggest that it was on the site of a 12th-century fishing and trading village. Sgraffiato, Chinese celadon and monochrome porcelain, as well as local red wares have been found. The foreign connection was not just casual. A large hoard of copper coins, locally minted, has been found, and ascribed to the 14th or the 15th century.

Parts of the church still exist. It was cruciform. In 1710 the ‘Umānīs fortified it, rebuilding it completely in 1760. Nevertheless, in a strange way it has kept its name. In Swahili the fort is spoken of as *gereza*, a corruption of Portuguese *igreja* “church”. In the 19th century, when the ‘Umānīs had ceased to use the fort as a residence, it was made into a prison. The name Gereza remained, to become the name for a prison wherever Swahili is spoken. In the 1920s it had a new twist of fortune. It was partly demolished to provide a railway station for the seven-mile line from the town to the plantations at Bububu. By 1946 it was derelict, and restored for use as a purdah Ladies’ Club. In the 1990s it became an open-air theatre.

There is little trace today of the Portuguese period. The principal cultural legacy was of the slightest, some 120 words which passed from Portuguese into Swahili. It is intelligible that a quarter of them concern the sea and shipping. A second large group

are of useful fruit, trees and vegetables, some of which – cashew, cucumber, lime, pawpaw, avocado and guava, potatoes, cassava (manioc), tobacco, and most usefully, *mboleo* “manure” – have taken permanent root. There is a small domestic vocabulary, and one for the games of dice and picquet. The Swahili word for a tavern or brothel, *dangelo*, derives from *danceador*. These are only a few examples. In the Torre do Tombo National Archives in Lisbon, and in the National Library, there is evidence of another kind, of Portuguese written in Arabic script, and of Swahili also. It would seem that for a time Portuguese was a *lingua franca* in the Indian Ocean until it was superseded by English.

The expulsion of the Portuguese from Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1698, does not seem to have had any immediate repercussions in Zanzibar. No appointment was made as successor to Fr. Manoel de Conceição O.S.A. as Vicar of Zanzibar, who had been murdered by tribesmen in 1694. A queen of Zanzibar, Fatuma or Fatima, gained peaceful possession, only to be subject to new overlords. The site of her palace is pointed out near the Gereza.

#### 4. *Under the ‘Umānī Arabs ca. 1700–1890*

Now for more than a century history is almost silent. In 1712 a spy employed by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa reported that the “Arabs” had constructed “a ridiculous fort” out of the *feitória* and a stone house built by João Nunes at the end of the 17th century. The Swahili royalty remained in office, but control was in the hands of the Mazrū’ī rulers of Mombasa until their final eviction by Sultan Sayyid Sa’īd in 1837.

A. Sheriff’s *History and conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town* gives valuable details of its expansion. The Portuguese *feitória* and church may have had no more than palm-thatched huts around them. They lay on a peninsula connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Two maps published by him, of 1846 and 1896, provide an instructive summary for the period. The peninsular buildings are almost exclusively from the 19th and 20th centuries; a creek separates the Stone Town from the mainland, on which, in 1846, very few constructions, all apparently huts, were to be found. The town thus consists, as now, of two parts, the Stone Town, the older part; and the opposite side of the creek known in Swahili as *Ngambo*,

meaning “the other side”. The creek, when kept clean, provided a sheltered harbour for Portuguese vessels; the shallow draught of the almost flat-bottomed Swahili vessels and boats meant that they were generally drawn up on shelving beaches, any larger vessels being propped up on stilts at low tide. By 1896 Ngambo had grown to four times the size of the Stone Town, a clear indication of mercantile prosperity.

Inscriptions and other evidence for the foundation dates of mosques are likewise instructive. The earliest mosque in the Stone Town is dated 1766; one other was built in the 18th century. Sayyid Saʿīd first visited Zanzibar in 1828, removing his court to Zanzibar only in 1842. Three mosques were erected in 1830 and one more in 1840. From 1850 to 1890, no less than twenty-seven mosques were erected, with five more in the present century. Scholarship was not deficient, and Sir Richard Burton, never slow to criticise, particularly admired the eminent knowledge of Shaykh Muḥyī al-Dīn b. Shaykh b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Khaytānī, *qāḍī* of Zanzibar from 1841 to 1870. He wrote works of history and *fiqh*, and was a poet. The greater number of mosques reflects population growth and the flourishing economy, of which C.S. Nicholls has given a portrait in depth up to Sayyid Saʿīd’s death in 1856. It is carried forward by M.R. Bhacker up to the proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1890. Traders were attracted from all quarters, Arabs from ʿUmān and Ḥaḍramawt, Indians (the majority), and American, British, French, German and Portuguese entrepreneurs. Sayyid Saʿīd said modestly “I am only a merchant”, but truly he made Zanzibar a “metropolis of the Indian Ocean”.

European immigrants and officials formed a more or less homogeneous society, the easterners deeply divided by race and sects. The Arabs and Swahili were of the Shāfiʿī legal school, save for the ʿUmānī rulers who were of the Ibāḍī branch of the Khārījites. They had few differences with the Shāfiʿīs and were tolerant. Among Indians, Hindus were wholly apart, as were Parsis; among Indian Muslims were Sunnis, Twelver Shiʿa and Khōja Ismāʿīlīs, who predominated over the Dāʿūdī Bohorās and smaller sects. In addition, there were Sikhs and Baluch, these last providing the Sultanic guard. Few of them mixed with the local population. Whereas in former times Africans had brought their products to the coast, under Sayyid Saʿīd Indian-financed caravans now journeyed into the African interior as far as Uganda and Kinshasa.

Islamic religious brotherhoods had members among them and set up pockets of their adherents along the trade routes. By the 20th century, substantial areas were Islamised. The Swahili, both in the town and countryside, still reflect syncretistic practices as part of their local traditions.

Sayyid Saʿīd had sixty or seventy concubines, in accordance with the regal dignity of the age. A number of palaces survive, of which many are mentioned in Princess Salme’s (Emily Saʿīd Ruete) memoirs (*An Arabian princess between two worlds*, tr. E. van Donzel, Leiden 1993, originally published as *Memoirs of an Arabian princess*, New York 1888). They provided homes for his numerous surviving children. His principal residence was at Mtoni, enlarged with Persian baths, a more spacious *ḥarīm* and stores as well as reception rooms, from a former private house. A short way away was a private mosque, a square *muṣallā*, the roof supported by a single column, and the *miḥrāb* set in the thickness of the wall in the Ibāḍī fashion. There was a separate palace at Dunga for the Mwinyi Mkuu, the last of the indigenous rulers, with a room for the royal *siwa* (horn) and drums.

## II. THE 20TH CENTURY: THE END OF THE SULTANATE AND ZANZIBAR’S INCORPORATION INTO THE TANZANIAN REPUBLIC

### 1. *The last decades of the sultanate*

In 1890 Great Britain declared a protectorate over Zanzibar as part of an arrangement with Germany over the two powers’ respective colonial territories in East Africa. The Sultan’s authority was reduced and the slave trade curtailed. When the British colony of Tanganyika (which had after 1918 replaced that of German East Africa) achieved its independence in 1963 as the Republic of Tanganyika, the Sultanate of Zanzibar proclaimed its independence and was admitted to the United Nations; but a revolution in January 1964 brought a sudden end to the newly-independent state, the Sultan was dethroned and exiled, and it was incorporated into what became Tanzania.

### 2. *Events since 1964*

The Zanzibar revolution in January 1964 brought a sudden end to the newly-independent sultanate. The revolution was organised by John Okello (b. 1937),

a Ugandan worker who came to Zanzibar in 1959 and who believed that he had a God-given mission to lead a revolution of African liberation (J. Okello, *Revolution in Zanzibar*, Nairobi 1967, 72–3). Okello named established opposition figures as leaders of the new régime, with Abeid Karume (1905?–1972), head of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), as president. Karume soon consolidated his position by securing the exclusion of Okello from Zanzibar in March 1964, and, in April, led Zanzibar into union with Tanganyika.

Karume established a radical, one-party régime similar to many in the Africa of the 1960s. During the revolution, Zanzibarians of Asian and Arab origin, who had been part of the old political and economic élite, were harassed and many were killed or fled. Karume continued these policies, with the result that the traditional Muslim scholarly and devotional leadership was weakened. Established lines of transmission of both Sufi piety and Islamic studies were disrupted. During Karume's rule, the activities of Islamic organisations like the Sufi orders were severely limited and Islamic scholarship restricted.

Karume was murdered in 1972, but the ASP one-party régime continued under his successor Aboud Jumbe (b. 1920). However, Jumbe moved away from the authoritarianism of Karume, reduced the commitment to leftist economic policies, and relaxed restrictions on Islamic organisations. In an attempt to gain religious support, he established BAMITA (*Baraza la Misikiti wa Tanzania*, Council of Tanzanian Mosques). In the early 1980s, support for Zanzibari separatism grew, and in 1984 Jumbe was forced to resign because he was unable to control these tendencies. His successor as president of Zanzibar (and Vice-President of Tanzania) was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a close associate of Julius Nyerere, who succeeded Nyerere as national president when the latter retired in 1985. The next presidents of Zanzibar were Idris Abdul Wakil (1985–90) and Salmin Amour who won the last one-party elections in 1990 and also, by a bare 50.2% of the votes, the first multiparty election in 1995.

During the final two decades of the 20th century, Islamic activist sentiments have increased in Zanzibar. With the end of the authoritarianism of Karume, Muslim teachers and scholars began to reassert their position as intellectual and devotional leaders. Older Sufi orders had survived the times of suppression, and new groups of scholars inspired by Islamist move-

ments in other parts of the Muslim world became more visible. By the 1990s, strict purist teachers such as Shaykh Khamisi Jafar were popular among the students and younger professionals, advocating a style of Islamic interpretation similar to that articulated by the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East.

Two incidents illustrate the revival of Muslim activism. In 1988, Sophia Kawawa, the wife of the then secretary-general of the Tanzanian ruling party, made disparaging remarks about the situation of women under Islamic law. This sparked major demonstrations in Zanzibar, reflecting both resentment against mainland control of island affairs and Islamic sensitivities. In 1993, it was announced that Zanzibar had joined the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). While this was popular in Zanzibar, a parliamentary commission declared the association to be unconstitutional and Zanzibar withdrew. It was clear by the late 1990s that Muslim sentiments in Zanzibar had been significantly influenced by the global resurgence of Islam. This was expressed locally by increased demands for Zanzibar separatism and by more visible expressions of Islamist sentiments similar to those in other parts of the Muslim world.

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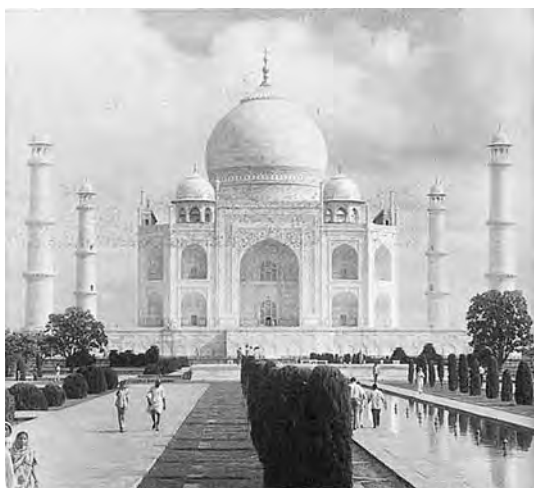


Fig. 1. Tāj Maḥall 1041–52/1632–43.

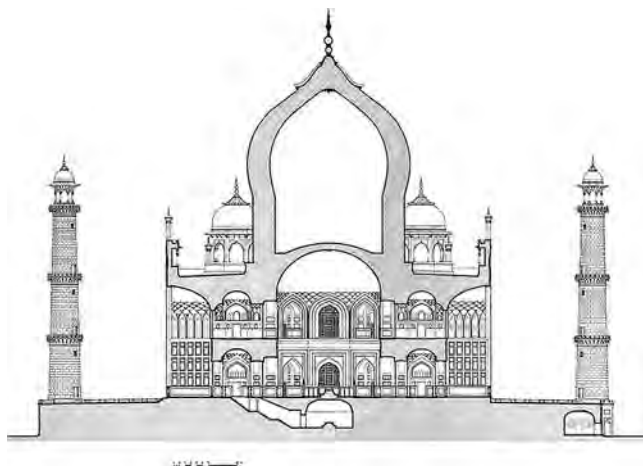


Fig. 2. Section (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch).

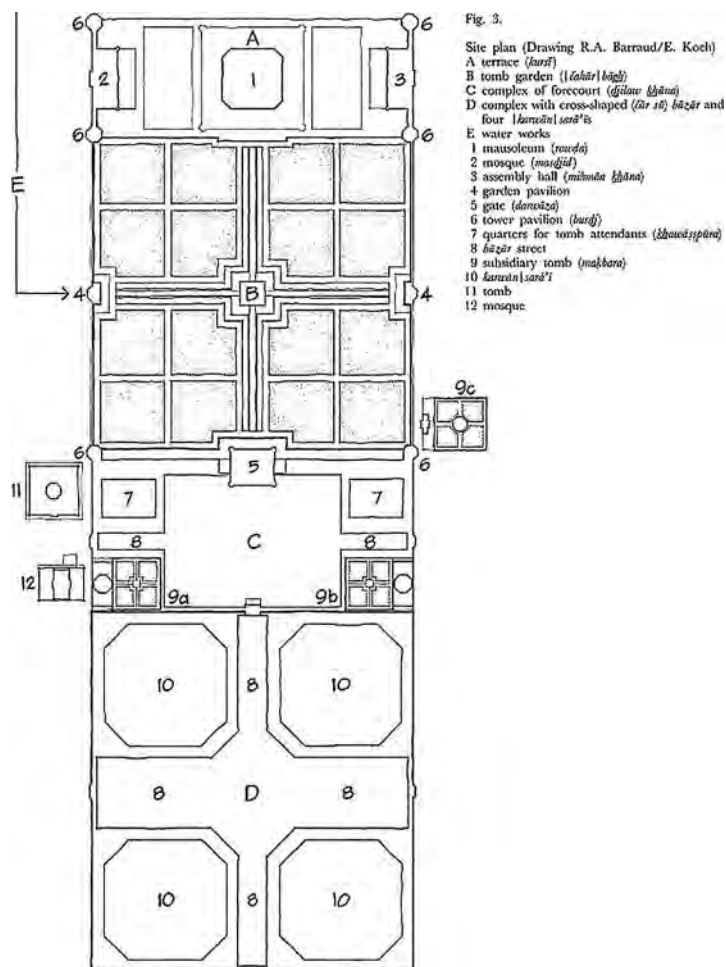


Fig. 3. Site plan (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch).



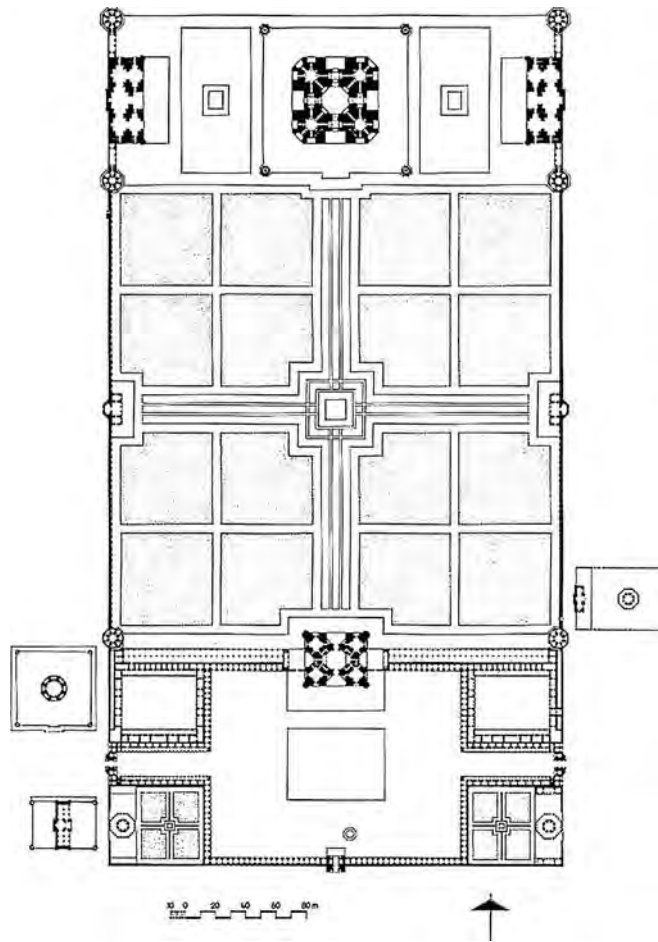


Fig. 4. Overall plan of preserved complex showing main levels of the individual buildings (Drawing R.A. Barraud/E. Koch).



Fig. 5. Main mausoleum, northern portal (Photo: E. Koch, 1979).

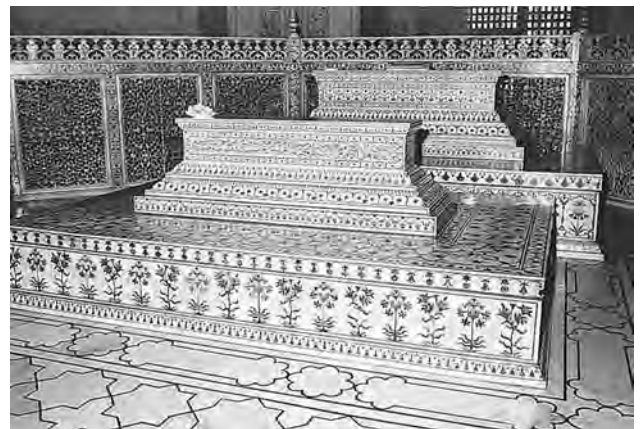


Fig. 6. Tombstones in main tomb chamber (Photo: E. Koch, 1981).

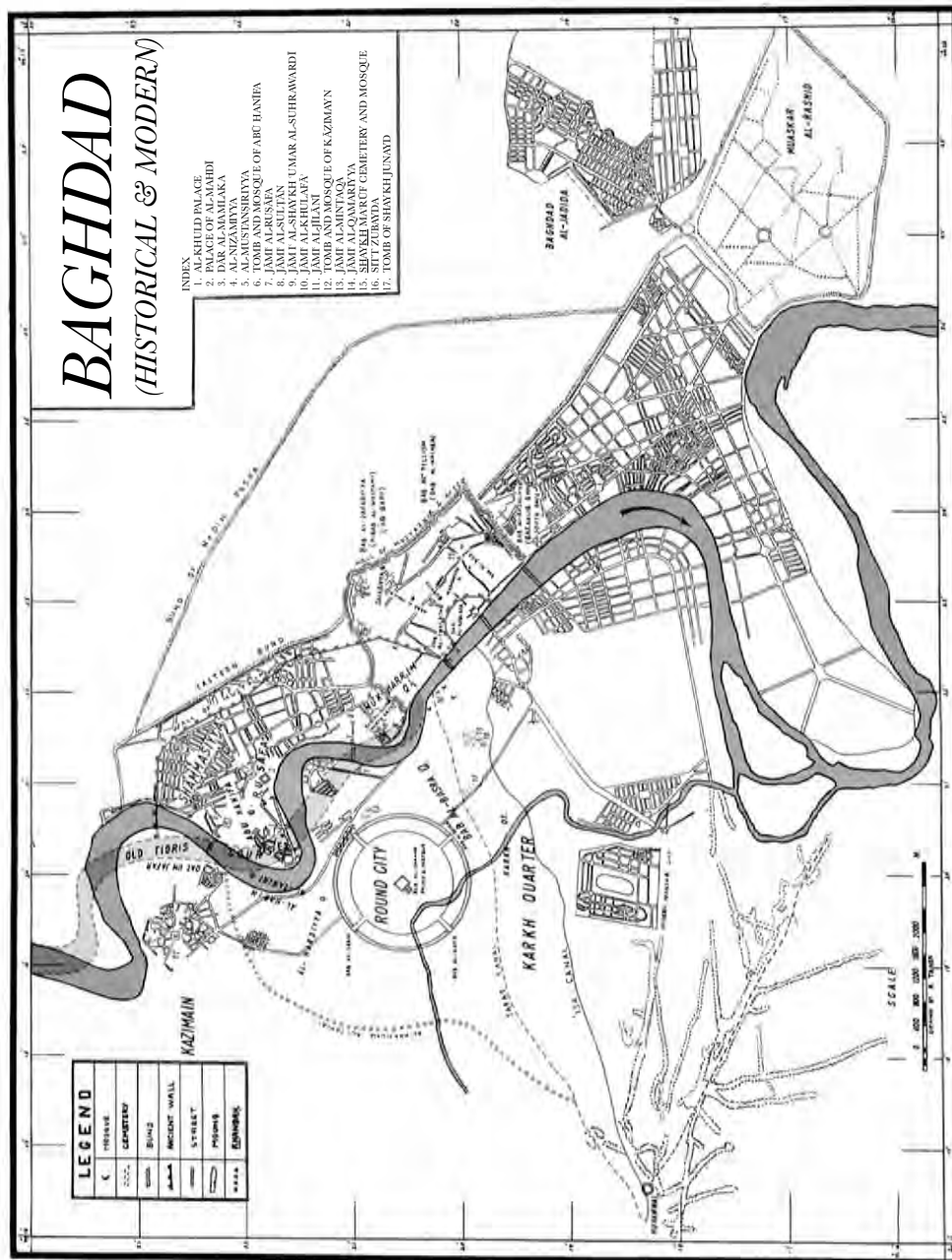


Fig. 7. Baghdad (Historical &amp; Modern).

The site of the Round City was determined by old canals, especially the 'Isa canal and the Sarat canal. The bed of the 'Isa canal is still known as 'Isa' or 'Dawlat', and the canal which flows into the city could be seen until the present Khirir canal, but the lower part is obliterated. But we know that the main bridge in the 7th/11th century was at Masra'a at al-Rawāyah by the 'Isa canal, and this *madīnah* was opposite Suk al-'Izzah below the modern al-Ma'mun bridge. However, I have resorted to the application of the spectrograph on the Area survey of Baghdad and found the course of the 'Isa canal to the Tigris as indicated on the map (at modern Shawwāka), which agrees with the above remarks.

The Sarat canal flowed into the Tigris near the Bab al-Shar. According to Ibn al-Fakhr, the Bab al-Shar was near the Sharfa where boats coming from Mosul stopped. Sharfas did not change and the Sharfa referred to could only be at present day Kanariyya.

The Round City had its southern limit near the Sarat canal and it was at the junction of this canal with the Tigris. The village of 'Sundya was outside its wall, near the northern section, and this village was very probably where present day Mintaka is. Therefore Mintaka is the eastern limit of the Round City, which was not directly on the Tigris. Ahmad b. Hanbal put Baghdad between the Sarat canal and the Bab al-Tibn, thus considering the Trench of Tahir as the northern boundary. This Trench included al-Harim al-Tahiri and left only Karf at Umm Dja far beyond. As the al-Harim al-Tahiri Quarter was mostly swept by the Tigris through its change of course (as the author of the *Murāsid* states) its limit could not be higher than 33° 22' N. lat. and thus the Round City must have its northern limit at about 33° 21'.

Mahdi Camp (Kusfa) was almost opposite the Round City. The Shammāsīya quarter was opposite the Harbiyya quarter, while the Shammāsīya Gate was almost opposite the Karabul Gate. Shammāsīya was north and east of the quarter of Abn Hamila. Below Abn Hamila's quarter was the Caliphal Cemetery and next came the Rusafa mosque. Digging and soil analysis indicate that this Cemetery was slightly above the former Royal Sporting Club. The Rusafa mosque was about a mile north of Djamī al-Sultān at Upper Mukharim which could not be above modern 'Awadīya and so the Mosque would be at the northern limit of Sibat 'Antara.

Mustansiriya was the southern limit of Mukharim and the beginning of the Suk al-'Izzah, which terminated at the Djamī al-Khilafah (traceable by the Suk al-Ghazal minaret). Thus the Royal palaces (Harim Dar al-Khilafah) start and extend over Kurayya — which still keeps its name — and end at the suburb (*raha*) at Murabba'a — which also still keeps its name, (cf. Ibn Djabr). This puts Harim Dar al-Khilafah between about Samaw'al street and Djamī Sayyid Sultān 'Alt. In digging the foundations of the new building of the Rafādayn Bank, about fifty yards from Samaw'al Street, a kitchen was struck, very likely that of Dar al-Khilafah. The limit of the Muska in wall eastwards corresponds approximately to the Nazim Pasha Band, as is shown from digging foundations for new houses.

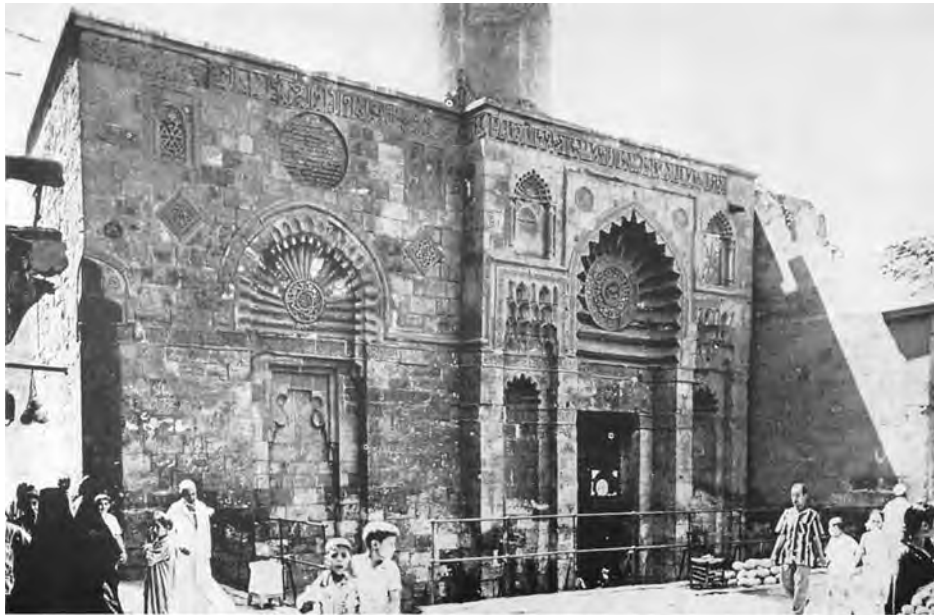


Fig. 8. Mosque of al-Aqmar. Façade. 519/1125. (No. 33 on the map)



Fig. 9. Mosque of al-Aqmar, Façade. 519/1125. (No. 33 on the map)

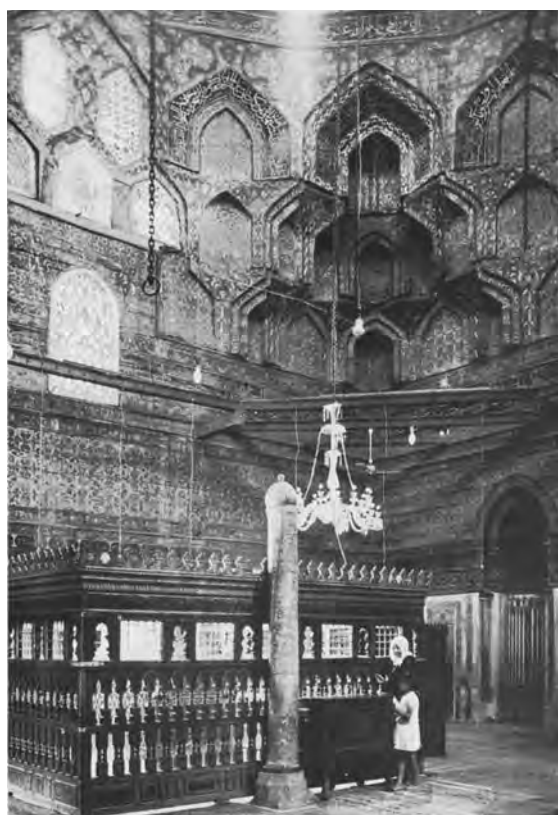


Fig. 10. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 608/1211.



Fig. 12. Mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665-7/1266-9. (No. 1 on the map)



Fig. 11. Mausoleum of Imām al-Shāfiʿī, 608/1211.



Fig. 13. Mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665–7/1266–9.  
(No. 1 on the map)



Fig. 14. Mosque of al-Zāhir Baybars, Maydān Ḍāhir. 665–7/1266–9.  
(No. 1 on the map)



Fig. 15. Mosque-madrasa of sultan Ḥasan. 757–64/1356–  
62/3. (No. 133 on the map)



Fig. 16. Māristān of al-Mu'ayyad Ṣhaykh. 821–3/1418–20.  
(No. 257 on the map)



Fig. 17. Mausoleum of Qā'it Bāy. Dome. 877–9/1472–4.  
(No. 99 on the map)



Fig. 18. Sabīl-kuttāb of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Katkhudā. 1157/  
1744. (No. 21 on the map)



Fig. 19. The main street of Helipolis. All photographs by Sophie Ebeid.





Fig. 20. Mausoleum of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, eastern façade. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.



Fig. 21. Courtyard of the Madrasa al-ʿĀdiliyya, eastern façade. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.



Fig. 22. Wooden cenotaph from a tomb within the mausoleum of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.

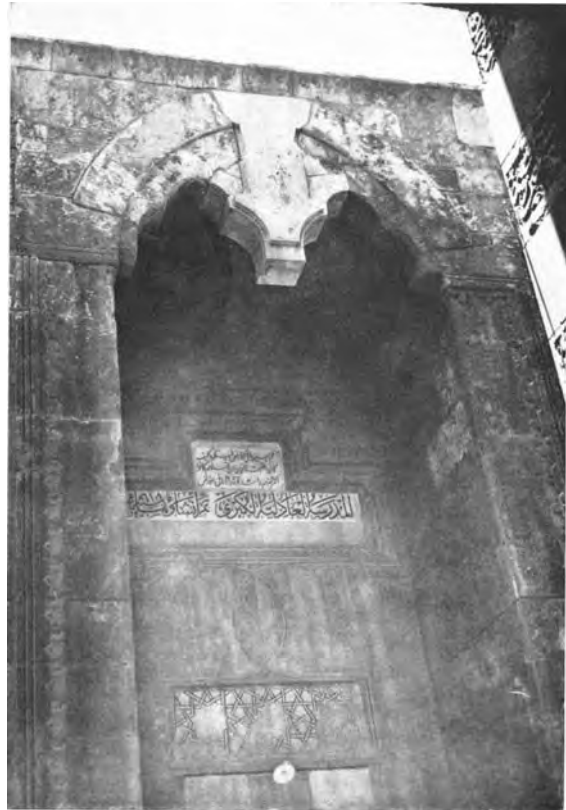


Fig. 23. Entrance to the Madrasa al-ʿĀdiliyya. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.



Fig. 24. Courtyard of the Madrasa al-Nūriyya, interior of the eastern façade. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.

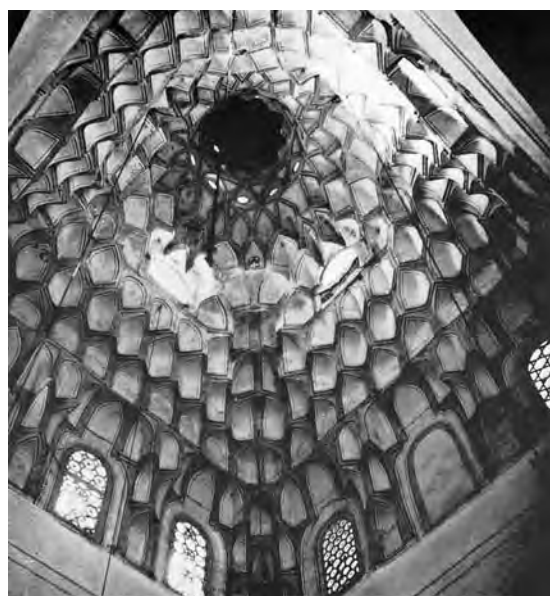


Fig. 25. Stalactite ornamentation on the dome of the Madrasa al-Nūriyya. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.



Fig. 26. Madrasa al-Nūriyya, exterior façade. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.





Fig. 27. Dome of the Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn, exterior view. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.

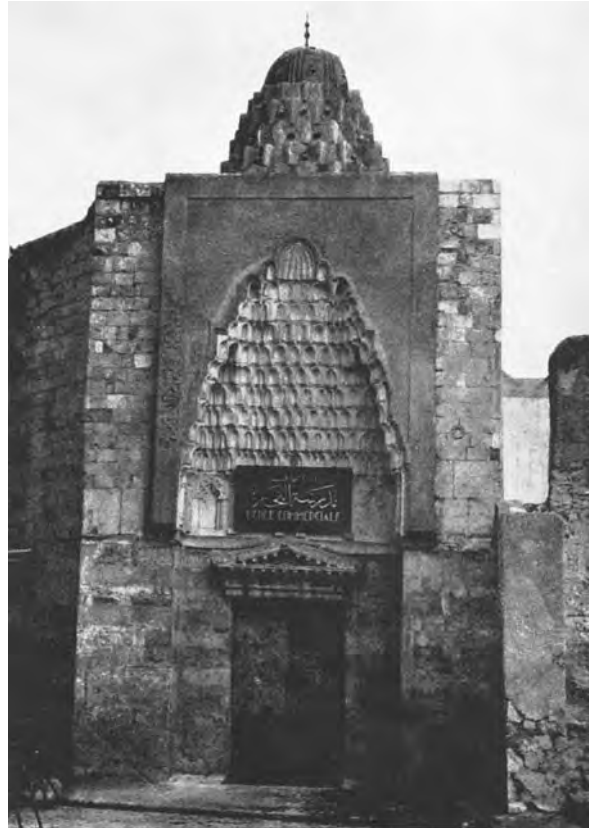


Fig. 28. Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn, façade and doorway. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.



Fig. 29. Courtyard of the Māristān of Nūr al-Dīn, west façade. By courtesy of the General Directorate of Antiquities, Damascus.

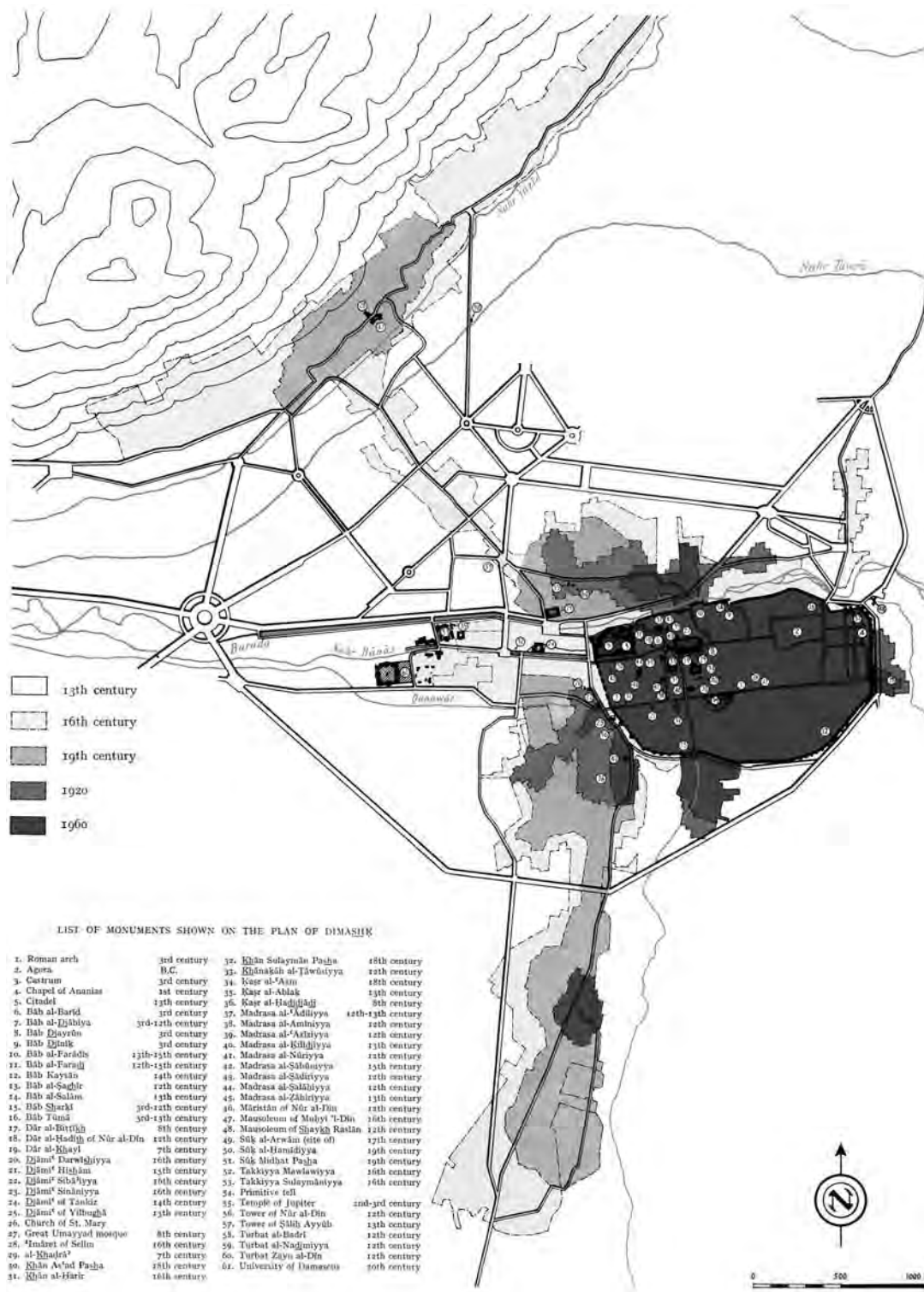


Fig. 30.

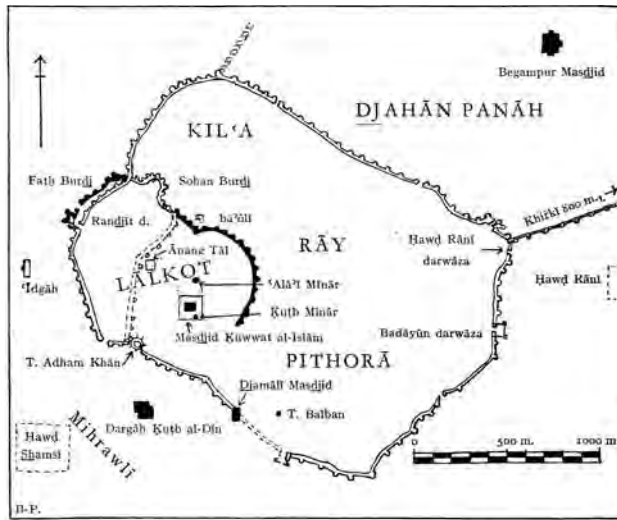


Fig. 1.

Old Hindū walls  
Walls removed by Ālā' al-Dīn  
Extension of Ālā' al-Dīn, c. 700/1300  
T = Tomb

Fig. 31.

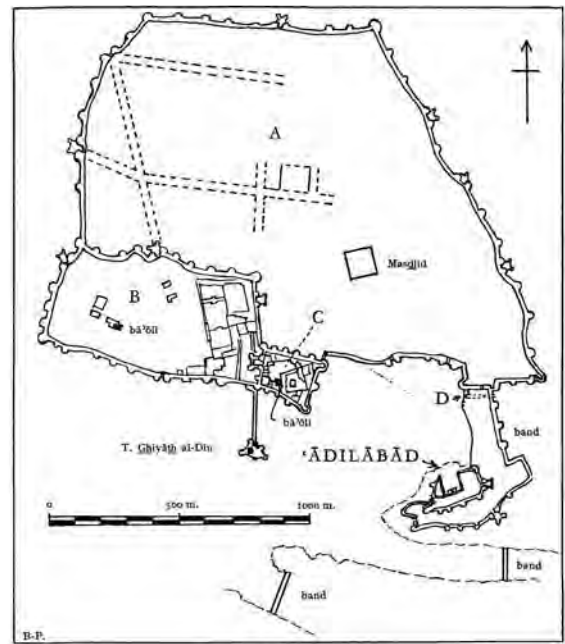


Fig. 2. Tughluqābād.

Fig. 32. Tughluqābād.

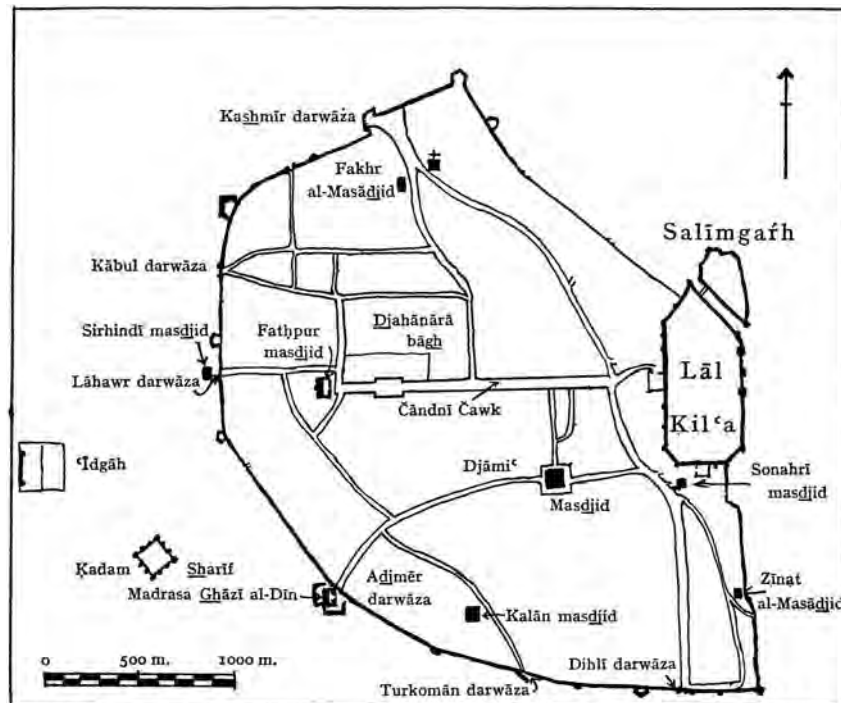


Fig. 33. Shāhjahānābād.

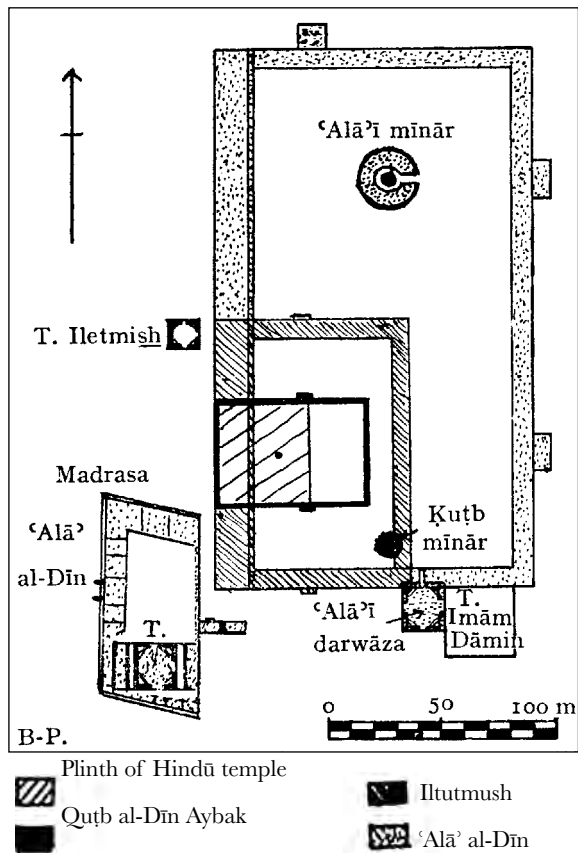


Fig. 34. Masjid Quwwat al-Islām.

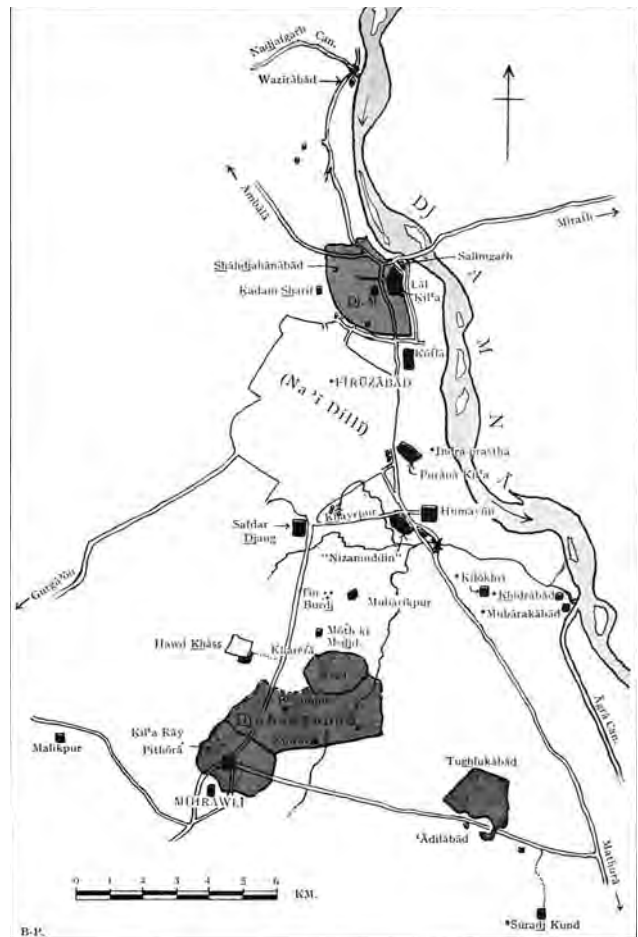


Fig. 35. Map of sites.

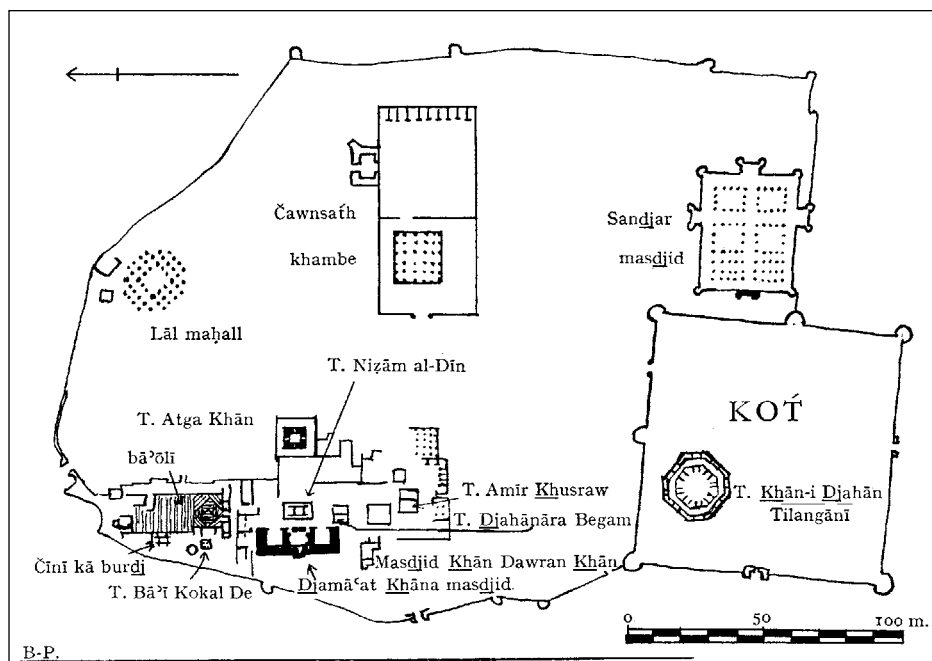


Fig. 36. Nizamuddin.

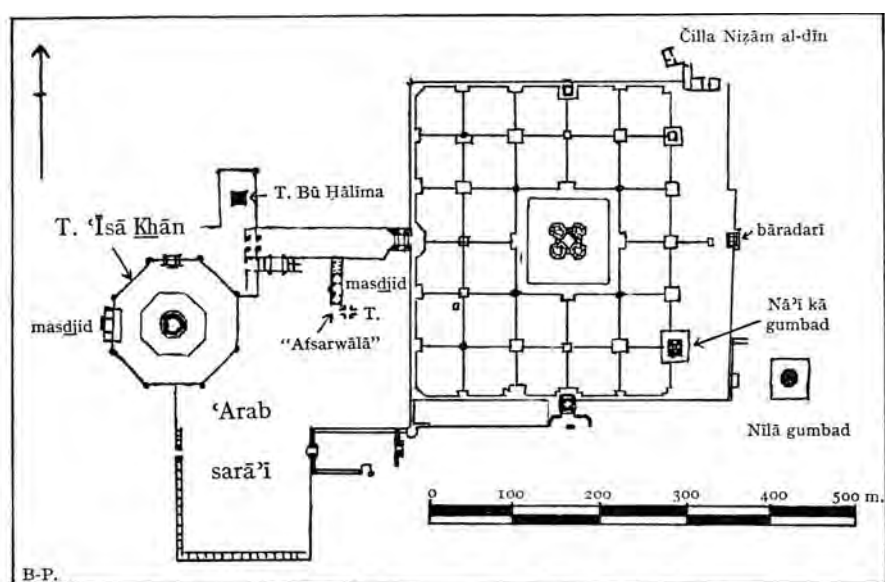
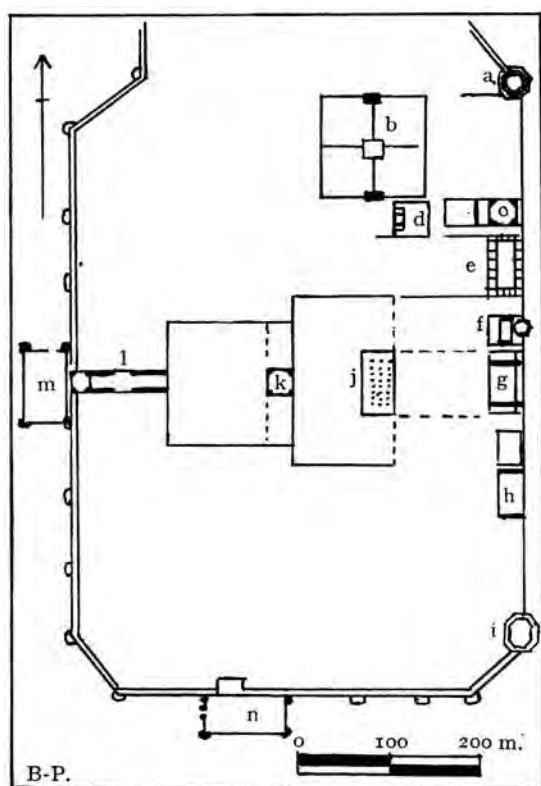


Fig. 37. Humāyūn's tomb.



a — Shāh burj b — Hayāt Bakhsh bāgh c — Hammām d — Mōtī masjid e — Diwān-i khāṣṣ f — Khwābgāh & Muthamman burj g — Rang maḥall h — Mumtāz maḥall i — Asad burj j — Diwān-i 'amm. k — Nawbat khāna l — Chattā chawk m — Lāhawr darwāza n — Dihlī darwāza

Fig. 38. Lāl qil'a.



Fig. 39. Fās al-Bālī—*Madrasa* of Abū 'Inān: court, and façade of the prayer hall. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)



Fig. 40. Fās al-Bālī—General view from the north, with the Almohad walls in the foreground. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)



Fig. 41. Fās al-Jadīd—The Great Mosque: *ṣaḥn* and minaret. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)



Fig. 42. Fās al-Bālī—*Ṣaḥn* of the Qarawiyyīn mosque: Zenāta minaret and Sa'did pavilion. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)



Fig. 43. Fās al-Bālī—*Madrasa* of Abū 'Inān: *mihrāb* of the prayer hall. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)



Fig. 44. Fās al-Jadīd—The Great Mosque: *mihrāb*. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)

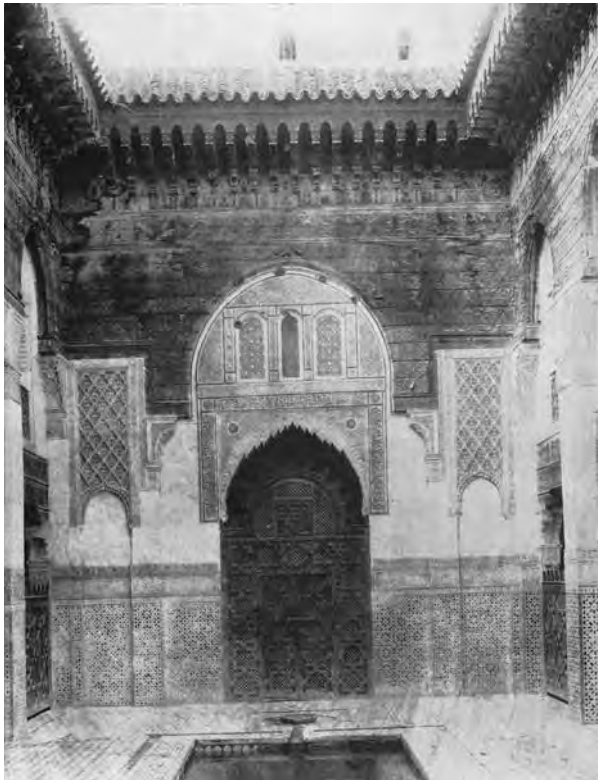


Fig. 45. Fās al-Bālī—The Šahrīj *madrasa*: north-west façade of the courtyard. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)

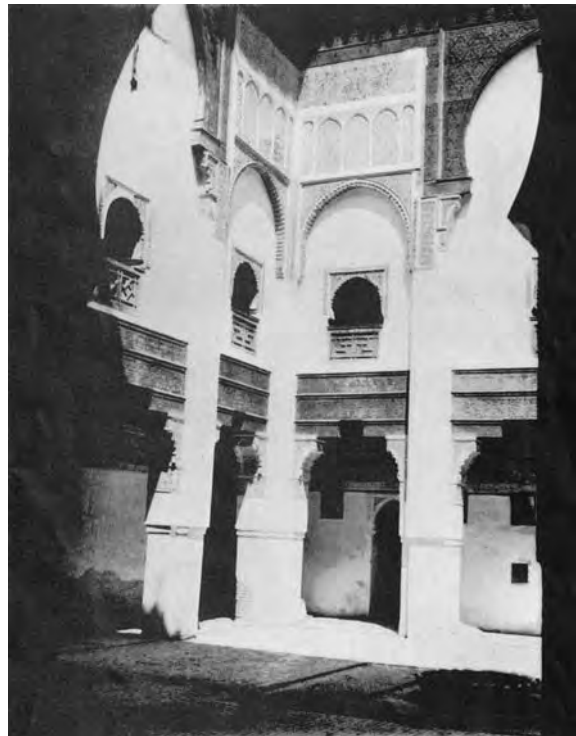


Fig. 46. Fās al-Bālī—*Madrasa* of the Šarrāṭīn: courtyard. (Service des Monuments Historiques du Maroc, photograph by Jean Latour)





Fig. 47. Congregational-mosque: Interior of northern dome.



Fig. 48. Congregational mosque: *mihrāb* of Öljeytū: *mihrāb* and *minbars*.



Fig. 49. Khwājū Bridge: facing upstream.





Fig. 50. Shahristān Bridge: facing downstream.



Fig. 51. Masjid-i Shāh: seen from the 'Ālī Qapī palace.

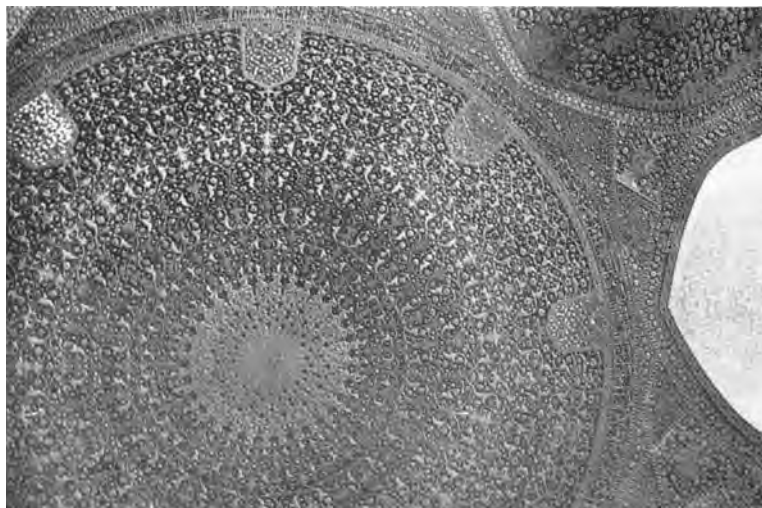


Fig. 52. Masjid-i Shāh: dome in front of the *mīhrāb*.

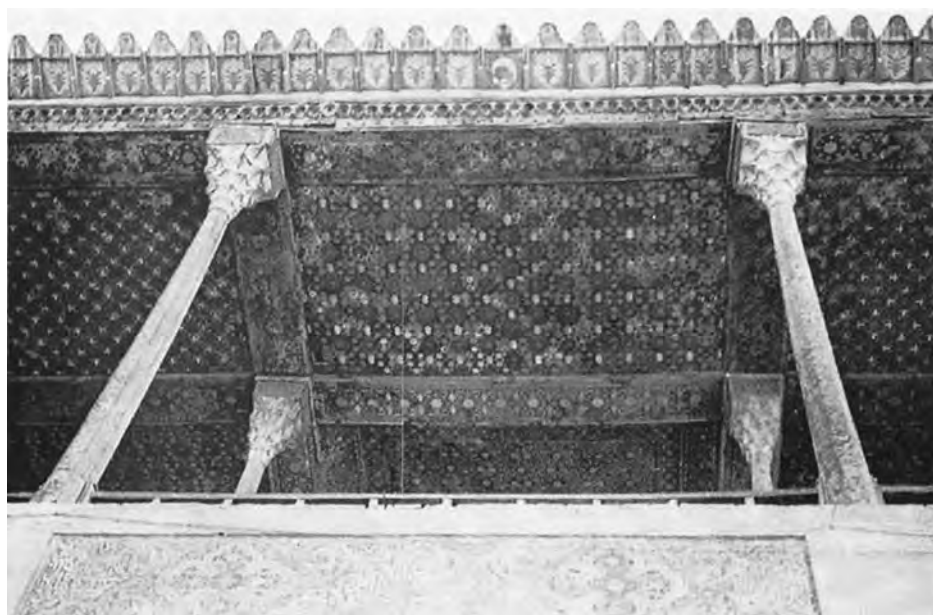


Fig. 53. 'Alī Qapī palace: reception room, 1st floor.



Fig. 54. Madrasa Māder-i Shāh: dome seen from the inner court.  
Photos D. Sourdel.



Fig. 55. Istanbul in about 1500 A.D.

Fig. 56 . Plan of Istanbul, ca. 1580, attributed to Velican (*Hünernâme*, Topkapı Palace Library, Istanbul, No. 1523, ff. 158b–159a).



Fig. 57. Süleymāniyye mosque with the *medreses*.

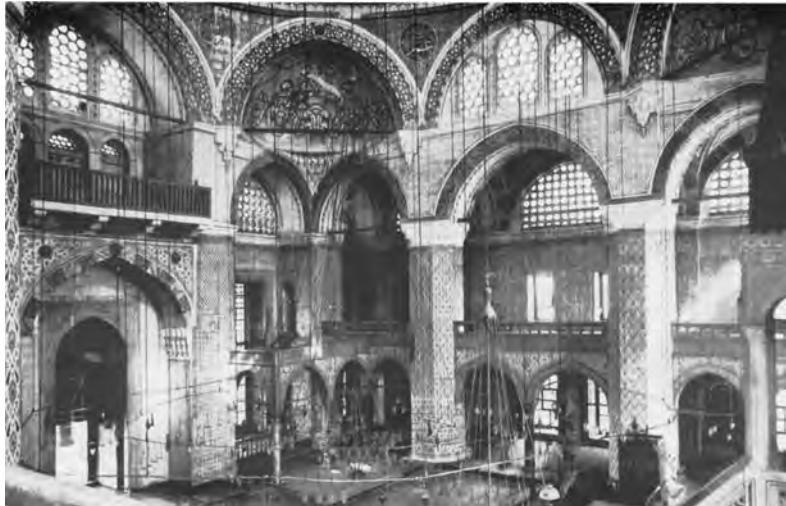


Fig. 58. Interior of the mosque of Rüstem Pasha. (Photographs by courtesy of the Turkish Ministry of Tourism and Press)



Fig. 59 . Mosque of Sultan Aḥmed and Hippodrome.

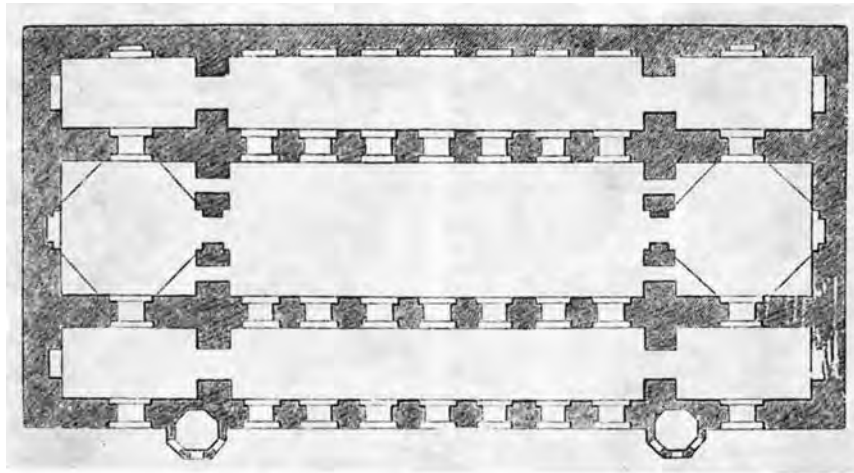


Fig. 60. Plan of the Bārā Imāmbārā, Lakhnaw (after J. Ferguson).

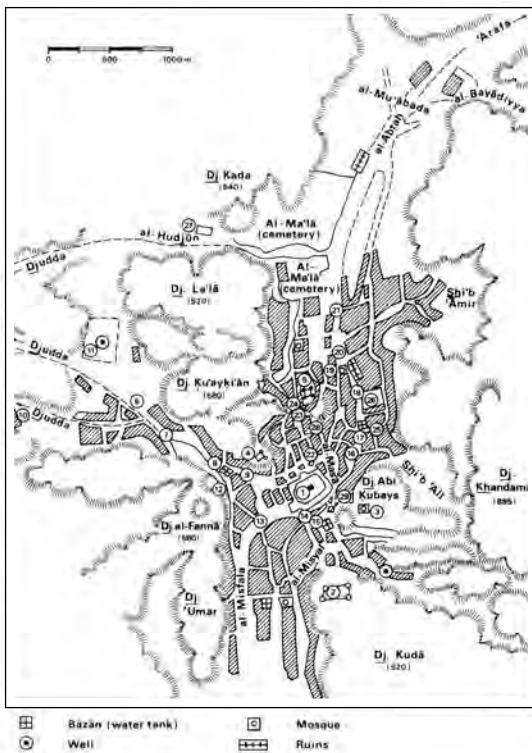


Fig. 61. Mecca in late Ottoman, Hāshimite and early Su'ūdī times. After Rutter and *Western Arabia and the Red Sea*. The numbers indicate approximate heights in metres above the central valley.

*Key:* 1. al-Masjid al-Ḥarām—2. Qal'at Ayyād—3. Masjid Bilāl—4. Qal'at Jabal Hindī—5. Qal'at Fulful—6. Shaykh Maḥmūd—7. Jarwal—8. Ḥārat al-Bāb—9. al-Shu-bayka—10. Ottoman barracks—11. Walled garden—12. Graveyard—13. al-Sūq al-Ṣaghīr—14. al-Ḥamīdiyya—15. Dār al-Takiyya al-Miṣriyya—16. al-Ḳashāshiyya—17. Sūq al-Layl—18. al-Ghazza—19. al-Jawdhariyya—20. Sūq al-Ḥabb—21. al-Ma'lā—22. al-Suwayqa—23. al-qarāra—24. al-Falq—25. Prophet's birthplace—26. Sharīfian palace—27. Slaughterhouse—28. al-Ṣafā.

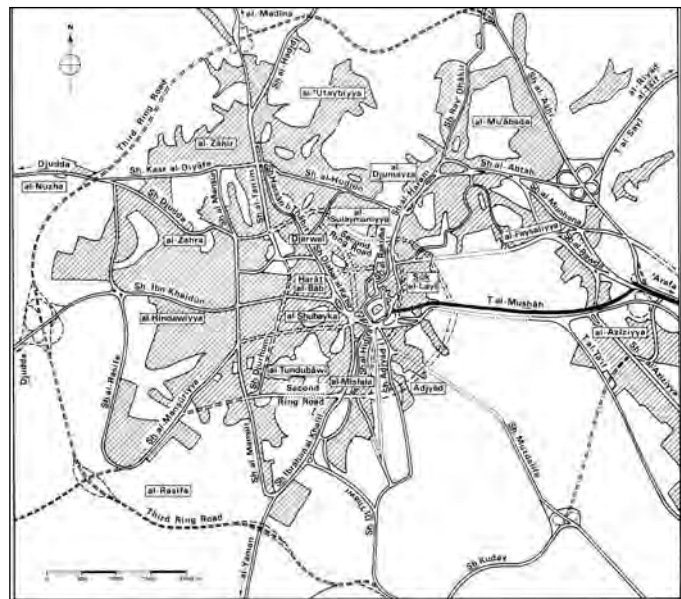


Fig. 62. Mecca in the 1980s: built-up areas. After Fārisī.



Fig. 63. Aerial view of 'Arafāt during the *Hajj*. (Photography by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, The Hague)



Fig. 64. Pilgrims at Minā. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, The Hague)



Fig. 65. Aerial view of Minā during the *Hajj*. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, The Hague)



Fig. 66. Interior of *Mas'ā*. (Photograph by courtesy of the Embassy of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, The Hague)



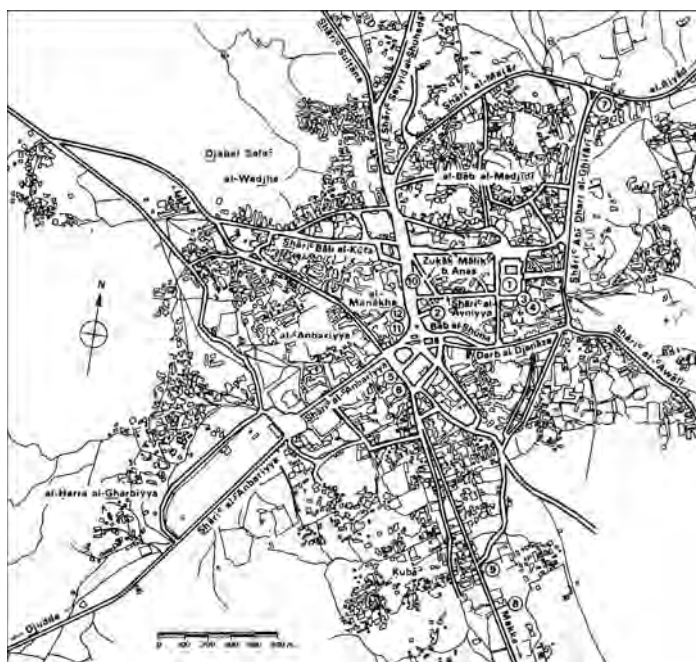


Fig. 67. Map of the modern city of Medina (after H.M. Bindagji, *Atlas of Saudi Arabia*, Oxford 1398/1978, and W.C. Brice (ed.), *An historical atlas of Islam*, Leiden 1981, 23).

1. al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī—2. Bāb al-Miṣrī—3. 'Umar's garden—4. 'Arif Hikmet Library—5. Mosque of al-Ghamāma—6. Mosque of 'Umar—7. Mosque of Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī—8. Mosque of Qubā'—9. Masjid al-Jum'a—10. Mosque of Mālik b. Anas—11. Mosque of Abū Bakr—12. Mosque of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

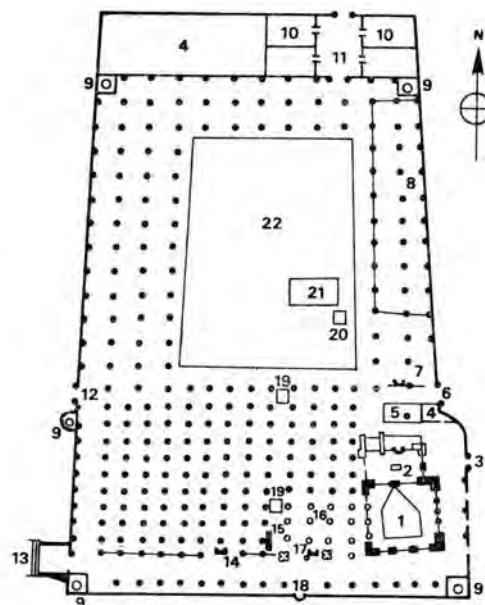


Fig. 68. Al-Ḥaram al-Nabawī before the Su'ūdī reconstruction (after E. Rutter, *The holy cities of Arabia*), 1. The Prophet's tomb (*ḥujra*)—2. Fāṭima's tomb—3. Bāb Jibrīl—4. Storeroom—5. The Agha's platform—6. Bāb al-Nisā'—7. Mihrāb—8. Women's prayer place—9. Minaret—10. Madrasa—11. al-Bāb al-Majīdī—12. Bāb al-Rahma—13. Bāb al-Salām—14. al-Mihrāb al-Sulaymāniyya—15. Minbar—16. al-Rawḍa—17. Mihrāb al-Nabī—18. Mihrāb 'Uthmān—19. Platform—20. Well—21. Fāṭima's orchard—22. Open courtyard.



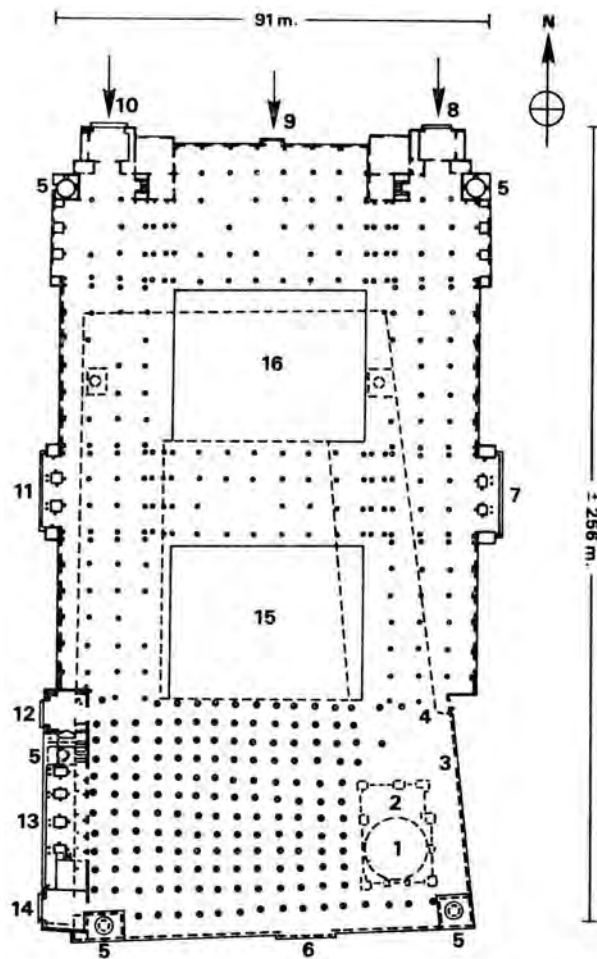


Fig. 69. Al-Haram al-Nabawī after the Su'ūdī reconstruction (after 'Abd al-Quddūs al-Anṣārī, *Aṭhar al-Madīna al-Munawwara*, 2nd. ed.).

1. The Prophet's tomb—2. Fāṭima's tomb—3. Bāb Jibrīl—4. Bāb al-Nisā'—5. Minaret—6. Mihrāb 'Uthmān—7. Bāb 'Abd al-'Azīz—8. Bāb 'Uthmān b. 'Affān—9. Bāb 'Abd al-Majīd—10. Bāb 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb—11. Bāb Su'ūd—12. Bāb al-Raḥma—13. Bāb al-Ṣiddīq—14. Bāb al-Salām—15. Open courtyard (reconstructed)—16. New courtyard.



Fig. 70. Great Mosque of Raqqa, minaret (photo G.L. Bell 1909; courtesy Gertrude Bell Photographic Archive: Department of Archaeology, The University of Newcastle upon Tyne).



Fig. 71. City walls of al-Rāfiqa (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).



Fig. 72. City walls of al-Rāfiqa (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: M. Meinecke 1984).



Fig. 73. Great Mosque of al-Rāfiqa, minaret (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1984).



Fig. 74. Great Mosque of al-Rāfiqa, aerial view ca. 1930 (reproduced from M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai*, 1953).

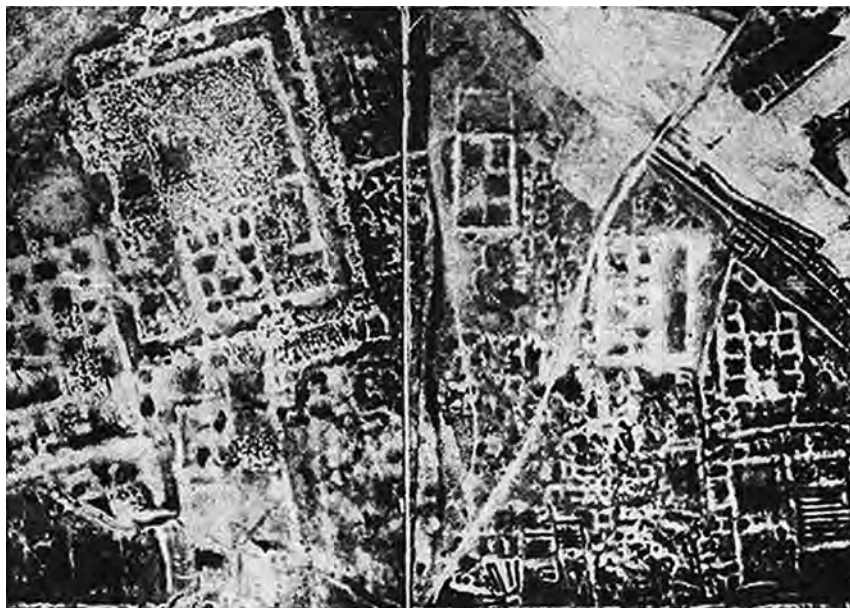


Fig. 75. Palace City of Hārūn al-Rashīd, main palace and neighboring on the southeast, aerial view ca. 1930 (reproduced from M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai*, 1953).



Fig. 76. Western Palace, stucco frieze (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).



Fig. 77. Western Palace, stucco frieze (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: P. Grunwald 1985).



Fig. 78. Palace of Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-İṣfahānī/Qaṣr al-Banāt, domed corner room (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: K. Anger 1983).



Fig. 79. Bāb Baghdād (photo German Archaeological Institute Damascus: K. Anger 1983).

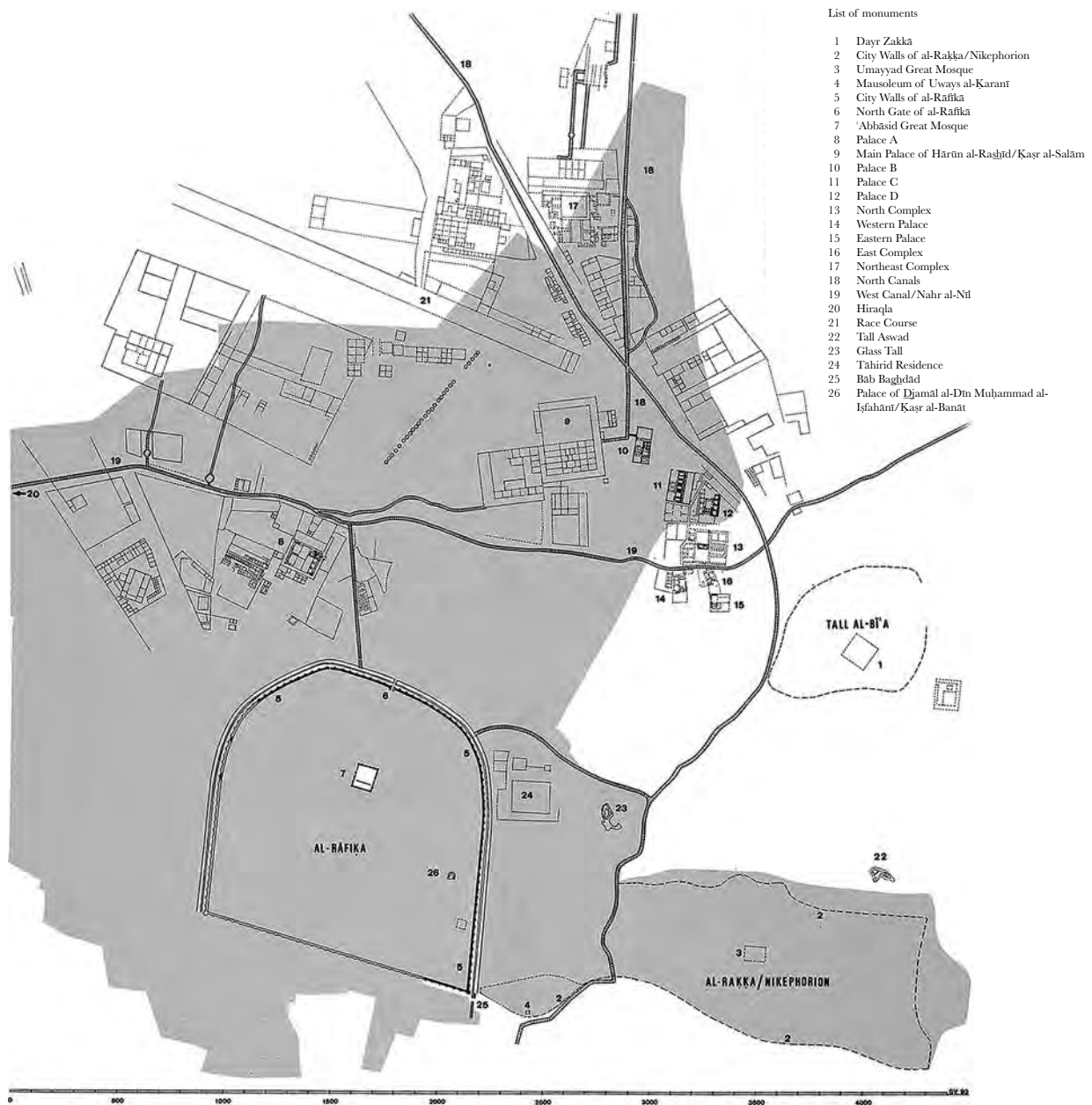


Fig. 80. The mediaeval cities of Raqqa and al-Rāfiqa. Topographical map based on aerial photographs, in scale 1:15.000 (drawing by Silke Vry and others/German Archaeological Institute Damascus 1993); extension of modern city indicated in grey.

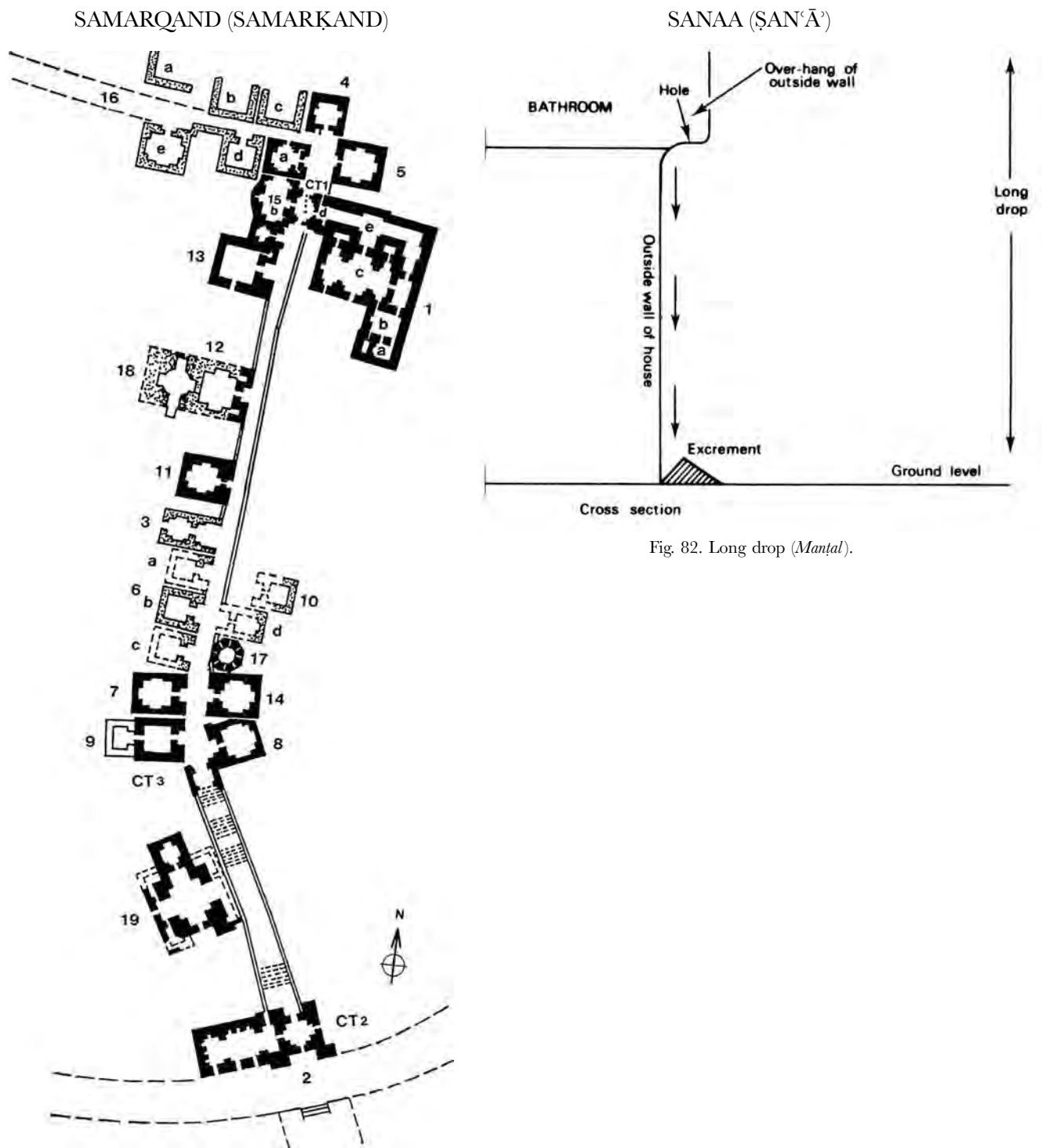
Fig. 82. Long drop (*Manṭal*).

Fig. 81. The Shāh-i Zinda, after Rogers.



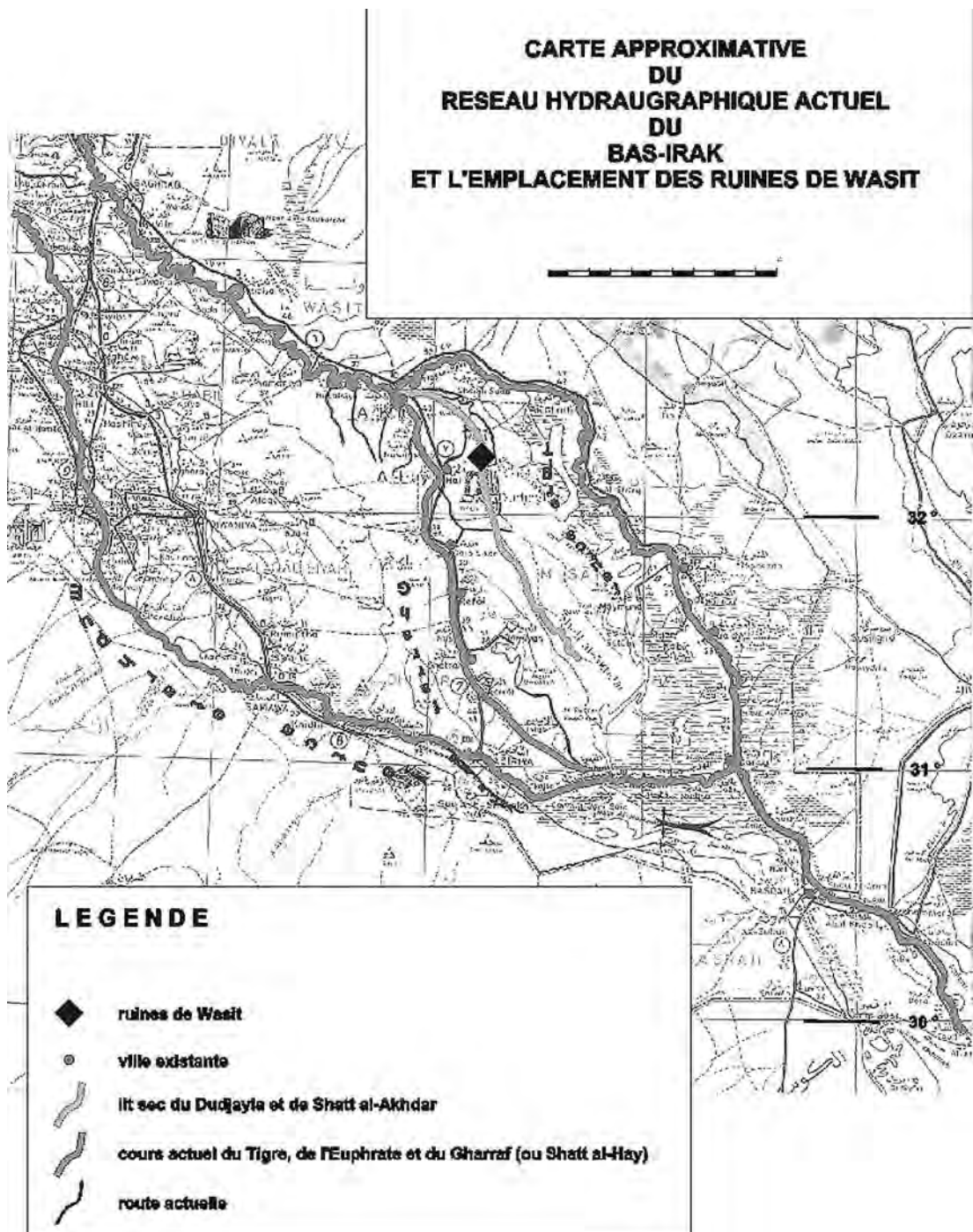


Fig. 83. Approximate map of the present hydrographic system of lower Iraq.